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## PREFACE.

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Investigation of the period of the Roman occupation of Britain affords the subject for quite a considerable portion of this volume. The excavation of the Fort at Ilkley was commenced under the direction of the Roman Antiquities Committee so long ago as the year 1919, and was continued during three summers; but for various reasons Mr. Woodward's very careful and exhaustive Report was not immediately available for publication. The excavation of the Roman site at Cawthorn, near Pickering, forms the subject of a preliminary report by Mr. F. Gerald Simpson, F.S.A., of the work undertaken to 1923; and an interim summary by Mr. Ian A. Richmond brings our information down to 1925.

The Revs. Henry Lawrance and C. V. Collier, F.S.A., having completed their account of the ancient heraldry found in the East Riding, now make a commencement on North Yorkshire, the old Deaneries of Ryedale, Cleveland and Richmond being dealt with in the present volume.

The late Mr. W. Paley Baildon, F.S.A., had made a large collection of notes, mainly from the Pleas Rolls, relating to the early history of the Saville family, which gives additional interest to the late Mr. J. W. Clay's genealogical account of the Savilles in Vol. xxv of the *Journal*, as Mr. Baildon's contributions end very much where Mr. Clay's began. That all this painstaking research should not be lost, Mr. Charles Clay has kindly prepared the manuscript for printing; and he promises us a further instalment from the late Mr. Baildon's papers on the Butlers of Skelbrook and Kirk Sandal.

The late Mr. Wm. M. I'Anson, F.S.A., was a most energetic—an almost indefatigable worker, and his unexpected death is a heavy blow to English Archæology. The military effigies of Yorkshire had engaged his attention for several years, and of his projected work on this subject the volume contains the first chapter, which is of a somewhat general and introductory character. His manuscript, and especially the beautiful measured drawings at which he was so skilful, are preserved, covering a further considerable period, though not sufficiently so to enable us to carry to its conclusion the work which he contemplated.

While this volume has been in progress the Society has lost by death, in addition to the two above mentioned, the Rev. Canon J. T. Fowler, D.C.L., F.S.A., a Patron of the Society; Francis Collins, M.D., and William Brown, D.Litt., F.S.A., Vice-Presidents, some slight tribute to the memory of all of whom will be found in the volume.

H. B. McCALL.

10, Park Place, Leeds,

*June, 1926.*

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EAST WINDOW, HOLY TRINITY CHURCH, GOODRAMGATE, YORK.



# THE Yorkshire Archæological Journal

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## THE EAST WINDOW OF HOLY TRINITY CHURCH, GOODRAMGATE, YORK.

By JOHN A. KNOWLES.

Although the east window of Holy Trinity Church, Goodramgate, cannot, as a work of art, rank as one of the greatest masterpieces of the York school of glass painting, it is certain that no other window in the city presents so many interesting points for study.

The window consists of five lights. At the top is a row of canopies, in the centre three of which are shields of arms supported by angels. Below there is a row of large figures, and across the base of the window, under dwarf canopies, are five small figure subjects. Between the large figures above and the subjects below is an inscription running right across the window, which states that the glass, date uncertain but some time after the year 1470, was the gift of the Rev. John Walker, Rector of the church.

### THE LARGE FIGURES.

Reading from left to right these are:—

(1) ST. GEORGE. In plate armour standing on a ruby dragon and thrusting his spear into the mouth of the beast. Background maroon (for ruby).

(2) ST. JOHN BAPTIST. A graceful figure with exceptionally fine head, unfortunately broken. He wears short white cloak or wrap thrown round him, with jewelled border and spot diaper stained yellow, over a camel's skin, the head and feet of which (maroon) appear between and on either side of his bare legs and feet. Right hand concealed under cloak holds a book on which rests the Agnus Dei with cross-pennon. The pendant drapery hanging from hand under cloak falls in folds which twist and turn about each other. Left hand and forearm bare and bent in graceful attitude, pointing, as usual, to the Agnus Dei, which he holds. As a rule, the gesture is accompanied by the text on a scroll " Ecce Agnus Dei " (" Behold the Lamb of God ")—which is here wanting. Background blue.

(3) GOD THE FATHER (head broken out and replaced by one from the figure of a bearded man with nimbus, probably an apostle), in

blue mantle and maroon garment and bare feet, holds the dead body of His divine Son, whom He supports under the right armpit with the right hand, the left being concealed by the blue drapery. The Saviour is perfectly nude with the exception of a murrey cincture; cross nimbus, and crown of thorns, the drops of blood trickling down His face. Blood also issues from the five wounds, and the whole of His body is covered with marks of scourging. Between the heads of the first two Persons of the Trinity, the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove with cross-nimbus descends.

On the left facing the Trinity a diminutive figure of the donor, the Rev. John Walker, with tonsured head and habited in red cloak and white surplice, kneels with hands joined in prayer. An inscription, apparently issuing from his mouth, reads:

“Te adoro te glorifico o beata trinitas.”

[I worship Thee, I glorify Thee, O Blessed Trinity.]

Background evidently intended for ruby, but very black.

(4) ST. JOHN EVANGELIST. Badly drawn figure, in short white cloak very similar to that in (2), with yellow border to edge and spot diaper, and maroon under-robe, grasps with his left hand the palm branch, the emblem of martyrdom. The right hand covered as in (2) with the cloak, holds his emblem of the chalice out of which issues forth the dragon. The original head of the saint is missing and has been replaced by a crude attempt, probably by some eighteenth century glazier, at the technique and treatment of fifteenth century work. Background blue.

(5) ST. CHRISTOPHER. The infant Saviour with two fingers of right hand up in the act of blessing, in His left the orb and cross, and rayed nimbus without cross behind His head, is seated on the shoulders of the saint who (as is generally the case in representations of this scene in York) is shown wading through the river from right to left. St. Christopher wears a cloak of blue with yellow border and spot diaper. The diaper on the blue glass is stained yellow behind, producing green. The sleeve of the right arm of his maroon under-cloak is rolled up to the elbow. His legs are bare to the knee, but what was probably in the original drawing one of the two pendant ends of the linen bands with which the under-breeches were tied above the knee can be seen—another characteristic feature of the York treatment of this subject.<sup>1</sup> The saint's staff consists of a tree-trunk from which the branches have been lopped off, in white

<sup>1</sup> Compare e.g. the figure of St. Christopher in the north-east window of St. Michael-le-Belfrey Church and in the east window of All Saints', North Street,

which, although done after an interval of probably as much as seventy or eighty years, have been painted from the same cartoon.



glass stained yellow; at the top a large bunch of foliage, cut out of either a very dark green tint, or glass which has become darkened and obscured by corrosion. The water is represented by the usual conventional waves in which four fish swim. Background ruby, but very dark.

#### SUBJECTS.

(1) ST. MARY CLEOPHAS and her husband ALPHAEUS and their children: Saints Simon, Thaddeus, James the Less, and Joseph Justus. Alphaeus is habited in white cloak with yellow border and spot diaper, and blue under-robe. On his head is a yellow cap. The first finger of his left hand is raised. He has no nimbus. St. Mary is in maroon cloak with ermine lining. She and all the children are nimbed. In her arms she carries the infant, St. Joseph Justus, who stretches forward in order to catch hold of a flag on the end of a pole carried by one of the other three children, who cling to the skirts of their mother. One of them hides beneath his mother's cloak, peeps out, and timidly beckons with crooked finger to someone to come. One of the children has a boat, either as an emblem, or as a toy, which he carries in his left arm and with his right hangs on to his mother's hand. Background blue.

(2) ST. JOACHIM and ST. ANNE with their daughter, the Blessed Virgin, and their grand-child, Our Lord. St. Joseph is in maroon with blue cap. St. Anne's head is covered by a hood with high peak on the top. Her cloak is blue with green under-robe, whilst the B.V. is in maroon with white cloak. St. Anne's right arm encircles the figure of her daughter, whose hands are crossed on her breast and who wears a golden crown. The Child Christ (head missing) is in white elaborately diapered. In His left hand He carries orb and cross. Background ruby but very dull.

#### (3) CORONATION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN BY THE TRINITY.

The Three Persons are all shown under human form. They are seated on one throne, and wear but one mantle between them, the ample folds of which lie across the knees of all three. The mantle is maroon lined with ermine, but the Holy Ghost has a blue under-robe. The right hands of the second and third Persons are raised in the act of blessing, and with the left they have evidently originally supported the crown beneath, whilst it was being held above by the Eternal Father.<sup>1</sup> All three Persons are shown as of one age, and wear arched or imperial crowns, the only distinction between them being in the figure of Christ whose crown is encircled with thorns. His body is nude and shows the marks of scourging.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. sculpture Verrières, Aube, mentioned p. 14, seq.

In front of the Trinity the B.V. is seated with hands joined in prayer facing the spectator. Her hair hangs down her back as far as the waist. The head is an insertion and does not belong to the figure. On the left of the Virgin's head is a hand, but whether it belongs to the first or second Person is doubtful. It is possibly misplaced.

(4) ZEBEDEE and ST. MARY SALOME and their children, St. James Major and St. John the Evangelist. Zebedee has no nimbus. He wears a white cloak with pale maroon under-robe. As in the case of Alphaeus in (1), the index finger of the right hand is raised. St. Mary Salome is in blue robe with maroon under-robe. On her right arm she carries the infant St. John the Evangelist, who has his appropriate emblem of a book with an eagle on it. His robe is diapered with an X. In her left hand St. Mary has a lily. The infant St. James, originally standing at his mother's feet, is now all patch. Background ruby, very dark.

(5) ST. URSULA. The saint crowned, wearing white cloak and maroon under-robe, holds in her right hand a large arrow. She spreads out her cloak, beneath which shelter several persons who together comprise a scene depicting the blessing by Pope Cyriac of the saint, Prince Conon, and two girlish figures, one on either side, who do duty for the eleven thousand virgins. Background blue.

#### ARTISTIC NOTES ON THE WINDOW.

The window shows a considerable amount of influence derived from the work of other schools, both English and foreign. This appears, not only in choice of various subjects and the treatment of them, but even in details such as armour.<sup>1</sup>

York artists seemed to have owed many of their artistic impulses to the art movements of Flanders and Southern Germany, and, through these provinces, to schools as far removed as Italy. This is not surprising when we remember that they were in close connection with the continent, as all the glass had to be imported from cities such as Bruges and Antwerp.

The subjects of parents and their children were evidently derived from Germany whence they passed to Italy where they were known as La Santa Parentela. There is at Cologne a picture of the Venetian school<sup>2</sup> in which St. Anne and her husband, with her three daughters and their husbands and children, are shown. One of the

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Gayner points out that the mentionnière, or chin plate, is well shown on the figure of St. George. This was a common feature in religious art in painting, brasses, and glass in the Rhenish provinces; but it is significant that on English brasses but three examples are known, all of which are in Yorkshire.

<sup>2</sup> Illustrated in vol. ii of *La Storia della Pittura Veneziana*, by Laudedeo Testi (Bergamo, 1915).

The most famous picture of this subject is the Family of St. Anne, now in the Brussels gallery, which was painted by Quinten Matsys in 1509 for a church in Louvain.



children plays with a toy crosier in the manner of the infant St. Joseph Justus in the window. A writer in *Notes and Queries*,<sup>1</sup> F. Lambarde, stated that he had in his possession a miniature of a similar subject. In this, as in the window, the women and all the children have haloes, but none of the men.

The introduction of the St. Ursula subject might well be due to York merchants and traders who had, when in Cologne, seen the reverence there paid to that saint, and it is perhaps significant in this connection that of the seven examples<sup>2</sup> of representations of St. Ursula in English glass, three of them are in York. As we shall show presently, both the Corpus Christi and Holy Trinity subjects are probably also in a large measure due to contact with foreign nations.

Besides the influence of continental schools the window also shows some of the mannerisms and modes of treatment of other native schools, notably that of Oxford, which school in turn evidently owed much to continental influence also. These influences are chiefly shown in the shape of the vestments and the treatment of them, a short toga or wrap (which at first sight looks something like a chasuble) being substituted for the cloak or cope, the usual treatment in glass of earlier date. The hands, or one of the hands of the figure, is beneath this and grasps the emblem through the folds of the drapery in the same way as the priest holds the monstrance through the folds of the Benediction veil. The under-robe is rather tight, like a cassock. The pendant ends of drapery twist and turn in a vermicular manner. These details and peculiarities of treatment occur in Winchester work long before they are to be seen at York, and are to be found in the glass executed by Thomas of Oxford for Winchester College in 1395. They are found in continental work as early as the year 1360, notably in the west window at Altenberg. It would seem, therefore, that York derived its continental influence not only directly, but also at second-hand, through Oxford.

The scheme of figures and subjects in the window has evidently been carefully thought out. The centre subject is usually described as a *pieta*, but there can be little doubt that it is intended for a representation of Corpus Christi, and refers to the York gild of that name, as the figures of St. George and St. Christopher refer to the gilds of which these saints were the patrons, the donor of the window having been a member of each of these three gilds. The figures of the Baptist and the Evangelist, both named John, no

<sup>1</sup> 12S. x 233.

<sup>2</sup> There may be others. A complete catalogue of all the glass in this country still remains to be done. Dr. Nelson's

*Ancient Painted Glass in England*, though it necessarily could not be complete, is the only book which gives any help in this direction.

doubt refer to the Christian name of the donor, the Rev. John Walker.

The Corpus Christi gild was one of the most exclusive gilds in York. Some of the higher clergy, including several archbishops, many of the aristocracy, and most of the wealthier classes, both male and female, belonged to it. In 1456 Cecily, Duchess of York, became a member. In 1471 Archbishop Neville, whose arms are in the window. In 1477 the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester, and in 1489 Archbishop Rotherham. Although the gild was founded in 1408 it did not receive a grant of incorporation until 1459, and its status was not finally approved by the Archbishop of York until 1477.

The solemn procession of the members of the Corpus Christi gild and the pageants on the following day were the great events of the year in York life. Representations of the Corpus Christi occur four times in York glass, viz. in

South aisle of Lady Chapel, York Minster.

Holy Trinity, Goodramgate,  
St. Martin-le-Grand, Coney Street, } fac-similes.  
St. John's Church, Micklegate.

In two of these cases, viz. at Holy Trinity and St. John's, this subject is again connected with the patron saints of the other two gilds of St. Christopher and St. George.

Whilst the Corpus Christi was the exclusive gild of York, the gilds of St. Christopher and St. George were of a more civic and democratic nature.<sup>1</sup> They, too, had their public holiday and procession, when a gigantic figure of St. Christopher was dragged through the streets. A man on horseback dressed in armour impersonated St. George and rode triumphantly in front of the dragon, which was made of canvas, painted and distended with hoops, and carried by porters, whilst five hundred of the citizens marched before and behind bearing shields with the arms of the saint done in silver paper and vermilion. After the Reformation the procession, like that of Corpus Christi, languished, until, on the accession of Queen Mary and the restoration of the Catholic religion, it was in 1554 decreed that, " accordyng to the ancient custome of the citie, the solemne procession (with bryngyng forth of Saint George, a messe and a sermon) shalbe had in Saynt George Day, and a messe with a sermon to be done at Saynt George chapell, and also Saynt George that day to be brought forth and ryde as hath been accustomed at the chambre cost " (Davies, *Records of the City of York*,

<sup>1</sup> The Gilds of St. Christopher and St. George, previously distinct, became united into one in 1447.



p. 263). The dragon was mended, "a great nale" was bought for St. Christopher's head, and the waits were paid for riding and playing before the procession. Figures of St. Christopher and St. George are so frequently to be seen one on either hand in the tracery of windows, as to amount practically to a trade mark of York work. Gild windows in which, as in the window under discussion, the three gilds were pictured, seem to have enjoyed a considerable vogue during the second half of the fifteenth century. The window in St. John's Church, Micklegate, either given by, or erected to the memory of, Sir Richard Yorke, who was twice Lord Mayor of the city, provides another example. Here again we see Corpus Christi, St. Christopher and St. George, shown side by side, and the two last again appear in the eastern window of the clerestory on the north side in St. Martin-le-Grand Church. In St. Michael-le-Belfrey we have St. Christopher and St. George associated with the arms of the city, which arms are, in fact, an adaptation of those of the warrior saint and national hero. Here the Corpus Christi subject does not appear, probably because these windows were executed whilst the Reformation was actually in progress.

The Corpus Christi subject, of which, as previously mentioned, four examples (two of them fac-similes) exist in York, has been much misunderstood. This treatment of the subject is so rare as to have practically escaped notice altogether. Mrs. Jameson does not mention a single example, nor does Didron.<sup>1</sup> It has been described as a Pieta and still more erroneously as a Descent from the Cross. In Pieta subjects, however, the central idea is not the dead Christ but the sorrow of the Virgin Mother, who is shown either alone or with others such as the beloved disciple, the Maries, and angels. Here all three Persons of the Divine Unity are represented, and the donor, at the base of the subject, specifically refers to this picture as that of the Trinity. The wounds are not those of Christ alone, they are "God's wounds," a term which later became a common oath.

The special object for which the Corpus Christi gild was founded was "The praise and honour of the most sacred body of Our Lord Jesus Christ," and additional evidence, which shows that these scenes represent Corpus Christi and not the Pieta subject, is furnished by the example in St. Martin-le-Grand, where the canopy above the subject contains a representation of Our Lord holding, through the folds of His cloak, the Host—the Body of Christ—whilst the right hand is raised in blessing.

<sup>1</sup> *Christian Iconography*.



All the four York examples are more or less about the same date. If we assume that the Holy Trinity and St. Martin-le-Grand examples (which have been painted from the same cartoon) are more or less coeval, the one in the Minster, which the writer is inclined to believe was the model and forerunner of the others, was probably done some ten years or so previously; and the St. John's example some ten to twenty years later.

The one in the Ladye Chapel occurs in the window which the writer ventures to term the Winchester window, as it shows considerable influence of that school, and it is perhaps significant that the only other example of a Corpus Christi subject of English workmanship known outside of York is at Winchester.<sup>1</sup> There is one peculiarity wherein the Corpus Christi subject in the Minster differs from the others. The fingers of the right hand of God the Father grasp the body of His Son not round the trunk but round the biceps of the arm, and they have been stained yellow all over, from which we may assume that the head of the Eternal Father, had it survived destruction, would have been similarly stained yellow all over. The only other example of this treatment in York glass is in the Te Deum window in the south transept, where the head of the figure of the Eternal Father has been stained yellow, doubtless referring to the text in Revelation i, 16, "his countenance was as the sun shineth in his strength." Mr. G. McN. Rushforth points out that the faces of all three Persons of the Trinity at Doddiscombsleigh Church, Devon, are similarly stained yellow all over.<sup>2</sup> The most lavish use of stain known to the writer is in the west window at Altenberg, where the whole of the canopies with the exception of the little figures in the shafting—very like those adopted later in York work, have been stained yellow, an unusual but not a very happy effect.

In St. Mary's Church, Shrewsbury, there is a panel of Flemish glass containing a representation of this subject without the Holy Ghost. Examples of the Corpus Christi subject in religious art are rare; but at the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries, it seems to have enjoyed a considerable amount of popularity. In 1477 a contract was made for a window in the Duomo of Arezzo containing "a nude Corpus Christi and a St. Donato," and in 1513 two artists agreed to make a window for the Cathedral of Arretium "of the same goodness and quality as the Corpus Christi near by" (Gaye, *Carteggio Inedito d'Artisti*, ii, 446). As far as the writer is aware, apart from these instances in glass,

<sup>1</sup> *Archæological Journal*, lxx (1913), p. 172, and Pl. V.

<sup>2</sup> John D. Le Couteur, *Ancient Glass at Winchester*, 1920, p. 122.

but two or three other examples are known. In the Louvre there is a picture by Jean Malouel, executed in 1398, which shows the Eternal Father supporting the dead body of His Son over whom hovers the sacred Dove, and attended by angels, as in the example in York Minster. The Blessed Virgin and St. John are shown. Another example, which the York subject resembles even more closely, is a picture at Frankfort by Robert Campin, otherwise known as "Le Maître de Flémalle," c. 1425. In this the dove is perched on Our Lord's shoulder.<sup>1</sup>

In a private collection in Cologne, owned by Herr Richard Moest, which was on loan for public exhibition in the Erzbischöfliche Museum in 1903, there was a fifteenth-century statue in wood carved and coloured very like the subject as treated in York glass. The Holy Ghost was not shown, probably for the same reason as suggested later in the case of wood carvings in the Cluny Museum.<sup>2</sup>

### THE SMALL SUBJECTS.

The subjects across the bottom of the window which represent saints who were united in holy wedlock, surrounded by their children, were first identified, as far as the writer is aware, by Dr. Gayner in a pamphlet privately issued some years ago.<sup>3</sup> "According to an ancient tradition," wrote Mrs. Jameson (*Legends of the Madonna*, p. 261), "Anna, the mother of the Virgin Mary, was three times married, Joachim being her third husband; the two others were Cleophas and Salomé. By Cleophas she had a daughter, also called Mary, who was the wife of Alphaeus, and the mother of Thaddeus, James Minor, and Joseph Justus.<sup>4</sup> By Salomé she had a daughter, also Mary, married to Zebedee, and the mother of James Major and John the Evangelist. This idea that St. Anna was successively the wife of three husbands . . . . . has been rejected by later authorities, but in the beginning of the sixteenth century it was accepted." After giving various examples Mrs. Jameson continues: "It is worth remarking that all these appeared about the same time, between 1505 and 1520, and that

<sup>1</sup> Illustrated in Max Roose's *Art in Flanders*, fig. 143, Ars Una Series, Heine-mann, 1914. The writer is indebted to Mr. G. McN. Rushforth, F.S.A., for drawing his attention to this example, which previously was unknown to him.

<sup>2</sup> The illustration is taken from the *Jahresbericht über den Stand und die Wirksamkeit des christlichen Kunstvereins den Erzdiöcese Köln*, 1903.

In the Museum at Louvain there is (or was) a picture of the Eternal Father exposing the Body of His Son. Whether these examples refer to the Corpus Christi

subject or are intended for the form of *pieta* subject known as Our Father in Pity, it is difficult to say. It is significant, however, that most of these are found in the Rhenish provinces, whence, no doubt, York artists derived their inspiration.

<sup>3</sup> *Notes on the East Window of Holy Trinity Church, Goodramgate, York*, 1905.

<sup>4</sup> Mrs. Jameson mentions but three children, the other evidently being St. Simon Zelotes. No two authorities exactly agree as to who these apostles were.



the subject afterwards disappeared, from which I infer that it was not authorised by the Church."

More recent writers, however, notably the French antiquary, E. Mâle (*L'Art religieux de la fin du Moyen Age en France*, Paris, 1908), have shown that the "Three Maries" subject originated in the latter half of the fifteenth century, and was a development of the cult of St. Anne so popular at that period.

It is certain that representations of married saints and their children enjoyed a considerable vogue in parish churches, especially around York, during the second half of the fifteenth century. They were, no doubt, intended as a set-off against the presumptuous claims of the religious orders to a special degree of sanctity because of their celibacy. The attitude of the mediæval church towards the subject of matrimony is shown by a passage in the marriage service which states that, "It was ordained for a remedy against sin, and to avoid fornication; that such persons as have not the gift of continency might marry, and keep themselves undefiled members of Christ's body."<sup>1</sup> But, like Chaucer's "Wife of Bath," who had been five times married,<sup>2</sup> the lay people were beginning to ask:

"Wher can ye seen in any manner age  
That highe God defended [*i.e.* prohibited] marriage  
By expresse word? I pray you telleth me,  
Or wher commanded he virginitee?"

In the windows of their parish churches, both secular priests, who had small reason to love the monks, and their people, so to speak, threw out a challenge to the religious orders, as much as to say, "You may have your individual saints. We have whole families of them."

The same subjects are to be found in cathedrals such as York which were not monastic; where celibacy, although in later times it became the custom, was certainly not the rule at an earlier period. John le Romaine, for example, Treasurer in 1249, was a married man, and his son became Archbishop of York. Thus in the south aisle we find a window in which the same series of subjects is depicted as in the Holy Trinity window and which should be studied in conjunction with it.

<sup>1</sup> The impossibility of this view of the sacred bonds of matrimony is now generally recognised, and the above passage is nowadays frequently deleted, as *e.g.* in the recent case of the wedding of a member of the royal family.

<sup>2</sup> Couples were formerly wedded in the porch and afterwards entered the church for the nuptial mass. Chaucer's *Wif of*

*Balthe* says, "Husbondes at chirche dore have I had five," and in the St. Joachim window in the Minster St. Anne is shown wedding her third husband in the churchyard outside the porch. We thus see how both artist and poet did but "hold as 'twere, the mirror up to nature, to show the very age and body of the time his form and pressure."



This window is a very fine work and in design and treatment reflects the masterpieces produced during the fine times of the first quarter of the century. The canopies are most intricate, the figure drawing good and the heads full of character. All three canopies have blue backgrounds, pointing to an economy in the use of ruby; and, though this glass has not been stinted in use, it is inclined to be somewhat dark here and there, but no manganese pink has been used in its stead.<sup>1</sup> The stain is transparent and delicate, and there is plenty of paint on the window so that it "carries" well.

As in the St. Martin-le-Grand example the canopy contains a scene, in this case the general resurrection. In the centre a figure of our Lord with orb and cross and on either side the quick (clothed) and the dead (naked) rising and in attitude of prayer.

Below are three large subjects of married saints and their families:

- (a) St. Zebedee and his wife, St. Mary Salomé, and their children, the infant Saints, James and John.
- (b) St. Joachim and St. Anne, with their daughter, the Blessed Virgin, and her Son, Our Lord.
- (c) St. Mary Cleophas and her husband, Alphaeus, and their children, SS. Simon, Jude, James the Less, and Joseph Justus.

None of these, either the parents or the children, are nimbed. There are some slight variations in the treatment of the first and the third subjects from those in the Holy Trinity window, but they are sufficiently like to show that they were taken from a common source, most probably a print or picture.

The husbands stand close behind their wives and evidently have their arms round them. The emblem of the infant, St. John Evangelist, is held by his mother instead of by the child, as in the Holy Trinity church example. The St. Mary Cleophas and Salomé panel is much patched and injured, and, though the figures have been drawn facing in the opposite direction to that in Holy Trinity Church, in order that they may face inwards, the conception and treatment of the two are very like. The children, now practically all patch, evidently hung round their mother's skirt as before. The long pole with banner, and the infant, St. Joseph Justus, in his mother's arms stretching forward in order that he may seize it, is well shown.

The St. Zebedee and St. Anne composition is identical with those in St. Martin's and Holy Trinity Church. The draughtsmanship of

<sup>1</sup> That which appears in the Infant Christ figure is patch.

St. Joachim with his right hand on the shoulder of the Virgin, is very superior to that in the latter and vastly better than that in St. Martin's. The figure of the Virgin is very graceful. As previously stated in Holy Trinity, the right hand of St. Anne rests on the Virgin's right shoulder. In the other two examples the attitude of the hands is identical and St. Anne has evidently been holding a book in which her daughter reads.

#### THE TRINITY PANEL.

It is a very remarkable fact that though the window contains two representations of the Holy Trinity it has been preserved in a practically perfect state. There seems, however, no reason to suppose in order to account for this that it was removed for safety during the troublous times of the Reformation and the Civil War. In 1559 Archbishop Parker in his provisional articles of religion for the Southern Province, which had to be read by every parson at his induction and twice yearly afterwards, said:

"I do utterly disallow . . . . . all kind of expressing God invisible in the form of an old man, or the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove."<sup>1</sup>

The Puritans were equally bitter against pictures of the First Person of the Trinity. Although Archbishop Laud personally disapproved of such representations, he repaired a window containing one in his chapel at Lambeth, and prosecuted the Recorder of Salisbury in the Star Chamber for breaking a window containing another. These two actions on the part of the Archbishop formed two of the charges levelled against him in his trial for treason, and were partly responsible for him losing his head.

In the Northern Province, which has always been averse from change, the animus against representations of the Trinity was less strong, and over half-a-dozen examples still survive in York, two at least being practically perfect even to the head of the Eternal Father, though almost invariably elsewhere, even if the rest of the subject was allowed to remain, the head was broken out. This is possibly accounted for by the fact that Neile, Archbishop of York (1632-1640), was not opposed to pictures of the Father, and when Laud prosecuted Henry Sherfield in the Star Chamber, Neile was the only member who defended them. "The question is," he said, "whether it is unlawful to express God the Father by any representation; I think it is not unlawful in itself" (*State Trials*, i, 399). The Holy Trinity panel—to give it the title by

<sup>1</sup> Cardwell, *Doc. Annals of Ref. Ch. of England*, i, 234.



which it is generally known though the actual subject represented is the Triumph of the Blessed Virgin—is very remarkable, certainly one of the most remarkable examples in England.<sup>1</sup> It is entirely distinct from the class of Trinities which are emblematic rather than direct attempts at representation, where the Eternal Father holds a figure of Christ upon the Cross and the Holy Ghost descends in the form of a dove. Here all three persons are represented under human shape. They wear, not the Papal tiara, but closed crowns. They are of one age, and the Unity is expressed by their being encircled with but one mantle. Only the Son has any distinctive attribute. His naked body, with marks of scourging and the crown of thorns around the crown, serve to show who was intended. The other two Persons can only be identified by their positions. It would seem that, if Didron is right,<sup>2</sup> the Trinity subject in the window under discussion shows details of treatment and modes of representation in advance of its time, many of which did not become common till a later date. These are the encircling mantle, the closed crown, and the use of radiating spikes or rays of light instead of the usual crosses on the nimbi. There is in a fifteenth century MS. of the *Legenda Aurea* in the Bibliothèque Nationale (No. 6889, vol. i, fol. 107), a picture of the Trinity very similar to the treatment in the windows. In this, however, all the Three Persons wear Papal costume and a single cope covers them all. The Holy Ghost bears a globe, an attribute which properly belongs to the Father.

Interesting as is this representation of the Divine Unity in the window, it is not the main subject of the panel. The actual scene represented is the Triumph of the Blessed Virgin. Coronations of the Blessed Virgin by her Son are common in York glass. They were, in fact, the stock fill-up whenever a two-figure subject was required to fit a pair of small tracery lights at the top of a window; and as such they signify little, being mere stock-renderings, which were repeated *ad nauseam* without the least change or the slightest attempt to infuse any freshness or originality into them. But this one is different, in fact, unique. A very similar treatment is to be seen in a picture by Charonton, French *primitif*, dated 1453, in the

<sup>1</sup> Since writing the above Mr. G. McN. Rushforth, F.S.A., has drawn the attention of the writer to another example in Doddiscombsleigh church, Devon, where the three persons of the Trinity are seated as above in a row and wearing imperial or closed crowns, and holding between them another crown over the head of the Virgin. See also a roundel with a very similar treatment of the same subject at Leicester, illustrated at Plate IV, fig. 8, in "An Account of Some Painted Glass

from a House at Leicester," by G. McN. Rushforth, *Royal Archæol. Journal*, vol. lxxv, pp. 47-68.

<sup>2</sup> "The crown of thorns in representations of the Trinity, the cross in the hands of the Son, the closed crown worn by the Father, the cope covering all three persons at once, and the scroll hanging from it are none of them earlier than the close of the fifteenth century" (Didron, *Christian Iconography*, ii, 56).



museum of Villeneuve-les-Avignon. The Virgin is seated or kneels facing the spectator and with her back to the Trinity, who wear but one cloak, which not only crosses over their knees but partially enfolds the Virgin also. All three Persons have crossed nimbs, but the first two only are shown under human shape and of one age. The Holy Ghost, in the form of a dove, proceeds from the mouths of the Father and the Son, who place the crown on the Virgin's head. A very similar treatment, believed to be by Memling or one of his school, is in the Wallerstein Collection at Kensington Palace. In a sixteenth-century sculpture in the church of Verrières, Aube, illustrated by Didron and also by Mrs. Jameson,<sup>1</sup> in order to overcome the difficulties of not making the Virgin appear to turn her back on the Trinity (as in the above instance and in the window), the sculptor has shown her sideways. She now turns her back on her Son. In this all three Persons are of human shape and under one cloak. Our Lord is partially nude as in the window, and bears His cross. The Eternal Father wears the Papal tiara and has an orb resting on his right knee, the heads of the other two Persons are uncovered, Our Lord has a crown of thorns and the Holy Ghost a dove, carried like a falcon on the left wrist. All three hold the crown, the Father with two hands above and the other two support it each with one hand beneath.

In the Cluny Museum are two wood carvings<sup>2</sup> of the Coronation of the Virgin by the first two Persons of the Trinity enclosed in one cloak. The Holy Ghost is not shown, but was probably carved separately in the form of a dove suspended from above by a chain or wire, but now lost. From the foregoing examples it will be seen that the subject as illustrated in the window is probably one of the earliest known examples of that treatment.

#### ST. URSULA.

As the panel has already been described it will be unnecessary to say more under that heading. The story referred to is as follows: St. Ursula was a Princess of Brittany whom Conon, Prince of Britain, wished to marry. She consented on condition that she was given an *entourage* of (so says the story) eleven thousand virgins. This being forthcoming, she and her companions sailed for Rome. The Prince came also to Rome, but by another route; and, being converted to the faith, resolved to respect the saint's resolve of celibacy. After being blessed by the Pope they all returned, but falling into the hands of the pagan Germans, they were all slain at Cologne. The myth

<sup>1</sup> *Christian Iconography*, i, 494. *Legends of the Madonna*, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> No. 830 Salle IV and 678 Chapel.

of the eleven thousand virgins is believed to have arisen through mistaking the symbols XI. M.V. (eleven martyr virgins) for the Roman numerals for eleven thousand.

St. Ursula is the patron saint of young girls, particularly school-girls. In some pictures she shelters them under her cloak whilst they con their tasks in school books. It is easy, therefore, to understand why she should be shown in the window along with the family groups. As in the window St. Ursula is almost invariably pictured sheltering her companions under her cloak, and so she appears in the beautiful painting by Memling, executed in 1489, in the Hôpital Saint-Jean, at Bruges. St. Ursula, however, was by no means the only saint so pictured. In *Piers Plowman* (fourteenth century) the wily Franciscan promises a penitent that if he will pay for a window he should be represented in the glass—

“ Wel neigh in the myddel  
And Saint Fraunceis himselfe  
Shal folden the in his cope  
And present the to the Trinité.”

Pictures of the Blessed Virgin similarly portrayed, known as Our Lady of Mercy, are common. A noted French antiquary, M. Paul Perdrizet, has written a monograph,<sup>1</sup> in which he has endeavoured to show by no less than 315 various examples, classified and dated, that the cloak was first used to symbolise the merciful protection by Our Lady over sinful humanity against the righteous wrath of Christ the Judge. It was then, he says, adopted by various religious orders, firstly the Cistercians, as showing that they were under the special protection of the Virgin, under whose cloak they are shown kneeling. The idea was then extended to fraternities dependent on the various regular orders. The idea was next developed so as to include the whole of humanity from Pope to sinner, as in the *Mater Omnium*, by Filippo Lippi, at Berlin. Lastly the protecting cloak *motif* was borrowed and applied to various saints, chief amongst these being St. Ursula.

Unfortunately, though this theory of M. Perdrizet seems logical enough, M. Abel Fabre points out<sup>2</sup> that it is not confirmed by actual examples, for the earliest known work which shows the protecting cloak theme is a picture, not of the Virgin, but of St. Ursula, on a painted chest of the end of the thirteenth century in the Cathedral of Albi.

<sup>1</sup> *La Vierge de Miséricorde*, 1908, 35 illustr.

<sup>2</sup> *Trois Types de Vierge*, Pages d'Art Chrétien, cinquième série, 1914, pp. 106–115.



## THE DONOR OF THE WINDOW.

As various versions and readings of the inscription on the window have been given, the writer ventured to consult his friend, Mr. G. McN. Rushforth, F.S.A., who readily offered his assistance, and whose transcription and notes thereon are as follow:

Walcar rectoris aīe miserere ioh[ī s]  
 [? t]u d̄s hic istā fieri fecit atq̄ fenestr[ā]  
 [? hoc] cū cancello deitatis absq̄ du[ello]  
 [an]no milleno & quater & septuage[no]  
 [? sex] tamē adiūcto rex ī honore t[uo].

*Walcar rectoris a(n)i(ma)e miserere Joh[(ann)is] [t]u D(eu)s. Hic ista(m) fieri fecit atque fenestr[a(m)] [hoc] c(um) cancello Deitatis, absq(ue) du[ello] [an]no milleno c(entum) quater & septuage[no] [? sex] tame(n) adiu(n)cto, Rex i(n) honore t[uo]*

“Do Thou, O God, have mercy upon the soul of John Walker, Rector. He caused to be made both this window, together with this chancel of the Deity, without contention in the year one thousand four hundred and seventy but with six (?) added, O King in Thy honour.”

“Previous interpretations have read the beginning of the second section as *Hic d(omu)s hic istam*, etc. ‘He made this house (i.e. church), he this window,’ etc. This is impossible, for in that case it ought to be *domum*; and moreover *ds* is the regular abbreviation of *deus*, which supplies, with the fairly clear *tu* before it, the missing subject of *miserere*. ‘Do Thou O God have mercy.’ *Istam* means, of course, ‘the window you see before you.’ *Atque* is rather superfluous, and its insertion is no doubt due to the exigencies of the metre; but it also supplies, though awkwardly, the link in the statement that he gave *both* the window and the chancel. Evidently, as is confirmed by the architecture, John Walker built the eastern bay of the chancel, perhaps as a prolongation of the older (fourteenth century) chancel. It is described as ‘the Chancel of the Deity’ or ‘God’s chancel’ because it contained God’s altar, i.e. the high altar as contrasted with altars dedicated to particular saints. Compare such expressions as ‘the chancel of our Lady.’<sup>1</sup> The date is stated to be 1470 with the addition of some years, the monosyllabic numeral expressing which is lost. As *sex* is the only monosyllabic indeclinable Latin numeral, the presumption is that it is the missing word, giving the date 1476; and the presumption is strengthened by the fact that *sex* rhymes with *rex*. Less likely

<sup>1</sup> Rock, *Church of Our Fathers* (ed. Hartand Frere), iii, p. 75, note 84.



would be the suggestion that one of the monosyllabic multiplicative numerals, *bis* or *ter* (giving 1472 or 1473), was used."

Although he is described in the glass as rector of the church in the above year, it is probable that the Rev. John Walker had not resided in the parish for sixteen or eighteen years at the time the window was erected, so that the church must have been in charge of a curate. Some considerable time previously, no doubt between the year 1452 when Archbishop Kempe was translated to Canterbury, and 1454 when the Archbishop died, John Walker had been presented by him to the living of All Hallows, Barking. This would account for the shield which is believed to have been that of Kempe in one of the side lights. In 1453 William Laverock was instituted as curate; so that was, no doubt, the year in which the donor received preferment in the southern province. John Walker made his will (*Reg. Test. Ebor.*, v, 108) 25th April, 1481. This document was evidently executed in London, for it is witnessed by a notary and two witnesses, all of whom resided there. He desired to be buried at Barking, and left All Hallows' Church there a sum of three shillings and fourpence. He possessed many garments of red cloth, of which he was evidently very proud, including a "new red overcloak with the hood" (probably the one shown in the window). He also mentions his "other red cloak with hood," several red waistcoats, red mantles, and pieces of red worsted cloth. To Holy Trinity Church, Goodramgate, he gave the sum of vjs. viij*d*. He also left a bequest in the following terms to the two gilds represented in the window:

"Item I bequeath to the guild of Corpus Christi in the same city of York xij*d*.

Item I bequeath towards the maintenance of that of the Holy Martyrs Christopher and George in the said city of York where I am a member xij*d*."

The will was proved 24 June, 1481.<sup>1</sup>

#### *Centre Light.*

#### THE HERALDRY.

See of York ancient. *Az. a cross in pale or surmounted by a pallium arg. charged with three crosses pattées fitchées sa. impaling the personal arms of Archbishop Nevill.*

Quarterly 1 and 4. *Quarterly 1 and 4 Montacute, 2 and 3 Monthermer.*

2 and 3. *Nevill with a label gobony arg. and az.*

<sup>1</sup> The writer is much indebted to Dr. Gayner, of York, for kindly drawing his attention to the above items and allow-

ing him to use them. The will was transcribed and translated by the late Mr. Robert Cook.

Inscription beneath:

Archiepiscopus Georgi(us) Nevell.

Although the modern arms of the see (*gu. two keys addorsed in saltire arg. in chief a royal crown proper*) appear as early as the time of Archbishop Bowett (1407–1423), that Archbishop and his successors as late as the time of Archbishop Lee (1531–1544), seem to have impaled their personal arms with those of the see ancient not modern (*vide* Woodward, *Ecclesiastical Heraldry*, p. 191). It will be noticed that in the above shield the number of crosses on the pallium is three, which has led to these arms being mistaken for those of the southern province. As a rule the number of crosses on the pallium in the arms of the see of York is five. This, as Woodward points out (*ibid.*), was probably adopted in order to distinguish them from those of Canterbury, as in the parallel case of Dublin and Armagh. The above Nevill arms are the same as those which were exhibited for Richard Nevill, Earl of Salisbury in the Hall of John Hall, of Salisbury. The quarterings of Monthermer and Montacute are also shown in the shield of the archbishop's elder brother, Richard Earl of Warwick, in Canterbury Cathedral.

Archbishop George Nevill was the youngest son of Richard Nevill, Earl of Salisbury, by Eleanor Montague, daughter of Thomas, 4th Earl of Salisbury. His elder brother was the famous Earl of Warwick, known in the school history books as the King Maker. The second son, John, was summoned to Parliament in 1460 as Baron Montacute in right of his mother who had inherited both that and the barony of Monthermer. The Nevills seem to have had few principles and only one policy—that of the advancement and enrichment of themselves. Archbishop Nevill, like many more of those who preceded or followed him in the see, was a politician with little or no spirituality about him. Through the influence at court of his powerful relations, he was in 1454, though only twenty-three years of age, recommended for the first bishopric which should become vacant, and two years later he became Bishop of Exeter. In 1460 he replaced Waynflete as Chancellor, though he had not yet completed his thirtieth year; and in 1464 he became Archbishop of York. His tenure of the see was chiefly remarkable for the feast which he gave upon his enthronization, which, including guests and their servants, entailed the feeding of over eighteen hundred persons.<sup>1</sup> His entire lack of any principle save that of political advantage is shown by the fact that in order to create a diversion in the North whilst the King Maker landed with an army in the south, he did not

<sup>1</sup> Leland Collectanea.



scruple to shark up a list of lawless resolute to attack the city, after having enraged them to fever heat by spreading false reports to the effect that the money collected or levied from the county folk on behalf of St. Leonard's Hospital, in York, an institution for the relief of the poor and the care of the sick, had been for years wrongfully obtained and misapplied. Finally, to quote the words of Dean Purey-Cust, as a result of "his unsuccessful attempt to enact the part of the Vicar of Bray, and to maintain his position alike with Henry VI and Edward IV, (he) lost his reputation and his wealth, and died a miserable broken-hearted man at Blithlaw" (*Heraldry of York Minster*, ii, 118).

#### SIDE LIGHTS.

Dexter light. *Arg. a chevron sa. between three mullets or.* This is, strictly speaking, heraldically impossible, as it shows metal on metal. The mullets, stained yellow, were probably intended for gules, which colour could not be produced in glass painting except by taking a piece of ruby glass and grinding away the red film so as to show the white glass beneath and leaving the mullets. This would be a laborious process, besides, as previously shown, at the time the window was made there was evidently little or no ruby glass available.

The Rev. C. V. Collier, of Langton, a noted authority on heraldry, to whom the present writer is much indebted, is inclined to ascribe this shield to Walker, the donor of the window. Various families of Walker have at different times borne a chevron between crosslets, pellets, crescents and birds, but my informant states he has not hitherto come across a Walker bearing a chevron between mullets.

Sinister Light. Shield, *gu. a garb (now patch) within a border engrailed or*, Archbishop Kempe, 1426-1452, who presented the donor of the window to the living of All Hallows', Barking.<sup>1</sup>

Like many more York windows, the one under discussion contains political references. At the bottom of the shaftings near the feet of the figures are eagles, and in the base of the centre light are lions sejant with their tails cowed, both these being Yorkist badges. In view of the date when the window was erected, *c.* 1470, and of the arms of Archbishop Nevill as shown above, it is perhaps a little surprising to meet with these references to the Yorkist party. For in 1467 the Nevills, in order to avenge the eclipse of their house by the rise of the Woodvilles, were already plotting against the king, and in 1469, whilst no doubt the window was actually being made,

<sup>1</sup> Although in the window but one garb seems to have been shown, the usual number in the Kempe shield was three.

Vide Foster, *Two Tudor Books of Arms*. (Howard de Walden Library, fo. 14.)



Edward IV was for some time a prisoner in the hands of the Archbishop at Middleham Castle, whilst from September, 1470, until the battle of Barnet in April of the following year, the Lancastrian Henry was once more on the throne.

It is therefore curious that the Yorkist emblem should be so publicly exhibited at such a time. But the Nevills were not so much for either one party or the other as for themselves. Indeed, for a short space, as a noted historian remarks, "England was in the extraordinary condition of having two kings, both captive in different places, under the charge of one Earl"—the King Maker and the Archbishop's elder brother.

As likely as not, therefore, the window was fixed either in the first half of the year 1470 before the return of Warwick from the continent and the raising of the standard of the imprisoned Henry, or subsequent to the period when for the second time the King occupied the throne. But even if it were not, there can be little doubt the Yorkist emblems would still be there. For though the cities took not the slightest interest in these party wrangles, but were prepared from motives of self-interest to open their gates to the victor, no matter to which side he belonged, York seems to have been, as we might expect, strongly attached to the house of Mortimer, and we find Yorkist emblems appearing in windows during the whole of the time the Lancastrian Henrys were on the throne. In fact these lions sejant even appear in the canopies of the St. Cuthbert window in the Minster, which was erected to the express honour and glory of the noble house of Lancaster.

#### TECHNICAL NOTES ON THE WINDOW.

From a technical standpoint the window possesses many points of interest. The most casual observer cannot fail to notice that there is very little ruby (*i.e.* copper-red glass) used at all, and that very dull or nearly black, a dull manganese purple or pink of a maroon tint being employed in its stead. There are one or two very small pieces of bright red in the Neville shield and one in the cloak of the figure of the donor, and that is about all. Though the dragon in the St. George panel is cut out of some fine pieces of shaded ruby, this is probably accounted for by the fact that they are such as would have been put on one side when previous windows were being carried out as being too violently contrasted for use in the draperies of figures, but which would later come in admirably for just such a purpose as this. Such of the backgrounds as are cut out of ruby have evidently been got out of scrap left over from the making of

previous windows, pieces such as in happier times would have been discarded as being too dark. Additional evidence that at the time the window was made (c. 1470) there was a serious shortage in the stocks of glass available of this particular colour, is provided by the fact that though the background of the St. Christopher panel is actually cut out of ruby glass (though so dark as to appear almost black), the St. George panel on the opposite side, which should also be ruby, is cut from manganese pink.

That the lack of ruby in this window was no isolated case is shown by other examples in York of about the same period. Thus in the clerestory windows of St. Martin-le-Grand Church a similar economy in the use of this colour has been practised. Some windows contain but very little, and that only in very small pieces in the borders such as could be got out of scraps. Other windows none at all.

The reason for this state of things is probably to be found in the dependent position in which English glass painters were placed in having to import practically all their glass from overseas and, in the case of York, to a large extent through the Hanse Factory at Hull.

In 1468, some few years before this window was, as we suppose, painted, war had broken out between England and the League. An interesting sidelight is thrown on the difficulties of overseas trade at that time by the fact that Memling's *Last Judgment*, now at Danzig, could not be sent from Bruges to Italy for some years owing to the above war, and when finally despatched in 1473, the ship in which it was sent was captured and the picture brought to Danzig.<sup>1</sup>

Again in 1471 we find York Minster purchasing large quantities of English glass for the plain glazing of the windows of the lantern tower, but whether because imported glass was unobtainable or for considerations of cheapness, there is insufficient evidence to show.

As regards the white glass in the Holy Trinity window, this evidently took the silver stain very fiercely, and in many cases it has turned a plum colour. The blue is very fine, deep, and rich. It also took a good stain which is used to good effect on the drapery of St. Christopher. A dull, muddy green also appears, but it is very sparingly used.

The window has been painted from old cartoons and much compression has been necessary in order to adapt them to fit the lights. As usual, in order to reduce them in height, the cartoons have been "taken in" in the backgrounds behind the figures and subjects; the figures have been pushed up to the absolute limit so that the

<sup>1</sup> Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Early Flemish Painters*, 257-260.



pendant bosses of the canopies rest on the top of the nimbi of the saints below, and, in the small subjects, even overlap; so that St. Mary Cleophas loses part of her nimbus, and her husband, Alphaeus, has the whole of the top of his head cut off.

As previously stated, in the south aisle of St. Martin-le-Grand, Coney Street, is another window, in this case of three lights, for which the same cartoons have again been used; it is probable, however, that neither of these windows is the original version. The St. George figure has evidently been again used for the figure of the saint, unfortunately very fragmentary, in the Yorke window in St. John's Church, Micklegate, as the details of armour are practically identical in the two.<sup>1</sup>

The window has also been severely trimmed down each side, so that half the width of the shaftings has been cut off; this, however, was doubtless done at a later date, probably at the troublous times during the civil wars when the present wide, white edge was added. The bottom of the window is now filled with brick instead of glass, and it has been suggested that the shortening of the window was done at the time the brickwork was inserted, and that formerly the glass extended down to the sill. This does not appear to have been the case. If the bottom panels now filled with brick were formerly glazed, it is unlikely that they contained any of the present figure work as it would be hidden behind the reredos or riddle of the altar. If, however, there was glass there formerly, it would no doubt be a plain treatment of painted quarries as is to be seen across the bottom panels of the fine west window in St. Martin-le-Grand, Coney Street. That this was very probably the case is shown by a portion of a quarry now in the left-hand light with a bird and the letters *Wa*, probably for Walker, the donor of the window.

The draughtsmanship is weak. In the side view of the face, as in the figure of St. Christopher, the eye is too near the nose, and the drawing of all the feet is particularly bad. It is only possible to account for the extraordinary difference in artistic accomplishment between the figures of St. John Baptist and St. John Evangelist under the supposition that an old cartoon was used for the former. There is, moreover, a fair amount of evidence to justify the suspicion that the figure of the Evangelist is but an adaption of the other. The two draperies are very like; but in altering the figure (if we are correct in assuming that this has been done) in order to show the

<sup>1</sup> The St. John's window was executed either after the death of Sir Richard Yorke, in 1498, or at any rate subsequent to the year 1482, when he became Lord

Mayor of the City for the second time, as he is recorded in the inscription as having been "bis maior."



left arm and hand holding the palm branch, not enough has been allowed from the shoulder downwards for the limb beneath the drapery, so that that side of the figure has a shrunken appearance.

The Corpus Christi subject and the little subjects across the bottom were very probably copied from prints or wood-cuts; a practice which was then becoming common. Loose prints of devotional character were largely sold at monasteries and places of pilgrimage, especially on the continent, whence they were brought home by pilgrims and traders and sometimes copied in windows. There is internal evidence that the Joachim and Anne panels in Holy Trinity and St. Martin-le-Grand Churches were copied from the same source—probably a print, for in the Holy Trinity window, the hand resting on the right shoulder of the Virgin is obviously that of her mother, St. Anne. In the St. Martin's Church version of the subject, however, the hand has been connected with the figure of St. Joachim by a rather cramped and poorly fore-shortened arm and sleeve. This is precisely the sort of mistake which might easily occur in copying from a small, and somewhat illegible and confused, woodcut or print.

The designer of the window evidently did not possess that wide knowledge of Christian iconography which is to be seen in earlier work, and has made many mistakes. The dress of St. Anne is blue, a colour which properly belongs to her daughter, the Blessed Virgin. There are no crosses on the nimbi of the Trinity in the coronation subject, not even on that of the figure of the Saviour, though for reasons which have previously been stated, this might have been done intentionally. Yet there was no excuse for the infant Christ in the St. Christopher subject being without His distinctive attribute. The lily—which in all ages of Christian art belongs particularly to the Virgin—has been given to the mother of the infant John Evangelist, whose robe is diapered with an X, the initial letter of Xristos or Christ. Indeed, were it not for the fact that the eagle and book in the hands of the infant show that the figure is intended for that of the Evangelist, we might well imagine that the subject represented St. Joseph, the Blessed Virgin, and Infant Christ, and the fragmentary figure at the bottom probably St. John Baptist. In order to account for these mistakes it might be suggested that possibly the designer used a print or old cartoon of a Holy Family without any alteration, save putting a book and eagle in the hands of the child.

In the painting of the glass there is none of that extraordinary skill in technique and handling to be seen in work executed fifty years previously, and the whole shows lack of care. Pieces of glass to which silver stain has been applied have been allowed whilst in

the kiln to come in contact with others, so that patches of yellow appear where they are not wanted, even on portions of the flesh. In the St. Christopher subject no attempt has been made—as in the “Prick of Conscience” window in All Saints’, North Street—to obtain an effect of realism by painting the fish on the back of the glass, and water on the front, in order that they may be but dimly seen through it. In the lettering of the inscriptions no difference whatever is to be seen between the capital letter T in the “Te adoro” inscription and the G in the word Georgius under the Nevill arms. They are exactly alike. In the heraldry, stain and black paint have been made to do duty for colour so as to save the excessive amount of time and trouble which is required to abrade coloured glass in order to show the correct tinctures and metals, with the result that as previously stated we have the heraldic impossibility of metal on metal. In the foregrounds, instead of the carefully executed plants, tufts of grass and what not to be seen in earlier work, a flat matt and a few strokes to represent grass is all that has been attempted, a treatment which reaches its final depth of degradation in the windows of St. Michael-le-Belfrey Church (1528–1536).

# THE ROMAN CAMPS AT CAWTHORN, NEAR PICKERING.

## PRELIMINARY REPORT, 1923.

By F. GERALD SIMPSON, Hon. F.S.A.(Scot.).

The plan which accompanies this report is reproduced (with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office) from the most recent edition (1912) of the Ordnance Survey Map, Yorkshire, N.R., lxxv, 10, and therefore shows the plantation, cut down during the War, which had covered the whole site, except the interior of enclosure D, for many years.

The appearance of the plantation on the plan serves to emphasise and explain the heavy expenditure on the preliminary examination carried out during 1923, for of the total outlay, the task of removing its debris from the site has cost twice as much as the work of excavation, and occupied over two months as against a week or ten days. Our best thanks are due to Dr. J. L. Kirk for directing the work of clearing the site since September. But this costly task implies the unique opportunity before the Committee in that no one equipped with modern comparative knowledge of Roman field-works could, prior to 1918, accurately estimate the possibilities of Cawthorn Camps, which, though so well known superficially, now emerge virtually a virgin site.

The preliminary operations under my charge occupied fifteen days (Aug. 30th to Sept. 15th). Attention was first concentrated on enclosure A, which, from the early pattern of its gateways and its massive rampart and single ditch defences (measuring to-day up to 10 feet from rampart top to ditch bottom), promised to be the most instructive member of the group. As the work of clearing waist-high bracken and ankle-deep deadwood advanced, many unsuspected features appeared, e.g. indications at the gates as of ramps leading to the rampart-walk, and along the walk (noticeably on the south front) small expansions at fairly regular intervals. Within the defences and especially about the middle of the camp, low mounds were observed, generally rectilinear in lay out and apparently bearing some relation to the ramparts (the oblique planning of the whole earthwork should be noted).



Excavation proved the existence of two roads or streets, crossing the camp between the gates. The street leading from the west gate eastwards, probably the *via principalis*, is over 20 feet wide. That from the north gate to the crossing is about 12 feet wide. Its course onward to the south gate, probably the praetorian gate of the camp, is still untraced. There are indications also of an intravallum road. These streets are carefully constructed of broken stone from the ditch, which is cut through soft corallian rock. Sections of the above-mentioned mounds exhibited a nucleus of piled turf-sods about 3 feet in original width. At no point have the mounds been observed to overlie the streets. This fact supports the impression that the mounds are of Roman date.

It may be stated at this point that the Committee is desirous of obtaining air photographs of the site. This desire is prompted, not only by the obvious value of such comprehensive views in stimulating public interest and for use in a general report, but in particular by the anticipation based on the remarkable results recently obtained by Mr. O. G. S. Crawford, F.S.A., Archæological Officer to the Ordnance Survey, that information of special service in directing the work of excavation may be thereby obtained, for example, that should these mounds be the sole remains now visible to the eye at ground level of a general system, much more of the plan might be recovered by photography from the proved vantage point of high elevation.

The south-east angle between the main streets is occupied by a feature of exceptional interest, a mound which has been confidently identified as the platform or tribune (Lat. *tribunal*) from which the Commanding Officer inspected and addressed his troops. Like those described by Tacitus (*Annals*, i, cap. 16-25, 31-35)<sup>1</sup> it is built of turf; but its additional interest lies in the fact that the sods have been built against the northern half of a pre-Roman tumulus. Dr. Kirk undertook the examination of this mound and found the filled-in trenches of a previous worker, no doubt Bateman about 1860, in evidently successful search of the interment. Should further examination confirm its identity, Cawthorn and Yorkshire will have produced the first known example of a camp *tribunal* in Britain, and one, moreover, upon which it is by no means improbable that Agricola himself stood.

Elsewhere in the Empire no certain example of a *tribunal* is yet known, and in only one instance has a mound been so identified.

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Mr. Ian A. Richmond for his examination of the literary sources.

About twenty-five years ago Prof. A. von Domaszewski observed in the Flavian legionary camp at MASADA, south-west of the Dead Sea, a mound which occupies the position in relation to the *prætorium* specified by Hyginus as that of the *tribunal*. MASADA is a rock-fortress in which, after the fall of Jerusalem, A.D. 70, Jewish insurgents were besieged until 73. Attached to the lines of circumvallation are five camps. The supposed *tribunal* is situated in the largest, a camp somewhat smaller than A, which was evidently occupied by a legionary force. The site has not yet been excavated.<sup>1</sup>

Turning to the defences, the rampart proves to be constructed of turf, together with the residue of ditch upcast unsuitable for road making. For some distance north of the west gate the inside slope of the rampart is noticeably irregular. A trench 70 feet from the gate disclosed an oven of the usual size and plan, but lacking the familiar stone lining. It may with reason be expected that the existence of a complete range of ovens, i.e. the camp-kitchen, accounts for the uneven surface, for the kitchen of the fort at Birrens in Dumfriesshire occupies a similar position close to the lateral gateway. The north-east and south-east angles are occupied by mounds (built of broken stone from the ditch) as if for additional defence by towers or engines. There are no mounds at the two western angles. The existence of an original east gate is now doubtful. The opening which has appeared on previous plans of the site is post-Roman and marks the passage of a track, presumably for pack-horses, which appears under the name of Roger Gate on a plan dated 1736 in Dr. Kirk's possession, the line of which is still shown on Knox's map of 1821.

Attention was next directed to enclosure B. The defences, again of the simple rampart and ditch type, are less than half the height of A's (rampart top to ditch bottom), indicating a greatly inferior defensive efficiency. The rampart is constructed of turf with what may prove to be a protective capping of ditch upcast, the remainder of the latter being disposed along the outer edge of the ditch. The two gates follow A's south and west gates in the possession of both external and internal curved traverses. In the interior there is evidence at several points of the use of broken stone in surface preparation, but so far there are no signs of regular streets nor of the turf mounds.

<sup>1</sup> Domaszewski, *Die Principia des römischen Lagers*, *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbuecher*, ix, 2, pp. 141-163, (about

1900. I am indebted to Prof. R. C. Bosanquet for this information.



Evidence bearing upon the relation of B to A was obtained at the north-east junction of the two works and at several points along A's east front. At the junction, A's east ditch has been filled up and B's rampart carried over it. Along the whole east front between the junctions, the crest of A's rampart has been removed and the material thrown back into the ditch. There is no vegetable deposit in the ditch below the rampart material.

The first result alone, supported by the identical planning of the gates, would readily explain B as an ordinary annexe less strongly defended (as is usual) than the main work to which it is attached. But the condition of A's east front, implying the reduction of A's strength to the level of B's defences (its new east front), offers a more significant explanation. It would appear that A, an example of the strongest (i.e. campaigning) type of Roman temporary camp, had become obsolete when, after a short interval as the absence of vegetable deposit attests, the need arose for a much larger but less strong enclosure, a work little above marching camp strength, which was supplied by incorporating three sides of the earlier in the later earthwork.

It is evident that both stages of the occupation were of short duration, for neither pottery nor other objects of Roman date were found in A or B. The character of A's defences, supported by the absence of finds, makes the purpose of this camp clear. Like the largest of the MASADA group, it was evidently the war camp of a legionary force. Active service equipment accounts for the absence of the usual small finds. The evidences of war-time wear and tear will most probably be found, as elsewhere, in rubbish pits.

Work on the third member of the group, C, was confined to a single trench, a section of the defences at the north end. In effective strength they are practically identical with those of B: in construction the only difference is the absence of the capping of ditch upcast, the rampart being wholly turf-built. Owing to the representation of the C's outline as a practically continuous curve on many earlier plans, it has often been conjectured that this camp was of pre-Roman date. The Ordnance Survey has disposed of the idea of general curvature in the sides. The bold curves at the southern angles are the normal Roman practice (the sharp northern angles are exceptional). Nor are the polygonal plan and the irregular position of the gates without parallel among Roman field-works. The straight ramparts, now known to be turf-built, fully establish C's Roman date.

The three gates, though they possess the external curved traverse



only, are of the same general type as those of A and B (only the internal traverse is present at A's north gate). This is not a common type of gate-plan: the similarity is therefore good evidence of the nearly contemporaneous date of A, B and C.

About half-way along the west front the defences are breached by the outer ditch of D. There is, however, no evidence of intention to connect the two works as in the case of A and B. It is quite clear that when D was constructed, C was obsolete. Some indication of the interval between C and D may be given by the material filling C's ditch at the points of contact.

On turning to the last of the four Cawthorn earthworks, no lengthy inspection, whether of the plan or the visible remains, is required to produce the impression, shared by all previous observers who have given a description of the site, that the west enclosure, D, was designed for a very different purpose from that of the other three members of the group. A comparison of the defences explains the difference. Whether of greater or less strength the defences of A, B and C obviously belong to the same class. They are temporary works.

The rampart and single ditch, which could not prevent an enemy force reaching close quarters in a body, needed to be much more strongly held than a wide system of outer defences, which compelled a break-up in the enemy formation, and permitted the defenders to give more deliberate attention to the assailants. Compared with the permanent fort, the temporary camp wholly devoted to the accommodation of troops under active service conditions of space and equipment could provide four or five times the number of defenders for its ramparts. For the area of a fort, devoted first to permanent barracks accommodating many fewer men than the same area under tents, was still further reduced by the provision of buildings which from the standpoint of immediate defence were non-effective, e.g. headquarters, granaries, workshops, and frequently stables.

When, therefore, as in the case of D, defences cover a space 85 feet wide all round the occupied area, it may be accepted without question that the site is that of a permanent fort.

In August, 1908, the late Sir Nathan Bodington and Mr. S. D. Kitson, F.S.A., dug a series of trenches on site D, which, as the plan indicates, was not covered by the plantation. Mr. Kitson communicated the results to the late Prof. Haverfield and to Prof. R. C. Bosanquet, F.S.A. I am indebted to Mr. Kitson for information concerning the work, and to Miss M. V. Taylor, M.A., of the Haver-

field Library, and Prof. Bosanquet for the opportunity of reading the original notes. On that occasion the rampart was examined, also the road between the east and west gates (the *via principalis*), and near the middle of the site what appeared to be a paved area was located, but not a fragment of pottery or other small object of Roman date was found.

This result appeared to be so contrary to the usual experience of abundant finds on fort sites, that by many it was explained away as a merely unfortunate experience of trial trenching, to be modified on fuller investigation. Before considering the result of the recent work, it is well to remember there is no record of the finding of any small object of Roman date at Cawthorn! The 1908 result was therefore in keeping with the recent history of the site, just as, in the case of most fort-sites, abundant finds during excavation follow not infrequent references to chance discoveries in the local records of the last two centuries.

The two trenches dug in 1923 certainly supported the 1908 result. No remains either of stone or wooden buildings were found, and again not a fragment of pottery or other object of Roman date. But further, the usual indication of occupation—discolouration at the old surface due to the treading in of wood-ashes or other refuse—was entirely absent. The absence of remains of buildings on the site has previously been explained as due to the wholesale removal of their materials since Roman times, but it is obvious that such removal would increase the deposit of rubbish so familiar on other sites, the very feature which here is conspicuously absent. Such evidence appears to admit of only one explanation, namely that of a short occupation of the fort.

Certain details of the defences (which do not appear on the O.S. plan) next claim consideration in the light of the above conclusion. The plan shows the wide space between the ditches as a level platform or baulk. From the east gate southwards and along the south front this is a fair description, but not of the west front nor of the portion between the east gate and the north-east angle. At that angle there is evidently a third ditch dug along the middle of the platform. This middle ditch appears to have been continued as far as the east gate, but never dug to its full depth. If fuller investigation establishes a third ditch here, it will be difficult to avoid the conclusion that the symmetrical planning provided for it throughout the circuit at any rate of the three exposed fronts.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note, as possibly original design provided for triple ditches, affording a clue to date, that if the the completed plan of the three gates of

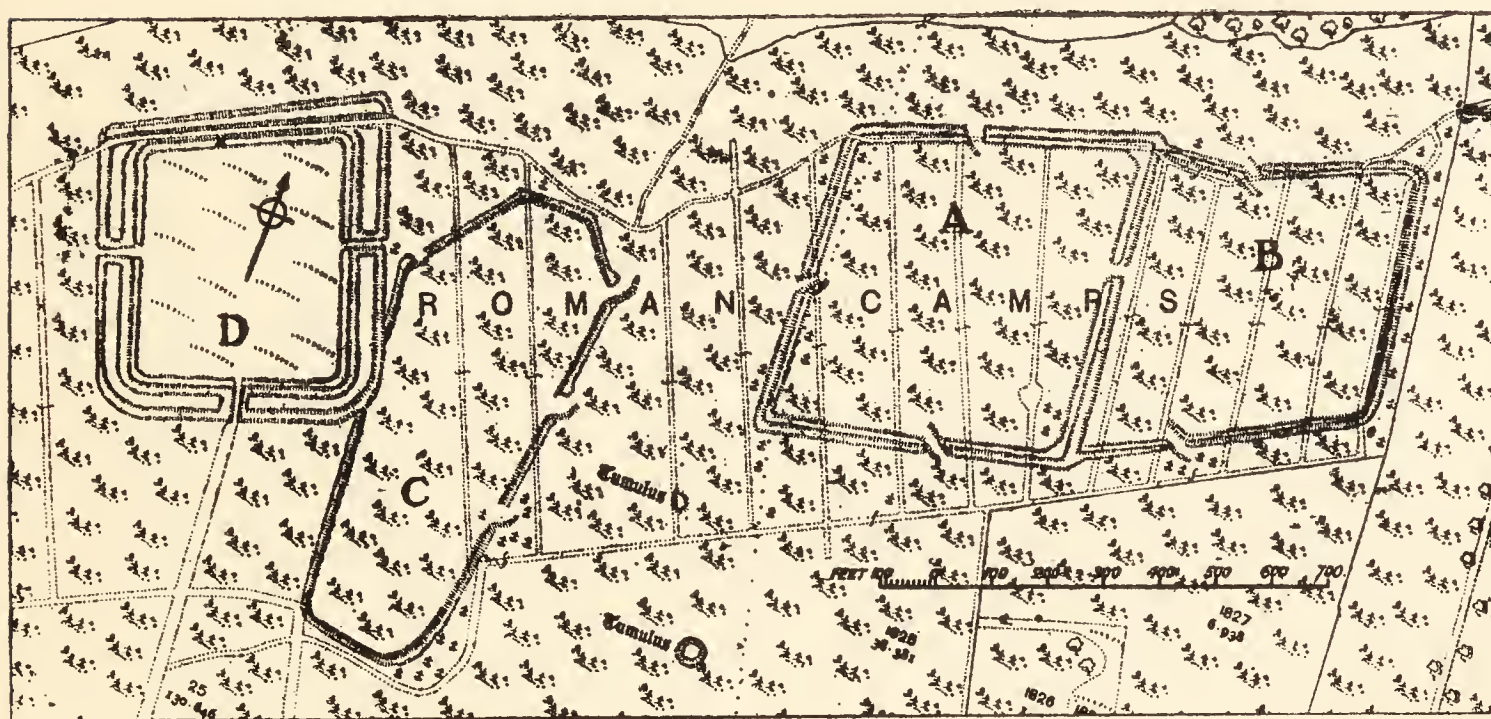


Along the west front, and particularly north of the west gate, this platform is occupied by irregular mounds, apparently of upcast from the ditches, the final disposal of which has never been undertaken. Should this prove to be the explanation of these mounds the cumulative evidence of unfinished defences and absence of traces of occupation would favour the following new hypothesis, namely that the fort was never completed.

Operations outside the four earthworks were limited to:—

(1) A section of a road about 15 feet wide, made of broken stone like the streets, which issues from the east gate of D and, skirting the

Plan of Cawthorn Camps. Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey Map, with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.



Approximate areas (measured from rampart centre-lines): A, 6.47 ac.;  
B, 5.62 ac.; C, 5.36 ac.; D, 3.67 ac.

north rampart of C, bears in the direction of a small defile or "nick" between C and A, which breaks the line of the great escarpment. This defile eases the descent from the plateau on which the works are situated to the low ground to the north, and is the natural route for traffic. A few yards from its foot is a strong spring known locally as the Roman Well, and no doubt the source of the water supply in Roman times, the plateau above being waterless. This fact calls for careful examination of the neighbourhood of the spring. (2) The observation of a similar road from the west gate of A, which also bears in the direction of the defile and therefore of the water supply. (3) Just outside the west gate of A, i.e. not far

site D, at present without known parallels, would have been that of the east gate of Lyne in Peeblesshire, itself

unique amongst earthwork-fort gates (Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. xxxv, pp. 164, 174).

from the oven and possibly the camp-kitchen, an attempt so far unsuccessful was made to locate rubbish pits.

The important question of the course of the main road, the famous Wade's Causeway, was left untouched. Southwards from Stape past Elleron Lodge, the course is not really in doubt and would appear to strike the escarpment at the defile between A and C. A furlong from the foot of the slope, however, it becomes quite obscure. How the road climbed the slope and passed the Camps is one of the most interesting of the problems awaiting solution.

Little need be said at this stage concerning the historical setting of the Cawthorn works, but the general time-limits between which they can with safety be placed emphasises the real importance of recovering their story.

The occupation of Brigantian territory was begun in the year 71 by Petilius Cerialis. Though the northern limits of his operations are at present unknown, it is most probable that when Cerialis was succeeded in 74 by Frontinus, Yorkshire had been overrun at least as far as Aldborough. Whether any part of the difficult hill country north of the Vale of Pickering can be included is, however, quite uncertain.<sup>1</sup> Frontinus did not continue the conquest northwards but turned his attention to the Silures. His Welsh campaigns occupied the whole of his governorship. The later limit for the construction of site A, which, as previously stated, appears to be the camp of a legionary force on active service, is Agricola's continuation of the northern advance in 79 and 80. The country west of the Pennines up to the Solway was probably occupied first, and that to the east up to the Tyne or perhaps the Tweed in the following year.<sup>2</sup>

The date of the fort D is a more open question. If A proves to be the work of Cerialis, the pause in the Roman advance between 74 and 79-80 offers an occasion for the construction of a chain of forts, of which D might be one, to secure the territory already gained. If, however, A dates from 79-80, D may be as late as the widespread northern outbreak of 115-117, which preceded the establishment of the Tyne and Solway frontier by Hadrian.

One question remains: whether the results of the work in 1923 justify an extended examination of the whole site. Had that work been carried out twenty-five years ago it is not improbable that the value of further work would have been questioned because of the absence of small finds. Such an argument will not be ad-

<sup>1</sup> Under Cerialis, Agricola was in command of the Twentieth Legion.

<sup>2</sup> Anderson, *The Agricola of Tacitus*, Oxford, 1922, pp. liv-lvi.



vanced to-day, for it is now realised that finds in numbers comparable to those from Ilkley or Slack would merely contradict the structural evidence of the works themselves, certainly of A, B and C, and probably of D as well.

The interest of Cawthorn centres in the significance of plan and structure, and, viewed from that standpoint, the value of its contribution to the progress of Romano-British research is not easily over-estimated. This conclusion is justified by the extreme rarity of groups of Roman earthworks which include a war camp of the type of site A. Less than half-a-dozen examples are known to-day. The closest parallel to Cawthorn is Makendon (or Chew Green) in the Cheviots: the remainder are in Scotland. In view of the northward course of the Roman conquest, such a geographical distribution still further emphasises the importance of Cawthorn, for it implies that of these important sites the Yorkshire example is the earliest in date. Further, of the two south of the Border, it is the first to be examined, Makendon (Chew Green) being as yet entirely untouched by the spade.

It is, however, not enough to consider the results of the preliminary examination from the archaeological standpoint alone. Present-day conditions compel attention to the financial aspect of the question also.

In these circumstances it is a specially welcome result of the recent work which enables me to say without hesitation that the excavation of Cawthorn can be carried out most economically. No one will expect this to mean that Cawthorn's twenty-five acres will be adequately examined for a very much smaller sum than, for example, was the one available acre at Ilkley. It means, however, that should Cawthorn finally cost as much as Ilkley—which I consider unlikely, at a moderate estimate twenty-five times the area of the Ilkley trenches will have been uncovered. The recent work proved that the Roman level is only about 6 to 9 inches below the present surface: at Ilkley the first-century level was fully six times as deep. Equally great is the difference between the covering materials. At Ilkley it was consolidated masonry debris, the most difficult of materials to excavate, at Cawthorn it is only sandy soil, the decomposed surface of the soft rock below, covered with vegetable mould, much of which is a recent accumulation.

While, therefore, at Ilkley prohibitive cost restricted the examination to trenches, or at most to very small cleared areas, the ideal method of complete exposure can be employed at Cawthorn, with the minimum of cost, wherever features of special interest are located.

## ANCIENT HERALDRY IN YORKSHIRE.

BY REV. HENRY LAWRENCE, M.A., AND  
REV. C. V. COLLIER, M.A., F.S.A.

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### DEANERY OF RYEDALE.

The Deanery of Ryedale centres round the market-towns of Helmsley, Kirkby-Moorside, Malton and Pickering, and includes no church of outstanding importance. In mediaeval times the district was remarkable for the number of its religious houses; in addition to the great Cistercian abbey of Rievaulx and the important Gilbertine priory of Malton, there were at one time or another at least eight monastic establishments in the deanery. The examples of ancient heraldry are not numerous. There are neither brasses nor woodwork of any importance, but a single shield in stained glass (Appleton-le-Street), and only at Allerston and Pickering are there external shields which can be read. The chief interest centres in the monuments and the effigies at Amotherby, Appleton-le-Street, Gilling, Nunnington, Pickering, Stonegrave, and Thornton-dale, all have heraldry associated with them.

There is a wonderful series of later shields at Gilling Castle which have been carefully described by Mr. Bilson in vol. xix of this journal. Eastmead's *Ryevallensis* and Frank's *North Yorkshire Antiquities* give little assistance in tracing the history of the parishes in this deanery, but we have the advantage of the carefully compiled parish histories included in the first and second North Riding volumes of the *Victoria County History*.

Glover mentions three, Dodsworth six churches only, in this deanery.

#### ALLERSTON (St. John).

On the north side of the tower is a shield with *a plain cross*.

On the west side are four shields:

- (1) [*Argent*] *a maunch* [*sable*] (Hastings).
- (2) . . . . . *a saltire* . . . . . This is very indistinct.
- (3) [*Gules*] *a cross* [*argent*] (Knights Hospitallers).
- (4) Hastings.



On the dripstone ends of the belfry window on the same face of the tower are two shields:

- (1) Knights Hospitallers.
- (2) Hastings.

The family of Hastings held the manor from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries. The Templars and their successors the Hospitallers also held property here (*V.C.H.*, ii, 421).

#### AMOTHERBY (St. Helen).<sup>1</sup>

In a recess in the north wall of the chancel is a thirteenth century tomb inscribed, “ *ici git Willelm de Boresden priez pur la ame*”; and on the south side an effigy showing on the shield, *barry . . . . . and . . . . . three boars’ heads . . . . .* (Borresden).

There is little doubt that this is the effigy of Sir John de Borresden of this place,<sup>2</sup> but the arms do not appear to be otherwise known. In the *Nomina Villarum* John de Borresden and the Prior of Malton are stated to have held Amotherby, which doubtless accounts for the disputes which occurred between them. There are, upon the slab on which the effigy rests, several small shields of Borresden as well as others bearing *a bend*. Sir John died about 1329.<sup>3</sup>

#### APPLETON-LE-STREET (All Saints).

On the north side of the chancel is a female effigy; upon shields on her shoulders are the arms of Bolton (?): [*argent*] *on a chevron* [*gules*] *three leopards* [*or*].<sup>4</sup>

“ The town of Appleton-le-Street contains four carucates of land, which were held of the fee of Pagnell, whereof three were held by Robert de Boelton . . . . . A chantry was founded in this church by Sir Thomas de Bolton, knight ” (Lawton).

The arms are so worn that it is impossible to say what the charges on the chevron are, though Bolton is the coat which might be expected. The fact that the effigy is that of a lady, and that no other coat is shown, would seem to imply that she belonged to the family which owned the manor and possibly died unmarried.

In the east window of the south aisle are the arms of Greystock.<sup>5</sup> Dodsworth notes this coat, and also in the north windows, Grey of Barton and Percehay of Ryton.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Old ascription, *Y.A.S. Journal*, ii, 184.

<sup>2</sup> *V.C.H.*, North Riding, p. 466. Where the shield is illustrated in the text, the charges, however, are described as *bears’ heads*.

<sup>3</sup> See *Y.A.S. Journal*, xxvii, 138, for

Mr. P’Anson’s interesting account of this effigy.

<sup>4</sup> *V.C.H.*, North Riding, i, 470.

<sup>5</sup> *Y.A.S. Journal*, xxv, 79.

<sup>6</sup> *Church Notes*, p. 178. See Barton-le-Street and Kirkby Misperton for these arms.

## BARTON-LE-STREET (St. Michael).

Dodsworth noted in the quyer window *barry of six argent and azure* (Grey), and on the north side of the church *barry of six argent and azure a bend counter-changed* (probably *gobony or and gules* for Grey of Barton).<sup>1</sup>

"In the town of Barton-le-Street were ten carucates of land, whereof nine were held by Henry de Grey of the King in Capite . . . . . The church is an ancient Rectory formerly belonging to the patronage of the Greys of Barton till the reign of King James I" (Lawton).

## BROMPTON (All Saints).

There are numerous modern memorials of the Cayleys, showing their arms, *quarterly argent and sable a bend gules charged with three mullets argent*, the oldest being that of Elizabeth Cayley, 1688.

In the north aisle is a mural monument to James Westropp, d. 1530, and Elizabeth, his wife (1547): [*or*] *a chevron (inverted) [sable] charged with three escallops [argent] between three Cornish choughs [proper]* (Westropp), impaling *barry argent and gules in chief three Catherine wheels or* (Lepton).

According to Glover's Visitation James Westropp, of Brompton, married Elizabeth, daughter of Christopher Lepton, of Kepwick; after his death she married Edward, brother to Sir William Fairfax.<sup>2</sup>

The stained glass shields in the north aisle do not appear to be heraldic, but if the red has faded to yellow one of them might be read: *argent a cross patonce gules* (now yellow) *in dexter chief an escutcheon or charged with a cross sable*; which is the coat assigned to Wauter de Percehaye in the Boroughbridge roll.<sup>3</sup>

## GILLING (Holy Cross).

In the south wall of the church is a tomb recess with the arms of Etton: *barry [argent and gules] a canton [sable] charged with a cross patonce [or]*. There are also six examples of this shield on a doorway at Gilling Castle. This family held Gilling before it came

<sup>1</sup> *Church Notes*, p. 177; pedigree of Grey of Barton. Foster, *Yorks. Vis.*, p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> Foster, *Yorks. Vis.*, p. 214. According to Sir William Fairfax's Book of Arms, printed p. 640 of this work, the arms of Westropp were *or a chevron sable charged with three escallops*, so that probably the inverted chevron is only a vagary on the part of the artist. James Westropp's mother was Jane, daughter of John Sayer, of Worsall, who bore *gules*

*a chevron and three sea-pies argent*, so that possibly there is some confusion with this coat. *V.C.H.*, ii, 424, suggests that these are really the arms of Thweng of Cornborough (see Sheriff-Hutton), from whom James Westthropp was descended in the female line.

<sup>3</sup> "Sire Waut: Persehay dargent oue un croiz patee de gul. oue un escuchun encorner les Armes de Aton." The same roll gives for the latter, "Sire Gilb<sup>t</sup> de Aton dor oue un croiz de sable."



into the possession of the Fairfaxes, and the connection between the families and the probable origin of the arms of Etton have been fully dealt with by Mr. Bilson in his account of Gilling Castle.<sup>1</sup> The only monument to the later family is in the south aisle and has figures of Sir Nicholas Fairfax (d. 1572) and his two wives, Jane, daughter of Sir Guy Palmes, and Alice, daughter of Sir John Harrington. There is no heraldry on the tomb, but these two matches are represented by a palm of the hand erect (Palmes) and a lion's head (Harrington).

On the north side of the chancel is an interesting memorial of semi-effigial character. On the shield are shown these arms: *a bend charged with three martlets within a border engrailed*, with a crest which is possibly meant for a hind's head.

Mr. I'Anson dates this tomb about 1330 and ascribes it to Sir Reginald de Blanchminster. He was Lord of Cawton in this parish, but appears to have used an entirely different coat.

This fact must make the identification more than doubtful, and up to the present no satisfactory explanation of the coat of arms has been offered.

There is no need to add anything to Mr. Bilson's account of the stained glass and other heraldic adornment of Gilling Castle. With regard to the variety in the Fairfax arms which Mr. Bilson refers to on p. 148 of his article,<sup>2</sup> it may be suggested that the artist was attempting to distinguish between the families of Fairfax of Denton and Fairfax of Walton, though he does not seem to have any ancient authority for the difference which he makes; at the same time some of the Elizabethan heralds appear to have observed this distinction.

#### HAWNBY (All Saints).

There are several memorials of the Tancred family seated at Arden in this parish, showing their arms: *argent a chevron and three escallops gules*.<sup>3</sup>

- (1) Ralph Tankarde, d. 1601.
- (2) Sir Henry Tankard, d. 1606, his second son.
- (3) Anne, daughter of Sir Henry, d. 1608.
- (4) Lady Anne Tankarde, his wife, d. 1617, daughter of Robert Dawson.

Arms: (1) Tancred; (2) [*argent*] *a chevron and three martlets* [*sable*] (Lawson).

<sup>1</sup> Y.A.S. *Journal*, xix, 108

<sup>3</sup> *Dugdale Vis.*, p. 56; Foster, *Yorks.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*; see also *V.H.C.*, North Riding, i, 483.

*Vis.*, p. 216; *Yorks. Pedigrees*.

Ralph Tancred of the Visitation, 1584, married Mary, daughter and heir of Richard Lawson, of Raskelf. From this marriage the Arden branch descended, he being the second son of William Tancred, of Boroughbridge.

- (5) Barbara, daughter of John Dalton, of Hauxwell, and wife of Charles Tancred, d. 1687.
- (6) Charles Tancred, d. 1711, grandson of William Tancred.
- (7) William Tancred, Sir Henry's brother, their son, d. 1736.  
No arms.

- (8) Charles Tancred, d. 1761, son of the above William Tancred.
- (9) Barbara, his wife, d. 1796, daughter of Rev. D'Arcy Dalton.

Tancred impaling *azure crusilly a lion rampant argent* (Dalton).

#### HELMSLEY (All Saints).

Judging from Glover's description there must have been a plentiful display of heraldry in this church in 1584.<sup>1</sup>

- (1) Quarterly of six: (1) *gules three water-bougets argent* (Ros of Helmsley); (2) *argent a fess double cotised gules* (Baddlesmere); (3) *gules an eagle displayed within a bordure argent* (Albini); (4) *gules three Catherine wheels argent* (L'Espece); (5) *checky argent and gules* (Vaux); (6) *or two chevrons and a bordure gules* (Belvoir) on an escutcheon of pretence *azure a Catherine wheel or* (Trusbut).

The arms assigned to Albini, Trusbut, and Belvoir are traditional. As stated previously the original Trusbut arms were undoubtedly the three bougets. This coat dates from about 1430, before the marriage with the heiress of Beauchamp.

- (2) L'Espece.
- (3) Vaux.
- (4) *Argent three water-bougets sable* (? Ros).
- (5) A shield of Ros within a garter, mantling *gules semee of water-bougets argent*. Crest: on a cap of maintenance, *a peacock statant argent his tail spotted or*.

This is the crest of Ros, afterwards used by Manners. Quite a different one from that of Overton described below.

- (6) Manners (*a crescent for difference*) impaling quarterly, 1 and 4, *or a lion rampant gules* (Charlton); 2 and 3, *gules ten bezants* (Zouch).

<sup>1</sup> Foster, *Yorks. Vis.*, p. 448.



These are the arms of John, fourth Earl of Rutland, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Francis Charlton, descended from Alan de Charlton, who married one of the daughters and coheiresses of the last Lord Zouch (d. 1314). He was the second son of the second Earl and succeeded his brother in 1587.

The family of Ros acquired Helmsley by marriage with the heiress of Walter L'Espece in the time of Henry I, and continued to hold it till the death of the last Lord Ros in 1508. From him it descended to his nephew, George Manners, whose father had married Lord Ros's sister.

- (7) *Sable a chevron between three peacocks' heads erased argent* (Overton). Crest: *on a torse a peacock's tail closed and spotted or between a pair of wings argent*.

This is evidently the crest figured in *Y.A.S. Journal*, xvii, 281. It has no resemblance to any known crest of either Manners or Ros. Possibly the following two shields were included amongst those which have since disappeared from the same monument.

- (8) Overton impaling *gules two bars and eight martlets argent* (Eland).  
 (9) Overton impaling *argent on a bend gules three escallops [or]* (Tankersley).<sup>1</sup>  
 (10) *Argent a chevron and three hinds' heads gules* (? Malbis).  
 (11) *Or on a bend . . . . . three Catherine wheels* (? Marshall).<sup>2</sup>  
 (12) [*Azure*] *a chevron and three mullets [or]* (Chetwynd).<sup>3</sup>  
 (13) *Argent a fess and six cross-crosslets sable* (Layton of Sproxton).  
 (14) *Argent three foxes, two counter passant in chief and one passant in base* (Clay).<sup>4</sup>

Amongst the plaster work in the castle are three shields each showing Manners quarterly of sixteen impaling quarterly, 1 and 4, *argent a cross and a border engrailed sable* (Holcroft); 2 and 3, . . . . . *a lion rampant . . . . .* (. . . . .). Over all a crescent in fess for difference, the whole surmounted by an earl's coronet.

<sup>1</sup> William Overton married Elizabeth, daughter of John Eland (Flower's *Vis.*, p. 108). Sir Hugh Eland had married the heiress of Tankersley, and the arms of Tankersley were afterwards in pretty general use in the Eland family. For the will of William Overton, 1481, see *Test. Ebor.*

<sup>2</sup> Quite a different coat from that borne

by Marshall of Pickering; possibly Glover was in error in ascribing it to this family.

<sup>3</sup> There is a brass to the memory of William Chetwynd, 1410, at Helmsley (*Y.A.S. Journal*, xvii, 280).

<sup>4</sup> Burke describes this coat somewhat differently and calls the charges *wolves*.

This is the achievement of Edward, third Earl of Rutland, who married Isabel, daughter of Sir Thomas Holcroft, and died in 1587.<sup>1</sup>

### HOVINGHAM (All Saints).

Dodsworth records two coats:

- (1) *Argent a mullet pierced sable* (Ashton).
- (2) Quarterly, 1 and 4, *ermine on a fess gules three annulets or* (Barton of Fryton); 2 and 3, *paly of six argent and vert* (Langley).

Below:

orate pro animabus . . . . . Asheton . . . . . Margarete  
vxoris sve filiorum filiarumque suorum.

“ They say that Henry 8 gave Friton adjoining to  
. . . . . Asheton for his services at Flodden.”

Edmund Barton married a daughter of Asheton of Lancashire, and it is this match which is evidently recorded by these arms.<sup>2</sup>

### HUTTON-BUSHEL (St. Matthew).

The monuments of Richard Osbaldeston, who was successively Dean of York, Bishop of Carlisle and Bishop of London, and his wife bear the arms of the See of Carlisle impaling Osbaldeston with Farside on an escutcheon of pretence, and the See of London impaling Osbaldeston. He died in 1764.

Torre describes the heraldry existing in his time. In a window of the south aisle these two old coats:

*Gules a cross argent.* “ Vescy.”

*Gules a saltire argent.* “ Nevill of Raby.”<sup>3</sup>

### KIRKBY MISPERTON (St. Lawrence).

Glover notices two shields in this church belonging to the family of Percehay of Ryton, in the parish of Kirkby Misperton.<sup>4</sup>

- (1) *Argent a cross patonce gules* (Percehay) quartering *azure fretty argent* (Lound).<sup>5</sup>

- (2) Percehay quartering *argent an inescutcheon within an orle of cinquefoils sable* [or gules] (Darcy).

The family was supposed to be descended from a Robert Percehay, who married a daughter and heir of John Vescy, from which circumstance his descendants assumed the arms of Vesci in place of their

<sup>1</sup> See *Y.A.S. Journal*, xxiv, for illustration of this plaster work, facing p. 366. The sixteen quarterings of Manners also occur at Kirk Deighton. See also Harl. MSS. 1593, and Add. MSS. 5504 in the British Museum.

<sup>2</sup> Flower's *Vis. of Yorks.*, p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Torre MSS., 197.

<sup>4</sup> Foster, *Yorks. Vis.*, p. 448; for pedigree of the family and other details, see p. 186.

<sup>5</sup> See *Y.A.S. Journal*, xxvi, 109.



paternal coat, stated to have been *gules crusilly and a fess argent*. Walter de Percehay, the son of this marriage, desired by will to be buried in Malton Priory in 1344. Walter's grandson married the heiress of Lound, and in the visitation of 1584 the Percehays are made to quarter Lound, Fauconberg, and Darcy.<sup>1</sup>

Glover also mentions a seal, "SIGILLVM JOHANIS POLLARD," with the arms *ermine a cross engrailed [sable]*.

Christian, sister of Leonard Percehay of the 1584 visitation, married Gawin Pollard, of Bishop Auckland, a member of the family of Pollard of Brompton in Pickering-lythe, who recorded their pedigree at the same visitation.<sup>2</sup>

In the house of Mr. Percehay, of Ryton, Glover found:<sup>3</sup>

- (1) Percehay.
- (2) Percehay impaling *or a cross sable* (Vesci).
- (3) Darcy.
- (4) Percehay impaling *argent a chevron sable between three fetterlocks or a bordure argent charged with roses gules* (. . . . .).
- (5) Vesci.
- (6) Percehay quartering *argent a lion rampant azure debriused by a bendlet or* (Fauconberg), impaling Lound quartering *azure a fess engrailed ermine between three leopards' faces or*.

#### KIRKDALE (St. Gregory).<sup>4</sup>

There is a mural monument (1675) to John Gibson, of Welburn Hall, in this parish,<sup>5</sup> and Joan, his wife, daughter of James Pennyman.

Arms: Gibson (see Creyke) impaling *gules a chevron ermine and three broken spears or the points argent* (Pennyman).

His arms may also be seen on the plate presented to the church in 1707.<sup>6</sup>

"The parsonage of Kirkdale, after passing through a variety of patrons, came into the possession of Henry Danvers, Earl of Danby, who gave it to the University of Oxford about the year 1630 when he founded the Physic Garden there. The arms of this nobleman,

<sup>1</sup> The arms of Percehay, *argent a cross patonce* (or flory) *gules*, are given in Jenyn's Ordinary. A somewhat different coat belonging to this family is described under Brompton.

<sup>2</sup> Foster, *Yorks. Vis.*, p. 188.

<sup>3</sup> Foster, *Yorks. Vis.*, p. 447. The arms and crest of Percehay of Ryton may be seen on a chalice at St. Michael's

Church, Malton (*Yorks. Ch. Plate*, N. and E. Ridings, p. 133).

<sup>4</sup> *Y.A.S. Journal*, ii, 187n.

<sup>5</sup> *Y.A.S. Journal*, ix, 380. When this article was written the arms of Gibson were also to be seen on the hall.

<sup>6</sup> *Yorks. Ch. Plate*, N. and E. Ridings, p. 123.

gules a chevron between three mullets of six points pierced (or), and surmounted with an Earl's Coronet, together with those of the University of Oxford, are painted on the wall of the chancel" (Hinderwell's *Scarborough*, p. 405).

### MALTON (St. Mary).

Glover notes:

A man kneeling; on his surcoat quarterly, 1 and 4, *argent a fess wavy gules between three magpies proper*; 2 and 3, *argent a chevron gules between three trefoils slipped azure*.

Willielmus Senzo et Emmota uxor eius: Johannes Ovirton et Agnes uxor eius.<sup>1</sup>

The first coat is Overton, the second Frost (?)

Senzo is evidently de Sezevaux, de Sedecim Vallibus, from which Thixendale is supposed to be derived.

There is a modern example of the arms of the Priory, *barry of six argent and gules a prior's staff in bend sinister or*. "Arms of the Gilberdins."<sup>2</sup>

### MIDDLETON (St. Mary).<sup>3</sup>

On the inside of the stall, used as a reading desk, are two shields. They are well cut and appear to be of some antiquity:

(1) . . . . . *three annulets . . . . . a canton . . . . .* (. . . . .).

(2) . . . . . *fretty . . . . . on a chief . . . . . three annulets . . . . .* (. . . . .).<sup>4</sup>

The shields on the tower, if they once showed heraldry, are now entirely defaced, though there are indications that one or more of them may have borne *a saltire*.

### NUNNINGTON (All Saints).

In the south wall of the nave is the effigy of a knight identified by Mr. W. Brown as Sir Walter de Teye, who died in 1325. By a settlement made in 1297 on his marriage with Isabel, widow of Simon de Pateshull, the manor was to pass, after the death of himself and his wife, to the latter's heirs, so that he was succeeded at his death by his step-son, John de Pateshull, son of Isabel by her first husband.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Foster, *Yorks. Vis.*, p. 447. In a MS. of Yorkshire Arms belonging to Rev. C. V. Collier, amongst the quarterings of Fairfax of Oglethorpe, *chequy azure and or on a canton sable a mullet of six points argent* is given for this family.

<sup>2</sup> *Tonge's Vis.*, Surtees Soc., pp. 66 and 71.

<sup>3</sup> Old ascription, *Y.A.S. Journal*, ii, 187

<sup>4</sup> It is likely that the reading desk on which these arms are cut was brought from elsewhere, a fact which makes identification difficult.

<sup>5</sup> *Cal. Chart. Rolls*, 1257-1300, p. 468.



She was the daughter and heir of John de Staingreve or Stonegrave, of Stonegrave and Nunnington. The knight's shield is much broken, but there remains part of the fess, charged with a mullet, and sufficient of the chevrons to show that it once bore [*or*] *a fess and two chevrons [gules] three mullets pierced [or] on the fess*. These are the arms described in the Falkirk Roll and they appear also on the fine seal with which he seals the Barons' letter to the Pope.<sup>1</sup>

There is a mural monument in the chancel to the memory of Richard Graham, Viscount Preston, who died in 1695, having married Ann, daughter of Charles, Earl of Carlisle. His daughter, Catherine, was the wife of Lord Widdrington, mentioned below.

Quarterly, 1 and 4, *or on a chief sable three escallops or* (Graham); 2 and 3, *or a fess chequy argent and azure a chevron gules in chief* (Stewart), *a crescent over all for difference*, impaling (apparently) quarterly of six: (1) Howard, (2) Brotherton, (3) Warren, (4) Mowbray, (5) Dacre, (6) Greystock.

The exact place of his burial is marked by a slab into which are let two brass plates, the first bearing his arms, Graham quartering Stewart and impaling Howard, with helmet mantling and crest; the second, his cypher R: G: and a viscount's coronet.

Sir Richard was a strong supporter of James II, and was condemned for high treason after the King's deposition; he was pardoned in 1691.

There is also a mural monument to his son-in-law, William, Lord Widdrington, d. 1743. He was "out" for the Pretender in 1715, and being convicted of high treason, though his life was spared, he and his family were deprived of the title.

Arms: quarterly, *argent and gules a bend sable*.

Dodsworth noted the arms on the effigy; and in stained glass in the windows the arms of Mowbray, *azure a fess and three crescents or* (?), Ros, Wake, Vesci, Percy, and Greystock.<sup>2</sup>

### OSWALDKIRK (St. Oswald).

On an old building opposite the church are two shields bearing [*gules*] *on a chevron between three fleur-de-lys [or] three roundels*.

The heralds variously name the roundels "ogresses" or "hurts." In a list of knights *temp.* Edward I they are called "torteaux."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ancestor*, vii, 256. See also *V.C.H.*, North Riding, i, 547; *Y.A.S. Excursion Programme*, 1805. The authors are indebted to Mr. W. M. P'Anson for much valuable information regarding this effigy

as well as those at Amotherby, Pickering and Slingsby.

<sup>2</sup> *Church Notes*, p. 181.

<sup>3</sup> Foster, *Yorks. Vis.*, p. 403.

Dodsworth records these arms "in stone on the wall that was Pickering's house." In his time the same arms, the roundels *sable*, were to be seen in the windows of the church, together with inscriptions to the memory of Hugh Pickering, son of Sir John Pickering and Dame Margaret, his wife, and to Richard de Pickering, patron of the church.<sup>1</sup> "The church is an ancient Rectory formerly belonging to the patronage of the Pickerings of Oswaldkirk for many generations" (Lawton).

#### PICKERING (St. Peter and St. Paul).

There are shields on the parapet of the tower, but it is now impossible to distinguish the charges on most of them. The Leopards of England may be seen on the north, east and south sides, and on the north side one shield is charged with a cross.<sup>2</sup>

On the north side of the chancel-arch is the effigy of a knight.

The arms appearing on his shield and cyclas are [*gules*] *a saltire engrailed and a chief dancetty* [*argent*].<sup>3</sup>

These are evidently a differenced coat of Bruce of Annandale: *or a saltire and a chief gules*.

Sir William Brus, of Pickering, founded a chantry in the church in 1337.<sup>4</sup> His eldest daughter and coheir married William Marshall, who became the ancestor of the Marshalls of Pickering.

This effigy is of great interest, being one of the latest of our Yorkshire pre-Black Death figures. The equipment is of the cyclas type, and may be compared, amongst others, with two contemporary effigies which have been described in these notes: Sir Edmund Thweng, at Sheriff Hutton, who wears reinforced mail, and John, second Lord Sutton, who, like Sir William Brus, is depicted in the cyclas.

There is also in the church an effigy of a knight and lady, the former wearing camail and jupon equipment. This is said to represent Sir David Roucliffe and Margery, his wife; he was lord of the manor and Forester of Levisham, and died in 1407. The arms on his jupon are those of Roccliffe, [*argent*] *a chevron and three lions'*

<sup>1</sup> *Church Notes*, p. 220.

<sup>2</sup> Pickering Castle was granted, 13 Edward I, to Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, and remained a possession of the Duchy.

<sup>3</sup> So in the Boroughbridge Roll. Jenyn's Ordinary blazons the coat rather differently.

<sup>4</sup> Licence to Sir William Bruce to have a chantry in Pickering in consideration of 1 messuage and 2 bovates of land in the village of Middleton for a certain chaplain to celebrate, etc. (*Evolution of an English Town*, p. 130; *Yorks. Chantry Surveys*, i, 57).



*heads erased [gules], the chevron charged with a chess-rook for a difference.* In Powell's Roll of Edward III this difference is ascribed to Sir Richard Roccliffe.

According to the visitation pedigrees Sir Richard Roccliffe, of Roccliffe, had three sons: the eldest, Sir Richard, was the father of Sir David, buried at Pickering, as well as of Sir Richard and a daughter who carried the representation of that branch of the family to her husband, Sir William Lascels; the second son Sir John Roccliffe, was the father of Sir Bryan whose daughter and heir married John Ingilby, of Ripley; the third son, Sir Robert, whose will was dated 7 May, 1381, was the ancestor of the Roccliffes of Cowthorpe.

### SLINGSBY (All Saints).

The effigy of a knight here shows no distinct charges on the shield, but Dodsworth is very emphatic in ascribing it to a member of the Wyvill family: "There is in the quyer the portraiture of a knight cross-legged, with a shield on his left arme, wheron is depicted *gu: 3 cheverons embrased Vaire a cheif [or]*, being the paternall coate of Wyvill sometymes lord of a parte of this towne." "William de Wywell held one carucate and a half of Roger de Mowbray" (Lawton).

Mr. I'Anson states that the armour dates the effigy between 1300 and 1335, and that it represents Sir William Wyvill, who died in 1332. He was the eldest son and successor of Sir John Wyvill (*ob.* 1301), and was apparently fifth in descent from Richard Wyvill, of Slingsby (*ob. c.* 1225), who probably married the heiress of the Hay family and thus came into possession of Slingsby. Sir William married (*c.* 1306) Agnes,<sup>1</sup> daughter of William Lascelles, of Sowerby and Breckenborough, and was succeeded by his son, another Sir William, who, in 1343, sold two parts of the manor to Sir Ralph Hastings. Agnes, Sir William's widow, long survived her husband and was living as late as 1359.

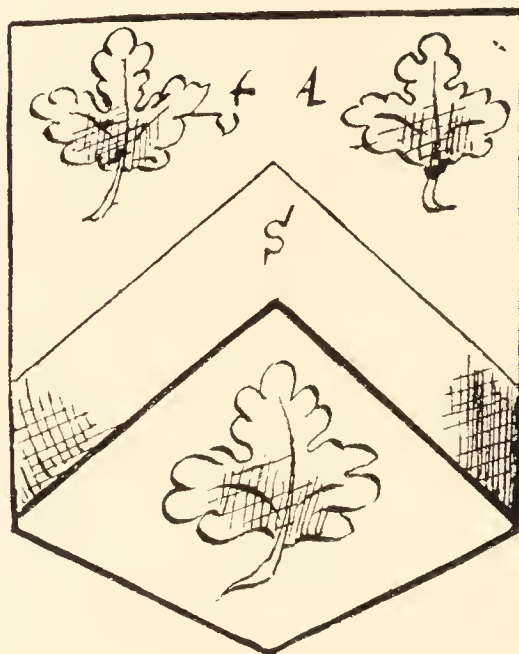
Dodsworth also states that in his day there was to be seen on the exterior of the church and over the castle gates, *arg. a maunch sa.*, "which maunch is the paternall coate of Hastings, Earles of Huntingdon sometymes lords of this towne."

In the west window: *argent on a bend gules three escallops* (Tankersley) impaling quarterly *or and gules in the first quarter a bird* (? raven) *sable* (Craster).

<sup>1</sup> *Church Notes*, pp. 174 and 177.

## STONEGRAVE (Holy Trinity).

In the north wall of the north aisle are two recesses; the first contains the rude effigy of Sir John de Stonegrave referred to under Nunnington, the second has the figures of a man in civilian costume accompanied by a lady; the costumes appear to be of early fifteenth-century date. There is a shield charged with [argent] a chevron [sable] and three thorn leaves [vert].<sup>1</sup> The same bearing is repeated on the canopy of the tomb and also on one of the corbels in the aisle. These are the arms of Thornton of East Newton and differ from those of Thornton of Tyersall, etc. The accompanying illustration is from Dugdale's MS. of Yorkshire arms in the possession of the Rev. C. V. Collier.



In the vestry is a wooden memorial to William Thornton, of East Newton, d. 1668. His wife was Alice, daughter of Christopher Wandesford, of Kirklington.

Quarterly of six:

- (1) Thornton.
- (2) *Argent on a chevron azure three garbs or* (Newton).
- (3) *Barry of six ermine and gules.*
- (4) *Barry azure and argent a bend gobony [or] and gules* (Leigh of Adlington).
- (5) *Argent a lion rampant gules* (Leigh of High Leigh).
- (6) *Gules a plate between three crowns or a bordure argent* (de Corona).

Impaling Wandesforde quartering Musters, Colvile, Conyers, Fulthorpe, and Bland.

## THORNTON DALE (All Saints).

On the north side of the sanctuary is a recumbent effigy of a lady beneath a canopy.

On each side are three coats.

On the south side:

- (1) [Or] *three chevrons [gules] a chief vair* (St. Quintin).

<sup>1</sup> Foster, *Yorks. Vis.*, p. 296; *V.C.H.*, North Riding, i, 564; *Dugdale's Vis.* (Clay's Cont.). The *V.C.H.* suggests that this is the monument of William

Thornton, who married the heiress of Newton, or his son who married Jane, daughter of Sir John Eaton (p. 565<sup>n</sup>).



(2) [*Argent*] *a maunch* [*sable*] *with a label of five points* (Hastings).

(3) St. Quintin.

North side:

(1) Hastings.

(2) St. Quintin.

(3) Hastings.

“An ancient rectory, formerly belonging to the patronage of the Lords Brus, of Skelton, afterwards of the Lords Hastings” (Lawton). William St. Quintin (d. 1550) married Dorothy, daughter of Sir Bryan Hastings, of Fenwick, who afterwards married, as third wife, Sir Marmaduke Wyvill.<sup>1</sup>

There are also memorials in brass to John Porter, of London, merchant, d. 1686, and Jane (Moore), his widow, d. 1705.

The former has a coat of arms:

[*Sable*] *three church bells* [*argent*] *a canton ermine* (Porter) impaling [*argent*] *a chevron engrailed between three moor-cocks* [*sable*] (More).

<sup>1</sup> *Glover's Vis.*, p. 372; *Tonge's Vis.*, p. 73; *Flower's Vis.*, p. 156. *V.C.H.*, ii, 496, dates the effigy 1300, and ascribes the shields to St. Quintin and Conyers.

In that case, the effigy represents Margaret, daughter and heir of Sir Anthony St. Quintin, the wife of Sir John Conyers, of Hornby. She was living 1426.

## DEANERY OF CLEVELAND.

The Deanery of Cleveland extends across the North Riding from Northallerton to the sea, and includes the three civil Divisions of Allertonshire, Langbargh, and Whitby Strand. With the possible exception of Northallerton there are no churches of first importance, though the ruins of Whitby, Guisborough, and Mount Grace are of more than ordinary interest, and in the case of the two last named furnish interesting examples of Mediaeval Heraldry. Cleveland in general, Whitby and Northallerton in particular, have formed the subject of numerous topographical works, whilst the heraldry of the district has received an unusual amount of attention at the hands of former contributors to the pages of this *Journal*. Reference may be made amongst others to articles on *The Bruce Cenotaph at Guisborough*, *The Stained Glass at Ingleby Arncliffe and Kirkby Sigston*, *Mount Grace and Ingleby Arncliffe*, all by Mr. William Brown; *Kilton Castle*, by Mr. W. M. I'Anson, and *The Fitz Conan Slab at Liverton*. Old heraldic glass survives at Guisborough, Hutton Rudby, Ingleby Arncliffe, and Kirkby Sigston. External shields or shields forming an integral part of the building at Crathorne and Northallerton, at Mount Grace and Guisborough Priors, at Danby and Whorlton Castles. Armorial brasses at Crathorne and Roxby, as well as interesting examples of the arms of city companies at Brotton and Kirkleatham. The monuments which have heraldry associated with them include the effigies at Acklam, Crathorne, East Harlsey, Ingleby Arncliffe, Whorlton, and Wilton, together with the incised slabs at East Harlsey, Kildale, and Liverton. The woodwork at Leake is not exactly heraldic. Glover mentions the heraldry at Crathorne, Northallerton, and Stokesley, but Dodsworth did not visit this part of the county.

ACKLAM (St. Mary).<sup>1</sup>

North of the sacrarium is the recumbent effigy of a lady. The double cushion on which her head rests is ornamented with seven shields, three on the upper and four on the lower.

(1) [*Or*] a fess and three crescents [*gules*] (Boynton).

(2) Boynton.

<sup>1</sup> Old dedication, Y.A.S. *Journal*, ii, 184.



- (3) [*Azure*] *a maunch* [*or*], *an annulet on the maunch for difference* (Conyers).
- (4) *A bend sinister charged with three roses.*
- (5) *An estoile.*
- (6) . . . . . *a saltire* . . . . .
- (7) Boynton, with a label of three points.

The recess in which the effigy lies is modern and bears the arms of Boynton and Conyers, but the remains of the original canopy have been built into the wall above, and also show the Boynton and Conyers arms.

Ingelram de Boynton (1222–54) seems to have acquired the Acklam property by his marriage with Joan, daughter of Roger Acklam. His descendant, Sir Thomas Boynton, married a Conyers for his first wife, whilst his son, Sir Henry Boynton, married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Conyers, of Sockburn.<sup>1</sup> The presence of an annulet on the maunch appears to rule out this marriage and show that the lady was a Conyers of Hornby. No. 4 may stand for Rossells, Sir Thomas's mother having been Katherine, daughter and coheir of Sir Geoffrey Rossells, of Newton. The connection with Ingilby (No. 5, *sable an estoile argent*) may be shown by the fact that in 39 Edward III Sir Thomas Boynton, jointly with Thomas Ingilby, had a grant of free warren in Acklam, Boynton, Newton, Roxby, and elsewhere. By will dated 28 July, 1402, he desired to be buried in the chancel of Acklam Church. The visitation of 1585 records a marriage about this time between a William Boynton and Margaret, daughter of Sir John Clervaux, of Croft, which might account for the saltire<sup>2</sup> (No. 6).

### BROTTON (St. Margaret).<sup>3</sup>

In the churchyard of the old church is a brass plate dated 1710 bearing the arms of the Blacksmiths' Company of London: [*sable*] *a chevron and three hammers* [*argent*] *crowned and handled* [*or*].<sup>4</sup> Kilton Castle was purchased about 1680 by a certain Thomas Thweng, and in 1681 Jane Thwenge gave a communion cup to Brotton Church—it is now at Skelton.<sup>5</sup> Thomas Thweng's daughter and heir married William Tullie, whose leger stone (1741) may be seen in the old church.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Account of the Boynton Family*, Rev. C. V. Collier, pp. 2 and 9. See also *A. A. Soc. Rep. and Papers*, xiii, p. lxx.

<sup>2</sup> Foster's *Yorks. Vis.*, p. 413.

<sup>3</sup> "Ancient Ascription," *Y.A.S. Journal*, ii, 184.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, xvii, 267. With these arms is associated the famous motto, "By hammer and hand all arts do stand."

<sup>5</sup> *Yorks. Church Plate*, N. and E. Ridings, p. 52.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 170, and *Y.A.S. Journal*, xxii, 101.

## CRATHORNE (All Saints).

On the south exterior of the nave may be seen the arms of Crathorne: [*argent*] a saltire [*gules*] charged with five crosses *patonce* [*or*].

In the interior is an effigy bearing the same arms on his shield, on which Mr. I'Anson furnishes the following note: "It is pleasant to find that this effigy really does commemorate a Crathorne, and the effigy is of interest as depicting the type of armour worn at Crécy and Neville's Cross. The cyclas is much longer than usual in front, and reaches to the top of the genouillières. The decorations on the latter are identical with those on an effigy of 1348 at a little village about three miles from Yarmouth. It represents Sir William Crathorne, killed at Neville's Cross, 1346."

The brass of Thomas Crathorne and Elizabeth, his wife (first quarter of the fifteenth century), also shows the Crathorne arms.<sup>1</sup>

Glover mentions this tomb and the effigy, and also "on an ould tombe stone this armes"<sup>2</sup>: [*sable*] *crusilly* [*argent*] a fess [*or*] charged with three birds [*sable*] (Bagot).

In a glass window at Mr. Crathorne's: quarterly, 1 and 4, Crathorne; 2 and 3, Bagot.

Thomas Crathorne (living 22 Richard II) married the daughter and heir of Peter Bagot.

A note in the pedigree of 1584 suggests that these are not the arms of Bagot but *Cujusdam Crathorne, sed cujus generis ignoratus*. The inference is that the birds are, as Glover calls them, "cranes," or more probably "crawes," and are suggestive of the surname. Be this as it may, we have evidence that the coat with the saltire was in use at least as early as 1346, when Sir William fell at Neville's Cross.

## DANBY CASTLE.

At the west end of the south front is a shield supported by a lion and a griffin, which bears a saltire *coupé*, with a rose in chief. The only explanation of this shield seems to be that it is meant for Nevil, and perhaps should be *gules a saltire argent charged with a rose*.<sup>3</sup> It may well be that this shield belongs to a fifteenth-century rebuilding of this part of the castle, possibly by John Nevil, Lord Latimer, who died in 1430.

<sup>1</sup> Y.A.S. *Journal*, xvii, 274.

<sup>2</sup> Foster's *Yorks. Vis.*, p. 449. See also Graves' *Cleveland*, iii, 207-9; Dugdale's *Vis.*, p. 145. The last gives the quarterings Crathorne, Bagot, Tankersley (for Eland), and Serf. Thomas Crathorne early in the sixteenth century

having married Alice, dau. and coh. of John Eland, of Hull.

<sup>3</sup> Ord, p. 335, illustrates this shield, as does Atkinson, together with the other shields on the castle and the one on the Duck Bridge, pp. 268-275. See also *V.C.H.*, ii, 334.

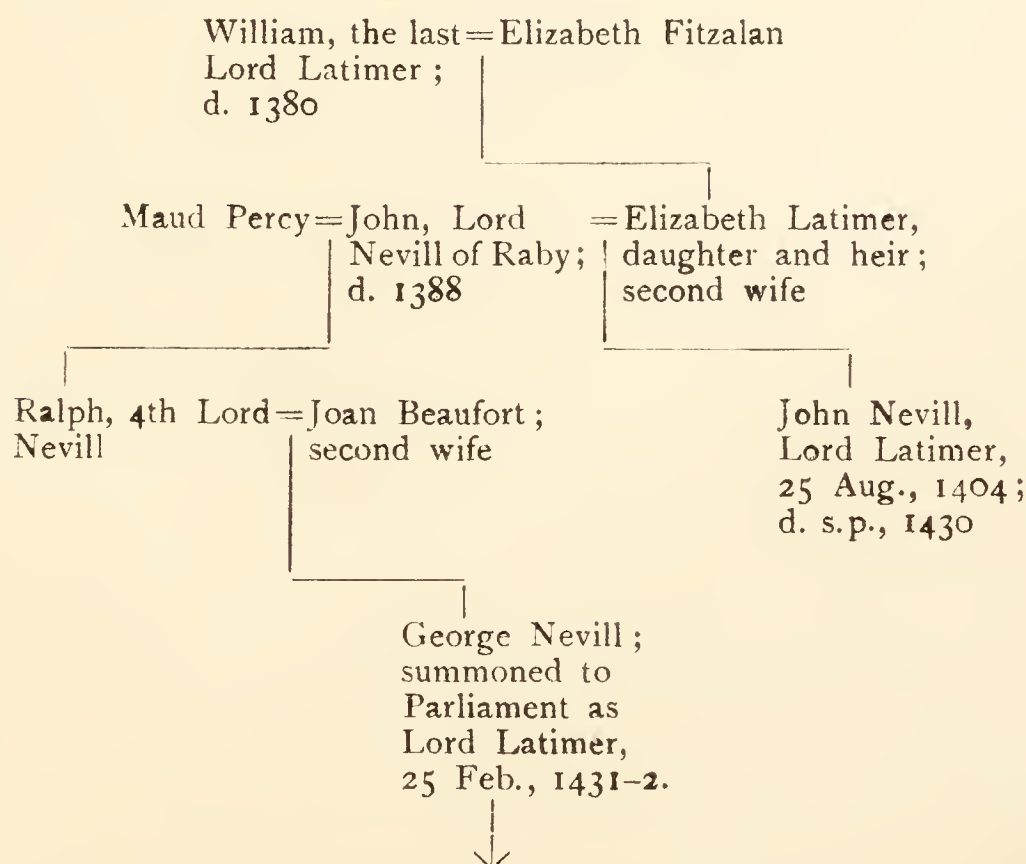


On the north face are four shields, and there is a fifth in the east gable; all are probably contemporary with the erection of the castle.

- (1) [*Gules*] *three water-bougets* [*argent*] (Ros).
- (2) [*Gules*] *a cross patonce* [*or*] (Latimer).
- (3) The same differenced by *a label of three points*.
- (4) [*Gules*] *three leopards* [*or*] (England).
- (5) [*Argent*] *a lion rampant* [*azure*] (Brus).

The lordship of Danby was granted to William Latimer, the elder, in 1294, and the castle was erected by him some eight years later. His son, William Latimer, the younger, was the husband of the notorious Lucia de Thweng, who was the heiress of that part of the Thweng estates including Danby, which had descended from the last Peter de Brus, of Skelton. The elder Latimer was a trusted friend and companion in arms of Edward I, whose arms were probably placed here in commemoration of this fact. William Latimer, the elder, died in 1305, which gives the latest possible date for the heraldry.<sup>1</sup>

The younger Latimer's grandson left a daughter and heir, Elizabeth, who married John, Lord Nevill of Raby, and in consequence of this marriage two successive baronies of Latimer were conferred upon the Nevills.



<sup>1</sup>See Mr. W. M. P'Anson's valuable article on Kilton Castle (*Y.A.S. Journal*, xxii, 55) for full particulars of the Latimers and their connection with Danby. Mr.

P'Anson calls attention to the significant fact that although Danby came to the Latimers through the Thwengs, the latter's arms do not appear.

On the bridge over the Esk below the castle is a well-cut shield, with helm, mantling, and crest, the last, a bull's head, somewhat defaced. The shield bears the arms of Nevill, Lord Latimer of the second creation: [*gules*] *a saltire* [*argent*] *charged with an annulet* [*sable*]. The last lord died in 1577, which gives the latest date for the erection of the bridge; the heraldry points to a time much nearer this date than the early days of the Nevill's domination at Danby.

### FYLINGDALES (St. Stephen).

Monument with inscription to the memory of Capt. William Farside, eldest son of John Farside, of Hutton Bushel and Fylingdales, eldest son of John Farside, or Fauside, of Fauside, near Tranent, co. Haddington, who came to England with King James I and was made by him bow-bearer and ranger of Pickering Forest. Capt. Farside served as a soldier under Kings Charles I and II, and suffered as a Royalist under the Commonwealth. He married Ursula, daughter and heiress of Rev. John Marshall, of Fylingdales, and was buried 13 Oct., 1670.

John, his eldest son, born 1661, died 1739, married Adeline, only daughter of John Robinson, of Buckton.

*Or a fess and three roundels gules* (Farside).

The same arms may be seen on one of the pew doors.

In one of the upstairs rooms at the old hall are some remains of oak panelling on which are painted two coats of arms; a third is painted on a metal plate attached to the end of one of the beams.

This property was sold by Sir Hugh Cholmeley to Sir John Hotham in 1634, and remained in the latter's family till 1829 when Lord Hotham sold it to John Barry for £27,000. With the exception of the south-east portion the house was rebuilt in 1836.

(1) *Or a fess gules charged with three roses argent and a chief nebuly gules.*

The colours are indistinct, but this does not differ materially from the quartering shown in the illustration from Dugdale's *Visitation*.

(2) *Argent a pale lozengy sable* (Daniel).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Col. Saltmarshe writes with reference to this shield: "The lozengy pale is the coat of a branch of the Daniels family, though I hardly think this refers to the marriage of Sir John de Hotham II with Agnes daughter and heiress of Adam

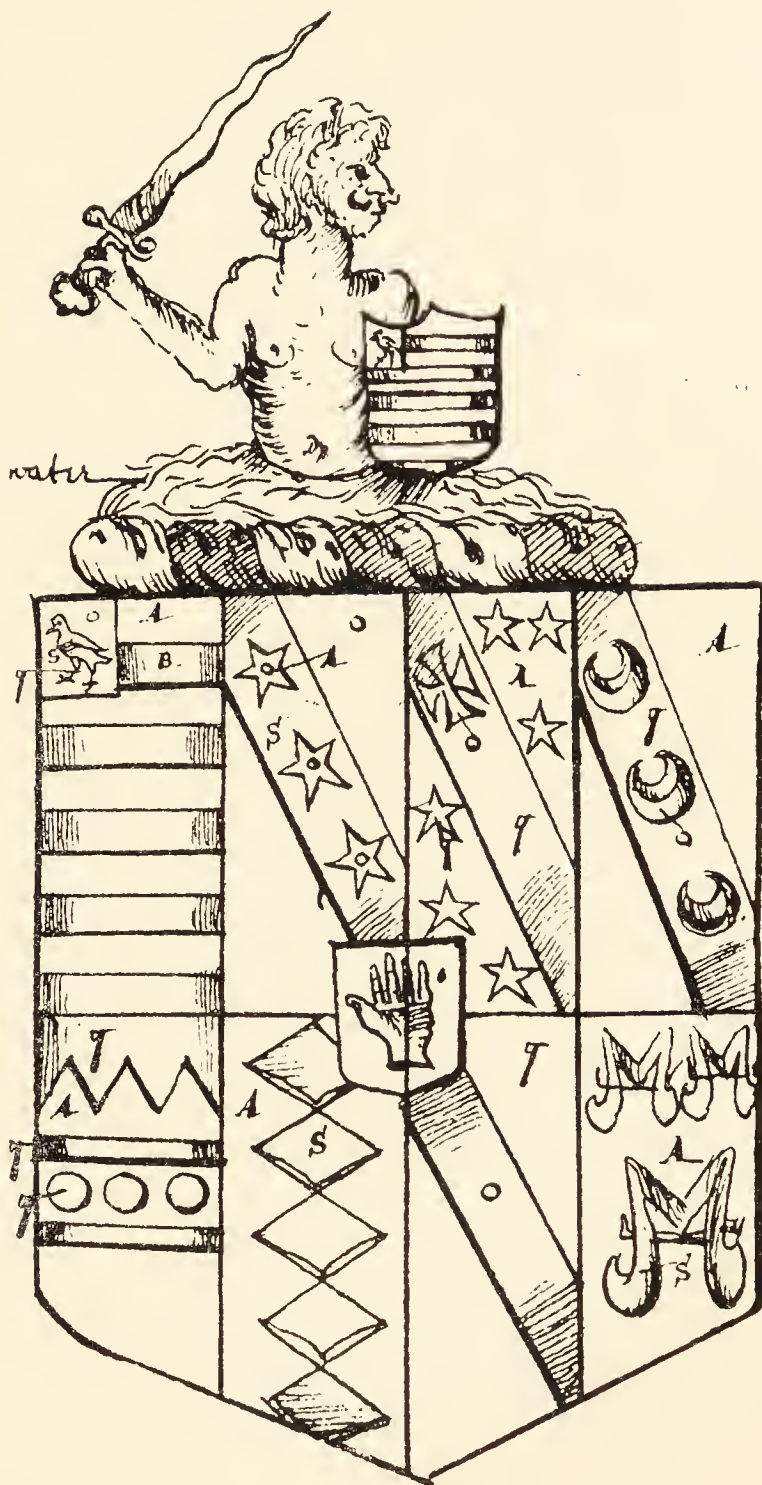
Daniel, c. 1290. I don't think Dugdale knew of this marriage. Moreover, the coat attributed to the Daniel family by Glover in 1585 is 'Gules on a cross or 5 eagles displayed gules.'"



(3) An achievement with helmet mantling and crest: *a demi-goat salient gules bezanty holding a sword erect.*

The shield quarterly of ten:

- i. *Barruly argent and azure a canton or charged with a Cornish chough proper* (Hotham of Bonby, afterwards adopted by Hotham of Scarborough).
- ii. *Or a bend sable, three mullets argent on the bend* (Hotham, a derivative coat of Mauley).
- iii. As No. (1) above.
- iv. Daniel, as above.
- v. *Per chevron argent and gules three trefoils slipped counter changed* (? Knight).
- vi. *Argent a fess gules, a leopard or on the fess* (? Clason).
- vii. *Gules a chief argent* (Hercy).
- viii. *Ermine a chief sable* (Arches).
- ix. *Argent a saltire engrailed sable charged with nine annulets or* (Leeke).
- x. Now obliterated, possibly Towers or Talbot of Swanington, which were both quartered by Leeke.



This heraldry probably dates from the time of Sir John Hotham, the purchaser, Governor of Hull during the Civil War, who was executed 1644-5.

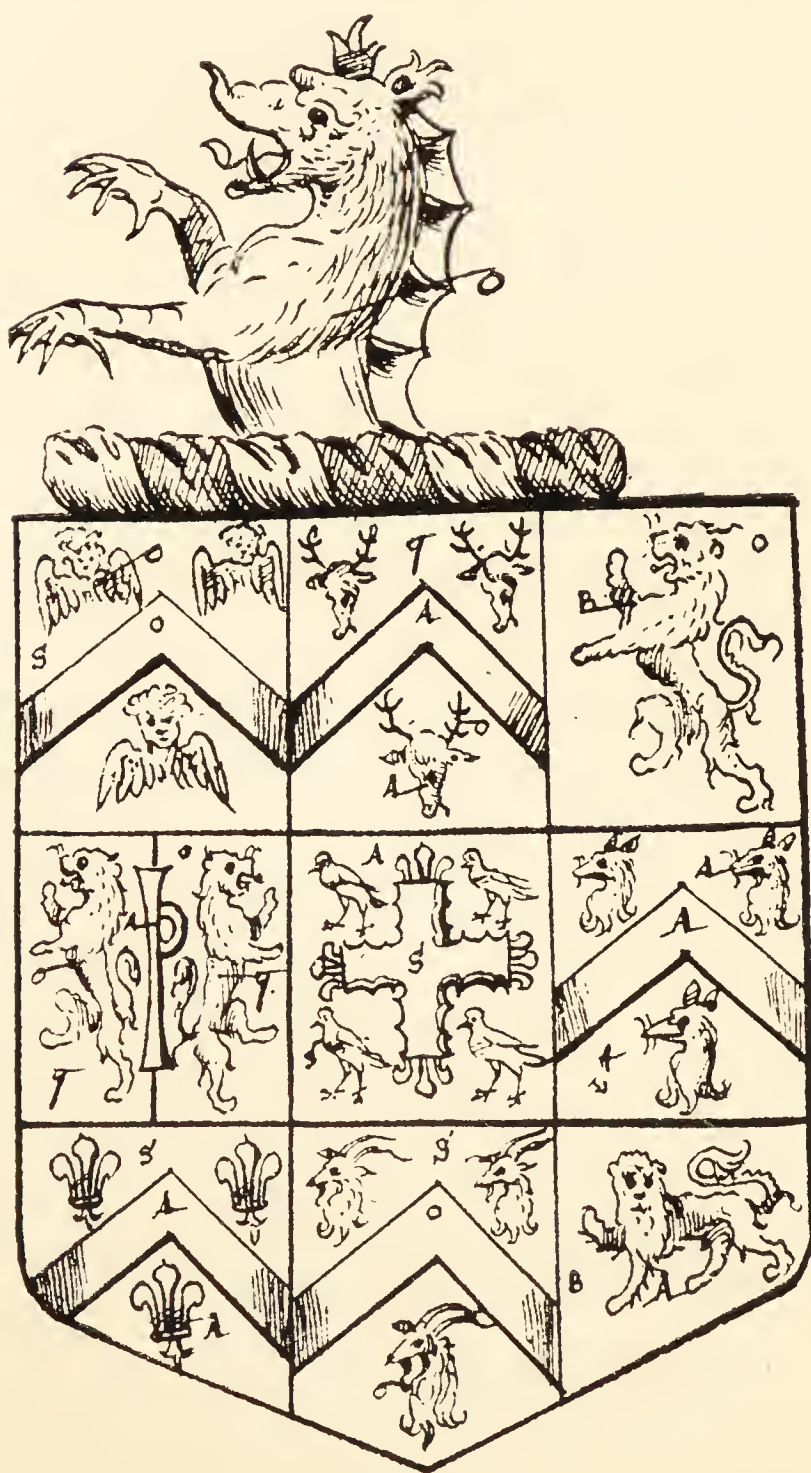
The shield given in Dugdale's *Visitation*, which is here reproduced from a manuscript in the possession of Rev. C. V. Collier, shows the first four quarterings as above, impaling Legard quartering Moyne, Whitworth, and Wadham. Col. Saltmarshe, who possesses an unrivalled knowledge of the intricacies of the Hotham pedigree, points out the incorrectness of the marshalling. John Hotham, who married Jane, daughter of Richard Legard, had long been dead

in Dugdale's time, though his descendants were entitled to the Legard quarterings. Hotham of Bonby has, strictly speaking, no place in the achievement of the Hothams of Scarborough. Numbers iii to vi were perhaps part of the elaborate pedigree which Garter Dethick devised for John Hotham in 1592.

### GUISBOROUGH (St. Nicholas).

In the west window of the south aisle is a shield of Fauconberg: *argent a lion rampant azure*; and in the same window some eighteenth

century fragments including quarries which have borne various achievements of the arms of Chaloner. One of these is a complete shield, quarterly of nine, exactly as in the accompanying illustration from Dugdale's *Visitation*.



- i. *Sable a chevron and three cherubs' heads or* (Chaloner derived from the arms of Matang Crwm).
- ii. *Gules and three stags' heads caboshed argent* (Contmore, co. Carnarvon).
- iii. *Or a lion rampant azure* (Griffith of Penrhyn).
- iv. *Per pale gules and or, two lions rampant addorsed counter-changed, in pale a trumpet (?) argent* (Ithel Anwyl).

- v. *Argent a cross engrailed fleuretty and four Cornish choughs sable* (Ithell).
- vi. *Vert a chevron and three heads erased argent* (Eynion ap Ythell).



vii. *Sable a chevron and three fleurs-de-lys argent* (Enion ap Colwyn).

viii. *Azure a lion passant gardant argent* (Uthor of Yale).

ix. *Sable a chevron and three goats' heads erased or* (Ithell Vychan).

Another fragment shows the 1st, 5th, and 8th quarterings above, and another the Chaloner crest: *a demi-seawolf or*. The initials  $\mathcal{W}^C \mathcal{M}$  and the date 1749 show that this glass was inserted by William Chaloner (died 1756), whose wife was Mary, daughter of James Finny.

For a description of the heraldry on the Bruce cenotaph reference must again be made to a former volume of the *Journal*,<sup>1</sup> where, in Mr. William Brown's account of this famous tomb, each shield is carefully described. The following is a list of these shields.

Original east end:

(1) *Argent a lion rampant azure over all a bend gules* (Guisborough Priory).

South side:

(2) *A fleur-de-lys* (for Robert de Brus I).

*A lion passant to the sinister* (William de Brus).

(3) *A saltire and a chief charged with a lion passant* (Robert de Brus III).

(4) [*Or*] *a saltire and a chief* [gules] (Bruce of Anandale for Robert de Brus IV).

(5) As No. (3) (Robert de Brus V).

The original west end<sup>2</sup> appears to have shown:

(6) [*or*] *in a double tressure a lion rampant* [gules] (Scotland).

(7) Bruce of Skelton.

(8) Bruce of Anandale.

The north side:

(9) Bruce of Skelton with *a label of three points* (Adam de Brus I).

(10) [*Argent*] *a lion rampant* [azure] (Bruce of Skelton for Adam de Brus II).

(11) As No. (10) (Peter de Brus I).

(12) As No. (10) (Peter de Brus II).

(13) As No. (10) (now defaced, Peter de Brus III).

Between the first two figures on this side is another shield:

(14) As No. (1) (Guisborough Priory).

<sup>1</sup> xiii, 226.

<sup>2</sup> The authority for this end is Hollar's engraving in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, re-

produced in Ord's *Cleveland*, p. 199, and in Mr. Brown's article.

The rest of the shields are not heraldic and include a rebus on Prior Cockerell's name, symbols of the evangelists, etc.

On the jambs of the great east window of the Priory are four shields, which represent the two elder coheiresses of the last Peter de Brus, of Skelton, who died in 1272. Of his four daughters Agnes, the eldest, married Walter de Fauconberg, whilst the second, Lucy, married Marmaduke de Thweng. These families becoming joint patrons of the priory.

(1) [*Argent*] *a lion rampant* [*azure*] (Brus).<sup>1</sup> This coat was subsequently adopted by the Fauconbergs, who succeeded to the Skelton property.

(2) [*Or*] *a fess* [*azure*] *in chief three pallets* [*gules*] (Sir Walter de Fauconberg of Rise). See St. George's Roll and his seal attached to the Barons' letter to the Pope.

(3) Brus.

(4) [*Argent*] *a fess* [*gules*] *and three popinjays* [*vert*] (Thweng).

Amongst the loose stones is one bearing a shield.

(5) . . . . . *a cross patonce*. This may be the arms of William Latimer, who, by will 10 July, 4 Rich. II, desired to be buried at Guisborough.

#### EAST HARLSEY (St. Oswald).<sup>2</sup>

The fine effigy preserved in the church is in excellent preservation. The shield only shows a label of five points. Mr. I'Anson is of opinion that this is the effigy of Sir Geoffrey de Hotham, of Cranswick and Harlsey, who died c. 1322. It would appear that the arms have been originally painted on the shield and only the label carved. The arms of Hotham would be *or a bend sable charged with three mullets argent*.

There is a remarkable slab with double cross-fleury, which has a shield with the arms: [*argent*] *three cocks* [*proper*] (Sawcock).<sup>3</sup>

There is a late mural monument with the arms of Lawson of Isell: *per pale argent and sable a chevron counter-changed*.

#### HUTTON RUDBY (All Saints).

In the east window of the south aisle is a shield surrounded by a garter.

<sup>1</sup> These arms are given for Sir Peter de Brus, of Skelton, in Glover's Roll, and for his son-in-law, Sir Walter de Fauconberg, in the Parliamentary and other Rolls

<sup>2</sup> Y.A.S. *Journal*, ii, 185.

<sup>3</sup> This slab is described and illustrated in Y.A.S. *Journal*, xx, 221.



Quarterly, (1) and (4), *azure a maunch or* (Conyers); (2) *azure crusilly three sixfoils argent* (Darcy); (3) *azure three bars gemelles and a chief or* (Meinill).

This is the achievement of Sir John Conyers, of Hornby, created a Knight of the Garter by Richard III, and father of William, created Lord Conyers in 1509.

Sir John's father, another Sir John, married Margery, daughter and coheir of Philip, the sixth and last Lord Darcy and Meinill.

On the font may be seen the coats of Conyers and Vesci (*a plain cross*) and two blank shields, recording the marriage between John Conyers, of Sockburn, and Elizabeth, daughter of William de Aton.

There is a shield on the pulpit:

Quarterly, (1) and (4), [*argent*] *on a chief [sable] three griffins' heads erased [argent]* (Lindley); (2) and (3), . . . . . *a chevron between three talbots passant* (? Newport).

Near at hand is a tablet recording the death of Thomas Milner, of Skutterskelf, died 8 Nov., 1594. Joseph Sorthwaite *alias* Milner, the father of this Thomas Milner, married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Lindley by Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas Newport (see Foster's *Yorks. Vis.*, p. 546, and *V.C.H.*, ii, 289).

There are also in the church late memorials of members of the family of Cary, Viscounts Falkland. General George Cary, son of the sixth viscount, married Isabella, only daughter of Arthur Ingram, of Barraby, and the arms of Cary and Ingram may be seen on the monument.

"The patronage was granted to the Ingram family, and in 1767 the Cary family first presented" (Lawton).

### INGLEBY ARNCLIFFE (All Saints).<sup>1</sup>

All that can be said on the heraldry in this church has already appeared in the pages of the *Journal* in two articles from the able pen of Mr. William Brown.<sup>2</sup>

In the east window are two shields representing the two wives of Sir William Colville, of Arncliffe (1359-76).

(1) *Argent a lion rampant azure* (Fauconberg).

(2) *Or a chevron gules a chief vair* (St. Quentin).

The two effigies in the chancel both probably bore the arms of Colville on shield and ailettes.

<sup>1</sup> The original dedication, *Y.A.S. Journal*, xvi, 125.

<sup>2</sup> *Y.A.S. Journal*, xvi, 121. "Ingleby Arncliffe"; xxii, 137, "Stained Glass

from Ingleby Arncliffe and Kirkby Sigston Churches," with coloured illustrations of both shields.

(3) [*Or*] *a fess and in chief three roundels* [*gules*].

There are eight shields at the head and feet of the effigies:

(1) [*Or*] *on a bend* [*sable*] *three eagles* [*argent*] (Mauley).

(2) [*Argent*] *a lion rampant* [*azure*] (Fauconberg).

(3) [*Azure*] *a maunch* [*or*] (Conyers).

(4) [*Azure*] *three bars gemelles, and a chief* [*or*] (Meinill).

(5) [*Or*] *a fess and three roundels in chief* [*gules*] (Colville of Arncliffe).

(6) [*Or*] *a fess* [*gules*] *charged with three lions rampant* [*argent*] *a label of five points* (Colville of Coxwold).

(7) [*Argent*] *a chevron and three hinds' heads erased* [*gules*] (Malbis).

(8) [*Argent*] *a double-headed eagle displayed* [*sable*] (Sigston).

These shields, though not necessarily related to the effigies, are apparently coeval with them, and in all probability were associated with the monuments of the knights represented. Owing to the absence of detail in available Colville pedigrees it is not easy to show the connection between the various shields.

It may be noticed, however, that in 1270 Richard de Malbisse was the guardian of William Colville, and held his estate in Dale. Philip Colville, who died about that time, may well have married a daughter of Malbis. In 31 Edward III Robert de Colville held half a knight's fee in Ingleby Arncliffe of Walter, Lord Fauconberg. The arms of Fauconberg may therefore be complimentary to Colville's overlord. On the other hand, as in the opinion of Mr. I'Anson, the effigies must be dated about 1333, the marriage of Sir William Colville with Joan, daughter of John, Lord Fauconberg, may have already taken place. The shield of Conyers undoubtedly has reference to the marriage of Robert Colville III and Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Conyers. As to the arms of Sigston, Mr. Brown has shown the connection between this family and the Colvilles.<sup>1</sup>

The arms of Colville occur on an old stone pillar sun-dial in the garden at Arncliffe Hall. The arms of Mauleverer may be seen on the pediment of the house facing the garden, and Mauleverer impaling Wilberforce on the library ceiling.<sup>2</sup>

The escutcheons on the tombs on the site of the chancel of the old church cannot now be read with the exception of one bearing *a fess*, another *a chevron*, and a third the arms of Colville.

There are modern examples in the church of the arms of Mauleverer of Arncliffe: *sable three greyhounds courant argent*.

<sup>1</sup> Y.A.S. *Journal*, xxii, 139.

*Ibid.*, xiv, 55.



At Ingleby House ("The Tontine") is preserved a fireplace on which are the arms of Ingleby of Ripley: [*sable*] *an estoille* [*argent*]. It came from a farmhouse at Hutton Rudby, where a branch of this family was at one time seated.

#### KILDALE (St. Cuthbert).

The old grave-covers preserved in the church porch include two which show the arms of Percy. "This church is an ancient rectory formerly belonging to the patronage of the Percies of Kildale, from whom it came to the house of Northumberland" (Lawton). This family occurs as early as 1243 and probably descended from Walter de Perci, a younger son of Agnes Percy and Josceline of Louvaine.<sup>1</sup> The coat is usually described *or five fusils in fess sable*, but the rolls are by no means unanimous on the point. Jenyn's ordinary, for instance, gives for Arnold Percy, of Kildale, *gules five fusils argent*. Whatever the colour they are a variant of the old Percy coat, *azure five fusils or*.

#### KIRKBY SIGSTON (St. Lawrence).

The heraldry in this church has been described in the same article in the *Journal* as the glass at Ingleby Arncliffe.<sup>2</sup>

Shields in stained glass in the north aisle:

(1) *Or a fess and three roundels in chief gules* (Colville).

(2) *Argent a cross and in chief two crescents sable* (Wassand).

On quarries in the same window:

(3) *Argent a double head eagle displayed sable or gules* (Sigston).

On a loose stone in the church:

(4) Wassand.

(5) [*Sable*] *a cross patonce* [*quarterly or and argent*] (Maunsell?).

#### KIRKLEATHAM (St. Cuthbert).

In front of the altar is a much-worn leger stone. The shield appears to have borne *a cross quarterly pierced charged with four . . . .*, in which case it may commemorate some member of the Turner family.

On the floor of the sanctuary is the brass memorial of Robert Coulthirst with four shields of arms of the Merchant Taylors' Company of London:<sup>3</sup> [*argent*] *a royal pavilion and two parliament robes* [*gules*], *the latter lined ermine, a chief* [*azure*] *charged with a leopard*

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Ael.*, iv, 165. For notices of the grave-slabs see *A. A. Soc. Rep. and Papers*, xiv, 236, and *V.C.H.*, ii, 252.

<sup>2</sup> *Y.A.S. Journal*, xxii, 137, where the first three coats are illustrated.

<sup>3</sup> *Y.A.S. Journal*, xvii, 299.

of England.<sup>1</sup> This family was of Upleatham, and Robert Coulthirst, who died at an advanced aged in 1631, was the father of Elizabeth, the wife of John Turner, who purchased Kirkleatham in 1623.

The latter's monument is on the north side of the chancel and bears three shields:

- (1) *Sable a cross quarterly pierced argent charged with four mill-rinds sable* (Turner).
- (2) *Argent a fess and two colts sable* (Coulthirst).
- (3) Turner impaling Coulthirst.

He died 17 Jan., 1658-9. Amongst other children he was the father of (1) John Turner, Recorder of York (died 15 Mar., 1688), who married Jane, daughter of John Pepys. His monument in the south of the chancel bears his arms: Turner on an escutcheon of pretence, *sable on a bend or between two nags' heads erased argent, three fleurs-de-lys sable* (Pepys).

(2) Sir William Turner, knt., Lord Mayor of London, 1669, died 22 Mar., 1692-3. He founded the hospital at Kirkleatham, and amongst other monuments of the family his tomb, with the arms of Turner, *sable a cross argent charged with five mill-rinds sable*, on the north and south sides, may be seen in the mausoleum. Sir William gave two cups and a paten to the church; all bear the arms of Turner differenced by a mullet.<sup>2</sup> The mausoleum was built in 1740 by Cholmley Turner in memory of his son, Marwood Turner, who died s.p. in the previous year. It was rebuilt in 1839. On the outside as well as over the door on the inside may be seen Marwood Turner's arms: quarterly, (1) Turner, with *a label of three points*; (2) Pepys; (3) Cholmeley; (4) Marwood.<sup>3</sup>

#### LEAKE (St. Mary).

The choir stalls are ornamented with shields which are not strictly heraldic but in each case a rebus on a name.

That on the north has *two keys in saltire* (St. Peter) and the word *harde* standing for Peter Hardy, and that on the south a figure, probably of St. John the Baptist, the word *hamp* and a tun for John Hampton. The woodwork is dated 1519.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "The first Patent of these arms were granted by Sr Thos. Holme K<sup>t</sup> als. Clarincieux K. at Arms to the Company of Taylors & Linnen Armorers 21<sup>st</sup> Ed. 4<sup>th</sup> An<sup>o</sup> 1480. Since Incorporated by K. Henry: by the name of Marchant Taylors 1501 in y<sup>e</sup> 17<sup>th</sup> year of y<sup>e</sup> same King" (MS. formerly at Darington Priory, Kent).

<sup>2</sup> *Yorks. Church Plate*, N. and E. Ridings, p. 124. In 1692 he also gave cups

and patens to Stainton Church. These also bear his arms (p. 177).

<sup>3</sup> See Ord, p. 375; *V.C.H.*, ii, 375; and for an account of the Turner family, Clay's *Cont. of Dugdale's Vis.*, i, 59.

<sup>4</sup> It has been suggested that this woodwork may have come from Bridlington Priory, and that it commemorates John Hompton or Hampton, who was Prior in 1510, and Peter Hardy, who was Subprior about the same time.



On a panel in one of the rooms in the Hall is a shield: quarterly, (1) and (4), *argent three chevrons embraced and a chief sable, the chief charged with three mullets pierced argent* (Danby); (2) and (3), *gules six billets ermine* (Britlevile).<sup>1</sup>

#### LIVERTON (St. Martin).

The interesting incised slab of Henry Fitz Conan in this church has been illustrated and fully described in a former volume of the *Journal*.<sup>2</sup>

"The advowson (of the church) was given in 1219 by Henry Fitz Conan to the Priory of Guisbrough, to which it was appropriated" (Lawton).

In rolls of Edward III and Richard II the cross—usually described as engrailed—is given *sable*, but in St. George's Roll it is given *gules*.

#### MARSKE (St. Germain).

On two patens, presented to the church in 1709 by Margaret Lowther, widow of Anthony of Marske, M.P. for Appleby, are her arms on a lozenge: [*or*] *six annulets [sable]* (Lowther) impaling [*argent*] *on a fess [sable] three plates*.<sup>3</sup> She was the daughter of Admiral William Penn, and sister of William Penn the founder of Pennsylvania. Her son, Sir William Lowther, was created a baronet in 1697.

#### MARTON (St. Cuthbert).

On the battlement of the south side of the nave is a much-weathered coat of arms which appears to bear *a fess and a bend between two lozenges or cushions*, possibly Lazenby.

There is a very similar coat on the tower of Bolton-on-Swale, though in that case three lozenges are shown.

#### MOUNT GRACE PRIORY.

On the dripstones of doorways in various parts of the priory the following shields may be seen:

- (1) [*Azure*] *a bend [or] a label of three points [argent] and a border [gules] charged with mitres [or]* (Archbishop Scrope).
- (2) [*Argent*] *a pale [sable] charged with a luce head [or]* (Gascoigne).

<sup>1</sup> Y.A.S. *Journal*, xxii, 231; V.C.H., ii, 417.

<sup>2</sup> xviii, 417.

<sup>3</sup> *Yorks. Church Plate*, N. and E. Ridings, p. 136.

- (3) [*Gules*] *three cushions* [*ermine*] (Redmayne) quartering [*gules*] *a lion rampant* [*argent*] *charged on the shoulder a fleur-de-lys* [*azure*] (Aldeburgh).<sup>1</sup>

### NORTHALLERTON (All Saints).

Above the south window of the south transept is the figure of an angel bearing a shield charged with [*gules*] *a saltire* [*argent*] (Nevil).<sup>2</sup>

Saywell suggests that Robert Nevill, Bishop of Durham, inserted this window, and that these are his arms. The fact that the saltire is uncharged is an argument against this. "This church has belonged, time out of mind, to the Priory of Durham" (Lawton). In Glover's time there were two shields in the church:<sup>3</sup>

- (1) *Sable three greyhounds courant argent, a label of three points or* (Malleverer) *impaling or a fess and in chief three roundels gules* (Colville).  
 (2) *Malleverer impaling argent on a chevron . . . . . three martlets.*

The church now contains no ancient heraldry.

In the north transept is a monumental slab to the memory of Mark Metcalfe, Vicar of Northallerton 1561-93.

Quarterly: (1) and (4), [*argent*] *three calves* [*sable*] (Metcalfe); (2) and (3), [*sable*] *a chevron and three quatrefoils pierced* [*argent*] (Raughton) *impaling per pale wavy argent and vert three greyhounds courant* [*counter-changed*] *a chief inverted* [*azure*] (Thomlinson).<sup>4</sup>

There are also the following late leger stones:

- (1) *Robert Raines, 1709. . . . . a fess and three talbots . . . . . three mullets . . . . . on the fess.*

Elizabeth Raines, in 1737, left 11 acres of land for the poor of the parish (Lawton).

- (2) *Daniel Lascelles, of Stank Hall; died 5 Sept., 1734, aged 78: [sable] a cross patonce and a border [or].* M.P. for Northallerton 1702 and grandfather of the first Earl of Harewood.

### NUNTHORPE.

At Nunthorpe Hall there is, or was, over a door at the south end

<sup>1</sup> Y.A.S. *Journal*, xviii, 257, 258.

<sup>2</sup> Y.A.S. *Journal*, p. 486.

<sup>3</sup> Foster's *Yorks. Vis.*, p. 462.

<sup>4</sup> Y.A.S. *Journal*, ix, 494, where there is

an illustration of this memorial. The plate presented to the church by E. M. in 1702 also shows the arms of Metcalfe (*Yorks. Church Plate*, N. and E. Ridings, p. 146).



of one of the outbuildings a shield of Constable: quarterly, [*gules*] and *vair a bend* [*or*] *an orle on the bend for difference*.<sup>1</sup>

Nunthorpe was granted to Marmaduke Constable and his heirs in 1613, but only remained in the hands of that family till 1629, which seems to determine the date of this shield.

#### ROXBY (St. Nicholas).<sup>2</sup>

The brass of Thomas Boynton (1523) has four shields of the arms of Boynton: [*or*] *a fess and three crescents* [*gules*].<sup>3</sup>

When Graves wrote his history there remained in the east window four figures, one of them bearing the arms of Boynton. This glass has entirely disappeared.

#### STOKESLEY (St. Peter).<sup>4</sup>

Glover records under Stokesley:<sup>5</sup>

(1) *Argent three cranes feeding sable.*

(2) "In an escocheon paynted in paper brought by Mr. Tocketts."

Quarterly: (1) and (4), *argent a lion rampant azure debruised by a bendlet gules* (Tocketts); (2) *argent a chevron between three hinds' heads erased gules* (Beckwith); (3) *sable a chevron between three chaplets argent* (Buckle).

Glover notices that the lions "were made salient," and so they are described in the pedigree of the family at the same visitation.<sup>6</sup>

They were of Tocketts in the parish of Guisborough, and tenants of the priory, hence the arms adopted by them.<sup>7</sup> They also recorded their pedigree at Dugdale's Visitation.

There is, of course, no connection with Stokesley, but the coat is recorded by Glover under that place because it was exhibited to him then.

The cups presented to the church by Sir James Pennyman and Dr. Thomas Pennyman, rector of Stokesley in 1678, both have the arms of Pennyman engraved upon them.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Graves, *Hist. of Cleveland*, p. 206.

<sup>2</sup> *Y.A.S. Journal*, ii, 188.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, xvii, 307.

<sup>4</sup> Originally St. Peter and St. Paul (*Y.A.S. Journal*, ii, 189).

<sup>5</sup> Foster's *Yorks. Vis.*, p. 449.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 195.

<sup>7</sup> John de Thokotes was Seneschal to the last of the Bruces of Skelton, a fact

which may have something to do with the arms of this family (*Y.A.S. Journal*, xiii, 247).

<sup>8</sup> *Yorks. Church Plate*, N. and E. Ridings, p. 180. The same arms may be seen on a cup presented to Ormesby by Sir James in 1676. *Ibid.*, p. 150, where there is a note on the donor.

## THORNTON LE STREET (St. Leonard).

There are one or two late memorials of the Talbots, a family which traces its descent from the Talbots of Bashall.

- (1) East wall of the chancel, monument of Roger Talbot, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Ambrose Pudsey, and died 1680:

*Argent three lions purpure* (Talbot) impaling *vert a chevron and three mullets or* (Pudsey).

- (2) South wall of the chancel, brass memorial of Bridget, daughter of William Pennington, who married, 1st, Ambrose Pudsey, by whom she was the mother of the above Elizabeth Pudsey; and 2nd, Sir Thomas Layton, of Saxhow; died 1664:

Pudsey impaling Pennington and Pudsey impaling Layton.<sup>1</sup>

UPLEATHAM (St. Andrew).<sup>2</sup>

Built into the east wall of the remaining portion of the old church is a small recess with ogee opening in which is a figure (? of a priest) supporting a shield. In the spandrils above are shields, the one on the dexter side bearing . . . . . a lozenge or mascle, and that on the sinister side *a fess dancetty* . . . . .

The whole has been well executed, but is smothered in white-wash and crumbling to pieces with damp, so that it is not easy to distinguish the lines of the original carving. This is probably the tomb to which Graves refers.<sup>3</sup> He also mentions the monument of George Smallwood (died 1680) with his arms: . . . . . *a lion rampant* . . . . . impaling *argent a fess and three colts sable* (Coulthurst). He married a daughter of the last Robert Coulthurst, of Upleatham, who was the sister of Elizabeth, the wife of John Turner, of Kirk-leatham.

## WHORLTON (Holy Cross).

The wooden effigy of Nicholas, 2nd Lord Meynell of Whorlton, lies upon an altar-tomb which cannot possibly be as early as the date assigned by Mr. I'Anson to the effigy itself (1322).<sup>4</sup>

The shields, seven on each side, are not in good condition, and some of them cannot be read at all.

<sup>1</sup> Y.A.S. *Journal*, xvii, 322 and V.C.H.

<sup>2</sup> Ancient Dedications, Y.A.S. *Journal*, ii, 189.

<sup>3</sup> *Cleveland*, p. 377.

<sup>4</sup> Y.A.S. *Journal*, xxvii, 134.



South side (west to east):

- (1) Illegible.
- (2) Illegible.
- (3) . . . . . *a label of three points.*
- (4) Three objects, it is impossible to say what.
- (5) *A cross patonce.*
- (6) *A lion rampant.*
- (7) . . . . . *three chevrons interlaced and a chief . . . . .*

North side (east to west):

- (1) *A saltire.*
- (2) *A lion rampant.*
- (3) *A cross patonce.*
- (4) . . . . . *three water-bougets . . . . .*
- (5) (? Darcy) with *a label of three points.*
- (6) *A lion rampant.*
- (7) Fitzhugh.

At the head of the canopy is a shield which bore (it is now almost effaced): [*azure*] *three bars gemelles and a chief* [*or*] (Meynell). If, as is stated, the canopy is of a later date than the effigy, then all three, the effigy, the canopy, and the table-tomb, must all be of different dates, for it seems impossible that the heraldry on the last is earlier than the marriage of Philip, 6th Lord Darcy, and Eleanor Fitzhugh shortly before 1418, in which year he died under age.

The following tentative explanation of the shields on the north side (they seem to have been repeated on the south), may be offered:

- (1) Nevil, for Alice, daughter of Ralph, 4th Lord Nevil and 1st Earl of Westmorland, wife of Sir Thomas Grey, of Heton.
- (2) *Gules a lion rampant argent a border engrailed or.* Sir Thomas Grey, whose daughter, Elizabeth, married Philip, 4th Lord Darcy.
- (3) Latimer. May possibly have been introduced in ignorance of the circumstances of Lucia Thweng's marriage to William Latimer, perhaps in the belief that Lucia was a Latimer by birth.
- (4) Ros. Alice, daughter of William de Ros, wife of Nicholas, Lord Meynell.
- (5) Darcy. Philip, the eldest son and heir of John, 5th Lord Darcy.
- (6) Perhaps Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas, Lord Talbot, grandmother of Philip, 6th Lord Darcy.

- (7) Fitzhugh. Eleanor, daughter of Henry, 3rd Lord Fitzhugh, and wife of Philip, Lord Darcy.

John, 5th Lord Darcy, the father of the 6th Lord, lies buried at Selby, and the heraldry on his monument bears a striking resemblance to that at Whorlton.<sup>1</sup>

In the east window is a shield bearing *gules a cross patonce argent*. These are the arms of Aton. In 1346 the Percehays of Ryton, supposed to be of the same stock as the Atons, held Potto in this parish.

There is also a stone panel with the arms, [*sable*] *a fess engrailed [argent] and three hands, bendwise [or]* (Bate). A family of this name was resident in the parish at the time of the visitation of 1584.<sup>2</sup>

On the gateway of the castle are four shields.

Above:

- (1) [*Azure*] *three bars gemelle and a chief [or]* (Meynell) impaling [*azure*] *crusilly three cinqfoils [argent]* (Darcy).

Below:

- (2) Meynell.  
(3) Darcy.  
(4) [*Gules*] *a lion rampant and a border engrailed [argent]* (Grey).

John, 2nd Lord Darcy (died 1356), married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Nicholas, Lord Meynell of Whorlton. Their son, Philip, 4th Lord Darcy, married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Grey, of Heton. From this heraldry it appears that the gateway was built or rebuilt towards the close of the fourteenth century.

### WILTON (All Hallows).<sup>3</sup>

There is in the porch an effigy which displays on the shield the arms of Bulmer: [*gules*] *billetty a lion rampant [or]*. The date is about 1300, and it probably commemorates Sir John de Bulmer, who died in 1299. His father's effigy at Bulmer has been described by Mr. I'Anson (*Y.A.S. Journal*, xxvii, 144). The Bulmers held the manor of Wilton from 1236 till the attainder of Sir John Bulmer for his participation in the Pilgrimage of Grace, 28 Henry VIII.

<sup>1</sup> The writers are indebted to Mr. W. B. Barwell Turner, of Leeds, for some helpful suggestions regarding the heraldry at Whorlton.

<sup>2</sup> Foster's *Yorks. Vts.*, p. 192; Dugdale's *Vis.*, p. 80.

<sup>3</sup> Ancient ascription, *Y.A.S. Journal*, ii, 190.



## DEANERY OF RICHMOND.

The Deanery of Richmond comprises that part of Richmondshire which lies north of the Swale. Though it includes no churches of first importance, the heraldry which survives is of considerable interest. Shields in glass may be seen at South Cowton, Gilling, Richmond, and Wycliffe; external shields at South Cowton, Easby, Richmond, and Romaldkirk; effigies with shields at Melsonby and Romaldkirk, and other heraldic memorials at South Cowton, Croft, Gilling, and Wycliffe. It is interesting to note how many of the shields belong to families actually native to the district, such as Aske, Barningham, Bowes, Halnaby, Hartforth, Rokeby, and possibly Stapleton.

This part of the county has received considerable attention at the hands of topographers, Gale, Longstaffe, and Whitaker, amongst others, have written on Richmondshire in general. Harrison has described the western part of the deanery; Clarkson, Richmond itself. Detailed descriptions of the two Premonstratensian abbeys at Easby and Eggleston have appeared in this *Journal*,<sup>1</sup> whilst Mr. McCall has included Kirkby Wiske in his *Ten Richmondshire Churches*. This last is the only church to which Glover turns his attention. An account of the several parishes is contained in the first volume (North Riding) of the *Victoria County History*.

## AINDERBY STEEPLE (St. Michael).

Whitaker mentions the arms of Scrope and England with a label of three points.<sup>2</sup>

## BARNINGHAM (St. Michael).

The paten presented to the church about 1730 bears the arms of Milbanke.<sup>3</sup>

## BARTON (St. Cuthbert).

The memorial of Thomas Gill (1691) in the porch bears the arms of Gill, a family whose pedigree was entered in Dugdale's *Visitation*.

<sup>1</sup> *Y.A.S. Journal*, x, 117, and xviii, 129. Raine's masterly account of the parish of Marske was printed in vol. vi, 172.

<sup>2</sup> Whitaker's *Hist. of Richmondshire*, p. 264.

<sup>3</sup> *Yorks. Church Plate*, N. and E. Ridings, p. 40.

SOUTH COWTON (St. Cuthbert).<sup>1</sup>

Over the west window is a shield: [*azure*] *a maunch* [*or*] *charged with an annulet for difference* (Conyers) impaling [*argent*] *a chevron sable and three cross crosslets* [*gules*] (Wycliffe).

The same impaled coat may be seen above the south porch, surrounded in this instance with the inscription "*orate pro animabus: Ricardi Conyers et Alicie uxoris ejus.*" In each case there seems also to be a quatrefoil on the lower part of the maunch.

Some fragments of stained glass in the east window include a figure inscribed on the breast "*CRISTOFOR CŌYERS,*" and holding a shield of Conyers, differenced as before with an annulet. Christopher Conyers succeeded to Hornby through his mother, Margaret St. Quintin, and left two sons, Sir John, who followed him at Hornby, and Sir Richard, who appears to have had a grant of South Cowton from Ralph Nevil, Earl of Westmorland. Here in the middle of the fifteenth century he built the castle and rebuilt the church. His wife was Alice, daughter of John Wycliffe.

On the castle are also two shields, each showing Conyers impaling Wycliffe.

In the churchyard are several stone slabs, evidently forming part of an altar-tomb, on which one or more of the effigies now in the chancel formerly rested. One of these has three shields:

(1) Conyers.

(2) *Ermine three long-bows* [*gules*] (Bowes)<sup>2</sup> impaling Conyers.

(3) Defaced (? Bowes).

On the death of Sir Richard Conyers without male issue his daughter, Margery, wife of Ralph Bowes, succeeded to Cowton, and the tomb may well have been hers, though according to the visitation of 1563 there is another connection with this family, as Sir Richard Conyers is there stated to have married, for his second wife, Katherine, daughter of Sir William Bowes.

Over the priests' door on the south side of the chancel are two shields:

(1) [*Or*] *a fess and three crescents* [*gules*] *a lion passant on the fess* (Boynton of Sedbury) impaling [*sable*] *two lions passant* [*paly argent and gules*] (Strangewayses).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is the original dedication (Y.A.S. *Journal*, ii, 189). See Raine's *St. Cuthbert*, pp. 43, 44. The modern ascription to St. Mary has arisen either through confusion with East Cowton, or with the dedication of the chantry of Our Lady, founded in the church by Sir Richard Conyers (*Yorks. Chantry Surveys*, i, 145).

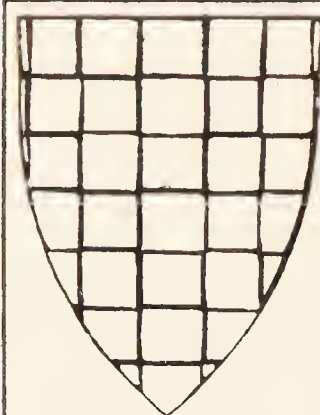
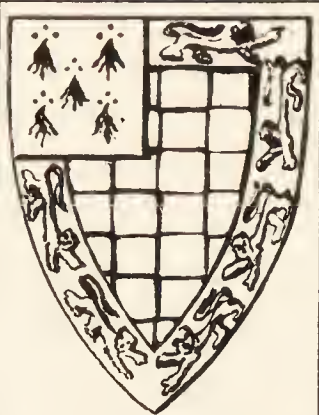
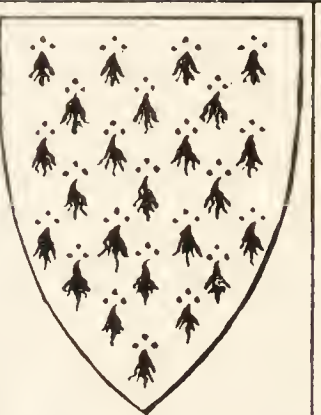

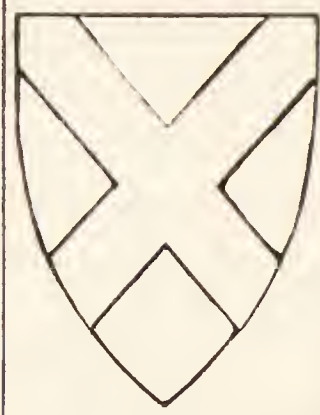
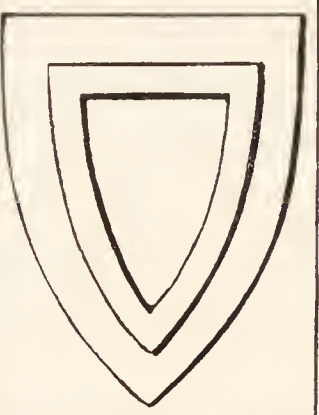
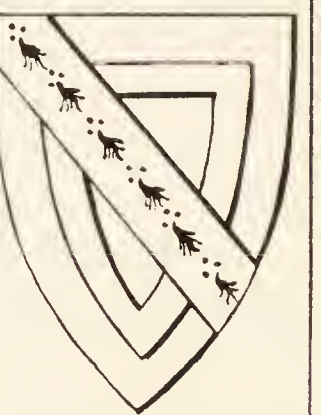
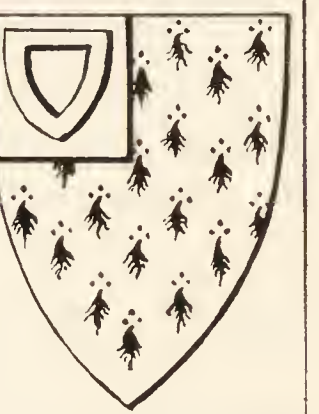
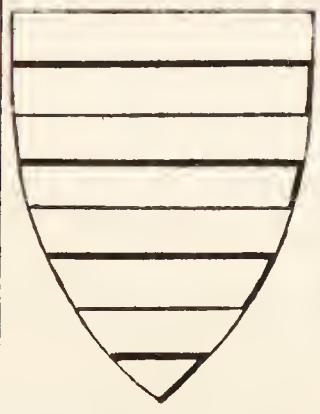
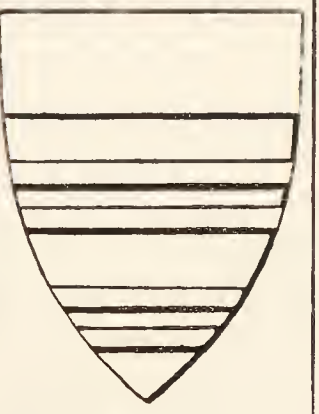
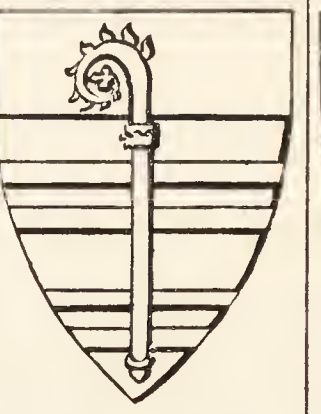
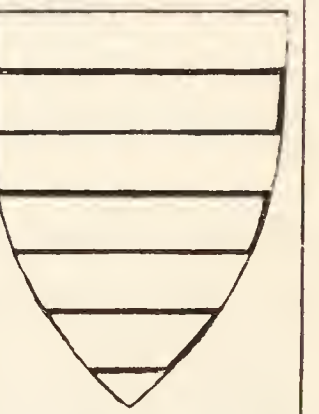




<sup>2</sup> Jenyn's and Willement's Rolls. The surname is derived from Bowes in Richmondshire, where the family were sub-

feudatories of the earls of Richmond, and adopted the ermine of Brittany for the field of their coat.

<sup>3</sup> "*Les armes Boynton of Sadberry Topace a une fece entre trois crescents Rubie et sus ledit fess un lyon en ombre . . . . de Strangwyshe Dyamond a deux lyons passans perle & ruby paleys de six peces, armés topace*" (*Vis. of Yorks.*, 1563-4).





			
VERMANDOIS	RICHMOND	BRITANNY	BOWES
			
CLERYAUX	BALIOL	BOROUGH OF RICHMOND	SURTEES
			
FITZALAN	ROALD THE CONSTABLE	EASBY ABBEY	ASKE
			
WYCLIFFE	BARNINGHAM	HALNABY	ROKEBY

HERALDRY OF RICHMOND.



- (2) Boynton, as before, impaling quarterly, (1) and (4), [*azure*] *a bend* [*or*] (Scrope); (2) and (3), [*argent*] *a saltire engrailed* [*gules*] (Tiptoft).

Over each shield is the inscription "XPOFER BOINTO." The Boyntons were of Sedbury, in the same parish of Gilling, and perhaps held property which necessitated their contributing to the repair of the chapel of Cowton. These shields must be almost contemporary with the building of the church. Christopher Boynton, who died in 1475, married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Strangeways, of Skelton.<sup>1</sup> His eldest son, who appears to have died without issue in his father's lifetime, married Agnes, daughter of Henry, Lord Scrope of Bolton, whose grandfather, Roger, Lord Scrope, had married Margaret, daughter and coheir of Sir Robert Tiptoft, 1475, is therefore the latest possible date for these shields.

#### CROFT (St. Peter).

On the south face of the tower are two shields:

- (1) [*Sable*] *a saltire* [*or*]<sup>2</sup> (Clervaux), with the initials R C.  
 (2) [*Azure*] *on a chief* [*argent*] *three chaplets* [*gules*]<sup>3</sup> (Place) impaling [*argent*] *a fess and six fleurs-de-lys* [*sable*] (Halnaby), and the initials R P.

Halnaby in the parish of Croft, the home successively of the Halnaby, Place, and Milbank families, lies some three miles to the south. The burying place of these families was in the north aisle, whilst that of the Clervaux was in the south.

Robert Place, who married Katherine, daughter and heir of Halnaby and Richard Clervaux, whose tomb lies in the church, lived in the second half of the fifteenth century, and doubtless were jointly responsible for the rebuilding of the tower.

The immense tomb of Sir Richard Clervaux (died 1490) lies in the south aisle.<sup>4</sup> There is a coat of arms on each face:

East. Clervaux impaling [*or*] *a fess dancetty* [*sable*] (Vavasour).

South. Clervaux.

West. Clervaux impaling Vavasour.

North. Vavasour.

The tomb is further adorned with collars of SS and the family badge: *a muzzle and chain*. Sir Richard's wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Henry Vavasour, of Hazlewood.

<sup>1</sup> *Account of Boynton Family*, Rev. C. V. Collier, p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> *Rolls, temp. Edw. III.*

<sup>3</sup> Powell's Roll and Jenyn's Ordinary.

<sup>4</sup> Illustrated in Whitaker's *Richmondshire*, p. 239.

Fixed to the wall of the aisle but not in their original situation, are four shields:

- (1) Clervaux impaling [*argent*] *a fess* [*gules*] *and three popinjays* [*vert*] (Lumley).<sup>1</sup>
- (2) Lumley.
- (3) . . . . . *a saltire* . . . . . (Nevill or Clervaux).

Sir John Clervaux, father of Sir Richard, married Margaret, daughter of Ralph, Lord Lumley, by Eleanor, daughter of John, Lord Nevill, of Raby. These three shields are the remains of his tomb as described by Dodsworth.

- (4) Clervaux, with the initials R C. This shield possibly came from the hall and is the one described by Dodsworth over the door.

In the north aisle is the large tomb of Sir Mark Milbanke, 1st Baronet, died 1680, with the arms of Milbanke: [*gules*] *a bend ermine on a canton* [*or*] *a lion's head erased* [*gules*], with the badge of Ulster, impaling [*gules*] *within an orle of cinqfoils a maunch* [*argent*] (Acclome): his two wives having been Elizabeth, daughter of John Acclome, and Faith, daughter of Thomas Acclome.

The cup and paten cover (1761) show the arms of Milbanke with the badge of Ulster, on an escutcheon of pretence quarterly, (1) and (4), [*argent*] *an escutcheon* [*sable in an orle of cinqfoils gules*] (Hedworth); (2) and (3), . . . . . *a cross moline* . . . . . (. . . . .). The arms of Sir Ralph Milbanke, 5th Baronet, who married Elizabeth, daughter and coheir of John Hedworth, of Chester-le-Street.

The cup, patens, and flagons presented by Mrs. Neale in 1768, bear the arms: . . . . . *two lions combattant* . . . . . impaling . . . . . *on a bend* . . . . . *three pheons* . . . . .<sup>2</sup>

In Dodsworth's time there was also some stained glass, Clervaux and Lumley, in the south aisle, and John, Earl of Richmond, in the east window. He also describes at length the heraldry in the old house of the Clervaux.

“In quadam fenestra triclinii.”

- (1) Montacute and Monthermer quartering Nevil *with a label gobony*.
- (2) France and England within a garter.

<sup>1</sup> These are the arms of Thweng. Ralph, Lord Lumley's grandfather, Sir Robert, married Lucia, daughter of Marmaduke Thweng, of Kilton, and coheir to her brother. After this the Lumleys assumed the Thweng arms in place

of their own, *gules six martlets argent* (see Willement's and Atkinson's Rolls).

<sup>2</sup> *Yorks. Church Plate*, N. and E. Ridings, p. 63. The arms of Hedworth are those of Darcy, assumed after marriage with the heiress of Darcy of Harraton.



- (3) Nevill *with two linked annulets sable and azure on the saltire, with a mitre and crozier* (Robt. Nevil, Bishop of Durham).
- (4) Clifford.
- (5) Lumley, *with mitre and crozier* (Marmaduke Lumley, Bishop of Carlisle).
- (6) Nevill.
- (7) Percy and Lucy. John, Lord Nevill, married Maud, daughter of Henry, Lord Percy.
- (8) Nevill.
- (9) Lumley impaling Nevill. Ralph, Lord Lumley, married Eleanor, daughter of John, Lord Nevill.
- (10) Clervaux impaling Studley. William Clervaux and Anne, daughter of Thomas Studley.
- (11) Clervaux impaling Gascoigne. Thomas Clervaux and Timothea, daughter of John Gascoigne.
- (12) Clervaux impaling Percy of Kildale. Sir John Clervaux married Eleanor, daughter of Sir Alexander Percy.
- (13) Clervaux impaling Serf. John Clervaux and Maud, daughter of Adam le Serf.
- (14) Clervaux.
- (15) Vavasour impaling Skipwith. Sir Henry Vavasour and Margaret, daughter of William Skipwith, the parents of Richard Clervaux's wife.
- (16) Clervaux impaling Lumley.

The following three shields must have been inserted just before Dodsworth's visit and record the first three generations of the Chaytors, who succeeded to the Clervaux property.

- (1) Chaytor, with crest. Christopher Chaytor, who married Elizabeth, daughter of William Clervaux.
- (2) Chaytor quartering Clervaux. Anthony Chaytor, his son.
- (3) Chaytor quartering Clervaux and impaling Bellingham, his son, William Chaytor, who married Frances, daughter of Sir James Bellingham.

On the outside of the dining room:

Clervaux.  
Vavasour.  
Lumley.  
France and England.

Over the door:

Clervaux  
Clervaux with crest and initials R C.  
Vavasour.

“ In quadam fenestra magnae camerae.”

Scrope and Tiptoft within a garter.

Clervaux with a collar of SS.

### DANBY WISKE ( ).

An incised stone now used as the lintel of the doorway to the tower, shows the figure of a lady with a shield: *barry [or and gules]*. Mr. McCall suggests that this may be the effigy of Matilda, widow of Brian Fitzalan, *c.* 1340.<sup>1</sup>

### EASBY (St. Agatha).

On the front of the south porch are three shields:

In the middle:

(1) [*Azure*] *a bend [or]* (Scrope of Bolton).

On the dripstone ends:

(2) [*Or*] *three bars [azure]* (Aske).

(3) [*Azure*] *a maunch [or]* (Conyers).

The Scropes were well known as patrons and benefactors of St. Agatha's Abbey.

The Askes were of Aske, in the parish of Easby. According to the visitation of 1563 Conan de Aske married Katherine, daughter of Christopher Conyers, of Hornby, whilst his son and heir, Roger Aske, married Isabel, daughter of Christopher Conyers (? of Sockburn). “ Les armes Aske topace a trois barres saphire.”<sup>2</sup>

Brass of Eleanor Bowes, 1623: [*azure*] *six annulets [or]* (Musgrave).

She was the daughter of Sir Richard Musgrave and wife of Robert Bowes, of Aske.<sup>3</sup> Her arms, Bowes impaling Musgrave, may be seen on the hospital founded by her on Anchorage Hill, Richmond.

Built into the boundary wall between the abbey and the mill is a large grave-cover with two shields, each bearing *two bars gemelles and a chief*. It is not easy to determine whose arms these are. The abbey was founded by Roald the Constable, *c.* 1152. In the Harleian MS. 4219 is given a view of Richmond Castle with the banners of its defenders. To Alan, son of Roald the Constable, is assigned a coat: *barruly or and gules*. The family continued to hold their property and the patronage of the abbey till the reign of Edward II when both passed to the Scropes of Bolton.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Early History of Bedale*, p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> *Vis.*, 1563, and *Stacy Grimaldi Roll*.

<sup>3</sup> *Y.A.S. Journal*, xvii, 274.

<sup>4</sup> “ Roand le Connestable de Riche-  
mund de goules a ung cheif d'or, a deus

gemeus de l'un en l'autre d'or ” (Roll of Hen. III). Grimaldi Roll, Roll of Edw. III, and a Roll published in *Archæologia*, xxxix, 431, all give the same arms.



A coat is given for the arms of the abbey: *gules two bars gemelles and a chief or with a pastoral staff in pale argent*, which is formed from the arms of Roald the Constable, much in the same way as the arms usually ascribed to the abbey are formed from those of Scrope, viz. *azure a bend or, with a pastoral staff argent in bend sinister*.<sup>1</sup>

On a loose stone in the north wall of the choir is a shield charged *with a bend* (Scrope).

On a pillar stoup from Easby, now in the museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne, are eight shields:

- (1) Scrope of Masham.
- (2) *A fleur-de-lys*.
- (3) *A six-limbed cross patty within a circle*.
- (4) *Barry* (Aske or Fitzalan).
- (5) *Three interlaced chevrons* (? Fitzhugh).
- (6) *A ragged staff*.
- (7) *A saltire* (Nevil or Clervaux).
- (8) *A lion rampant*.

It is difficult to identify these shields. The fonts at Catterick and South Kilvington are similarly ornamented. Scrope of Masham and Fitzhugh occur on all three; *the ragged staff and saltire* are at Catterick as well as here, whilst Kilvington has a *lion rampant*, ascribed to John, Lord Welles.<sup>2</sup>

#### FORCETT (St. Cuthbert).

Brass of Anne Underhill (1637).

Arms (on a lozenge): [*argent*] *two bends, the upper one engrailed* [*sable*] (Lever).<sup>3</sup>

She was the daughter of Richard Lever, of Little Lever, co. Lancs., and married for her first husband Thomas Shuttleworth. Her son (or grandson), Richard Shuttleworth, by will, 15th Jan., 1680, left the rent of six acres of land for apprenticing poor children at Forcett (Lawton).

The paten (1632) bears . . . . . *a bend engrailed . . . . . between six martlets* . . . . .<sup>4</sup>

#### GILLING (St. Peter).<sup>5</sup>

In the south porch is an incised slab with the arms: [*gules*] *three bears* [*argent*] (Barningham). The same shield in stained glass survives in the head of one of the windows in the south aisle. The

<sup>1</sup> Edmondson, vol. i, gives both coats. Burton Constable, in Wensleydale, takes its name from Roald and his successors, Constables of the Earls of Richmond.

<sup>2</sup> See McCall's *Richmondshire Churches*, p. 24; *Y.A.S. Journal*, xxii, 229; xxvii, 154; *Arch. Ael.*, 3rd ser., x, 312.

<sup>3</sup> *Y.A.S. Journal*, xvii, 275.

<sup>4</sup> *Yorks. Church Plate*, N. and E. Ridings, p. 82.

<sup>5</sup> Generally known as St. Agatha (Lawton). Raine (*Y.A.S. Journal*, ii, 186) says that St. Peter is the original dedication.

name is spelt Barlingham in the rolls of arms<sup>1</sup> and Barmyngham in the Yorkshire Chantry Surveys,<sup>2</sup> but there is no doubt that it is derived from the village of Barningham, eight miles north-west of Gilling.

The fine slab of Sir Henry Boynton and his wife, Isabella, daughter of Sir Bertram Lumley, of Ravensworth, is now placed in an upright position.

Above the figures are two shields:

(1) Boynton of Sedbury (see South Cowton).

(2) [*Gules*] *a fess and three popinjays* [*argent*] (Lumley).<sup>3</sup>

This branch of the Boynton family was seated at Sedbury in the parish of Gilling. Sir Henry was the brother of Christopher, whose arms at South Cowton have already been described. He joined with Richard Barningham in founding a chantry at Gilling, and died without male issue in 1531 when his daughter, Isabel, by her marriage with Sir William Gascoigne, of Gawthorpe, brought Sedbury to that family.

Loose in the north aisle is a shield of glass belonging to this family. Originally there have been twenty-four quarterings, but eight of them are missing. We are able to supply the probable names of those lost from other sources.

(1) *Argent a pale sable charged with a conger's head or* (Gascoigne).

(2) Barton.

(13) Fitz Randolph.

(3) (Franke).

(14) Fitz Geoffrey.

(4) (Mowbray).

(15) Glanville.

(5) (Wyman).

(16) Marshall.

(6) (Barden).

(17) Clavering.

(7) Maudet.

(18) Ferrers.

(8) Thirkeld.

(19) Boteler.

(9) (Bekard).

(20) Newmarch.

(10) (Nevill).

(21) Newmarch.

(11) (Bulmer).

(22) Fitzarchis.

(12) (Bertram).

(23) Boynton of Sedbury.

(24) Lumley of Ravensworth.

#### KIRKBY WISKE (St. John Baptist).

Glover describes the following shields in this church.<sup>4</sup> In the east window five figures with shields:

<sup>1</sup> *Parl. Roll*. "Sire Richard de Barlingh'm, de goul' a iij ours de argent" (*Vis.*, 1324).

<sup>2</sup> i, 144 (Surtees Soc.).

<sup>3</sup> Tonge's Visitation "of Ravenshelme hodie Ravensworth Castle, Co. Durham."

<sup>4</sup> Foster's *Yorks. Vis.*, p. 461.



(1) "Voyd S<sup>r</sup> Rog<sup>r</sup> Marmion, Priest."

(2) *Gules a lion rampant vair, crowned or.* S<sup>r</sup> William Marmion.<sup>1</sup>

(3) *Argent three chaplets gules.* S<sup>r</sup> Rog<sup>r</sup> de Lascelles.

(4) *Gules three lozenges argent.*

(5) *Barully or and azure.* S<sup>r</sup> Robert le Constable.

Two other shields also in glass.

(1) *Sable a cross patonce or* (Lascells of Breckenborough).<sup>2</sup>

(2) *Barully argent and gules a bend engrailed sable.*

Roger Marmion was rector in 1316. Sir Robert Constable, who is said to have died in 1336, married Avise, daughter and coheir of Sir Robert Lascells.<sup>3</sup> A family of this name was subsequently seated at Breckenborough in the parish, but the Constables continued to present to the rectory till the sixteenth century, nor has the connection between the two families of Lascells been established.

#### MARSKE (St. Edmund).<sup>4</sup>

The paten presented by Jeremiah Mason, 1642, bears his arms: [or] *a lion rampant with two heads [azure]*; and crest: *a mermaid*.<sup>5</sup>

#### MELSONBY (St. James).

Under the tower lies an effigy showing on the shield: [argent] *a lion rampant [sable] a bend over all* (Stapleton).

Sir John Stapleton, younger son of Sir Miles Stapleton who was summoned to Parliament as a Baron, 6 and 7 Edward II, was lord of Melsonby at the close of that reign.

"The manor descended from the Fitzalans of Bedale to the Stapletons of Carleton as did also the advowson of the church" (Lawton).

#### RICHMOND (St. Mary).

On the tower is a single shield of Nevil: [gules] *a saltire [argent]*. This, doubtless, records the fact that Ralph Nevil, Earl of Westmorland, was possessed of the honour of Richmond during the first quarter of the fifteenth century. On the dripstone ends of the east window of the south aisle are two shields:

(1) *Azure three chevrons interlaced and a chief or* (Fitzhugh).

<sup>1</sup> This coat is evidently derived from Vesci, *gules a cross patonce argent*. In the Red Book of the Exchequer William de Lacell is stated to have held two fees under William de Vesci.

<sup>2</sup> Parl. Roll gives for Sir William Mar-

myon, of Leicestershire, "de goul a vn lion rampand de veer Coronede or."

<sup>3</sup> McCall, *Richmondshire Churches*, p. 73. Old ascription, *Y.A.S. Journal*, ii, 187.

<sup>4</sup> *Yorks. Church Plate*, N. and E. Ridings, p. 135.

- (2) *Barry*. This is said to be Aske, but it more probably represents the arms of Roaldus and his successors, Constables of Richmond Castle, or those of the Fitzalans, lords of Bedale.

All that remains of the stained glass which once adorned the windows is collected in the south aisle. There are now six shields, but the last, though of Tudor date, is a recent addition to the church:

- (1) *Checquy azure and or a bordure gules charged with leopards of England, over all a canton ermine.*

These arms borne by the earls of Richmond belong to an interesting series of French origin, which includes also those of Mellent, Vermandois, Baudemont, Warren, Newburgh (earls of Warwick), and probably Clifford. John de Dreux, who succeeded to the earldom of Richmond *c.* 1263, was the son of Peter de Dreux by Alice, daughter of Constance, heiress of Richmond and Brittany. Peter was the son of Robert de Dreux, who possibly derived the checquy coat from his mother, the heiress of Guy de Baudemont. Robert's father was the sixth son of Louis VI, King of France. The Counts of Dreux seem to have used the checquy coat, differenced with a border gules, to which John de Dreux, in order to denote his Breton inheritance, added a canton ermine. This is the shield which appears in stained glass at Wycliffe. His son, John II, married Beatrice, daughter of Henry III, and bore the leopards on the border at the battle of Falkirk and the siege of Caerlaverock.

- (2) *Azure three horseshoes or*. These are the arms usually ascribed to Fountains Abbey. They may be the personal arms of Abbot Huby. There seems to be no reason why the arms of Fountains should appear either here or at Kildwick in Craven.

- (3) *Argent on a bend sable three lozenges argent each charged with a saltire gules, a crescent for difference* (Urswick).

- (4) *Argent a lion rampant [gules] charged with mascles or* (Hartforth).<sup>1</sup>

The arms of Urswick occur at Catterick. Urswick in conjunction with Hartforth at Badsworth.

- (5) France and England quarterly.

- (6) As No. (5).

<sup>1</sup> Jenyn's Ordinary gives these arms for Thomas Hartford, of Badsworth, but with the lion purpure. This is quite

likely to be correct, as the colour of the lion at Richmond has disappeared.



Gale gives a plate of shields in stained glass formerly to be seen in the church. These included England, John of Gaunt, who held the honour of Richmond from 1341-59, Halnaby, Nevil, Fitzhugh; Scrope of Bolton and Masham, Tiptoft, Conyers, and Marmyon.

There is no heraldry on the pre-reformation screenwork brought from Easby, but a shield bears the rebus of Abbot Bampton, the letters Bā and a tun. This is a genuine case of monastic spoliation (W. H. St. Hope, *Y.A.S. Journal*, x, 121).

The elaborate tomb of Sir Timothy Hutton, eldest son of Matthew Hutton, Archbishop of York, stands in the chancel. Sir Timothy died 6 April, 1629. In addition to his own arms, *gules a fess and three cushions argent, three fleurs-de-lys gules on the fess*, and those of his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir George Bowes, the tomb is further adorned with the arms of his children:

- |                 |                                  |
|-----------------|----------------------------------|
| (1) Matthew.    | Arms: Hutton.                    |
| (2) Jane.       | „ Hutton.                        |
| (3) Eleanor.    | „ Hutton.                        |
| (4) Beatrice.   | „ Malleverer impaling Hutton.    |
| (5) Matthew.    | „ Hutton impaling Darcy.         |
| (6) Frances.    | „ Dodsworth impaling Hutton.     |
| (7) Timothy.    | „ Hutton impaling Benet.         |
| (8) Philip.     | „ Hutton impaling Bowes.         |
| (9) John.       | „ Hutton impaling Moore.         |
| (10) Elizabeth. | „ Clibborne impaling Hutton.     |
| (11) Thomas.    | „ Hutton impaling <i>blank</i> . |
| (12) Anne.      | „ Hutton.                        |

#### ROKEBY (St. Michael).<sup>1</sup>

The fine cup presented to the church by Thomas Robinson in 1700 bears two shields:

(1) [*Vert*] *a chevron between three roe-deer [or, powdered with roundels sable] three cinqfoils [gules] on the chevron* (Robinson).

(2) [*Argent*] *a chevron between three rooks [sable] three mullets on the chevron* (? Rokeby).<sup>2</sup>

Mortham Tower in this parish is said to have been built by Thomas Rokeby in the reign of Henry VII. He acquired the property by marriage with the heiress of Manfield. His arms, *a chevron between three rooks*, may be seen on the stable buildings. Whitaker illustrates the same shield from the interior with the initials

<sup>1</sup> *Y.A.S. Journal*, ii, 188.

<sup>2</sup> *Yorks. Church Plate*, N. and E. Ridings, p. 158.

TR above and CR below. Perhaps for Thomas Rokeby and his son Christopher, both prominent military commanders in the reign of Elizabeth.

#### ROMALDKIRK (St. Romald).

The church contains an interesting fourteenth-century effigy. On the shield are the arms of Fitzhugh of Ravensworth: [*azure*] *three chevrons interlaced and a chief* [*or*]. This effigy apparently commemorates Sir Hugh Fitz Henry, who died in 1304.

The arms of Fitzhugh may also be seen externally over the east window.

“The patronage anciently belonged to the Lords Fitz Hugh” (Lawton).

#### STANWICK (St. John).

Whitaker describes an old stone with two shields:

- (1) [*Argent*] *a fess engrailed* [*sable*] *charged with three quatrefoils* [*or*] (Catterick).
- (2) Catterick impaling *checquy* [*argent and sable*] *a border* [*gules*] (Catterick ancient).

The family of Catterick was long seated at Stanwick and recorded their pedigree at the visitations of 1584 and 1612. Anthony Smithson, of Newsome, married Margaret, daughter and heir of Anthony Catterick, and Stanwick passed to his family. His son was created a baronet and died in 1670, having married Dorothy, daughter of Jerome Rawsthorne. Sir Hugh's large altar-tomb lies at the east end of the south aisle.

There are in all four shields:

- (1) Smithson quartering the two coats above impaling . . . . .  
*three roses gules.*
- (2) Smithson impaling Barkham.
- (3) Quarterly of six: (i) Smithson; (ii) Catterick; (iii) . . . . .;  
(iv) Wingate; (v) . . . . . *a fess and three pears* . . . . .;  
(vi) *gules a bull* . . . . . impaling Langdale.
- (4) (Accompanying a later inscription) Smithson impaling Rawsthorne.

On the south side of the chancel is a monument to Anthony Smithson, Sir Hugh's second son:

Smithson differenced with *a mullet* impaling Barkham.

On the north side, Sir Hugh Smithson, 3rd Baronet, died 1728:  
Smithson impaling Langdale.

There are also preserved in the vestry a funeral helmet and shield, the latter charged with the arms of Smithson.



WYCLIFFE.

North window of the nave:

(1) *Checquy or and azure* (Earl Warren).

In the same window is a kneeling figure wearing a cap; his jupon appears to be *ermine*, the bearing of Brittany and consequently associated with the earldom of Richmond. In a fifteenth century representation of the granting of the earldom to Alan Rufus, the earl is represented as wearing a similar tabard of ermine.

North window of the chancel:

(1) *Checquy or and azure a canton ermine a bordure gules* (Earl of Richmond). The border is not, as at Richmond, charged with leopards.

(2) *Or three chevrons gules* (Clare, Earl of Gloucester).

Built into the south exterior of the church is a slab, which has evidently formed part of a table-tomb; on it are two shields:

(1) Quarterly: (i) and (iv) [*argent*] *a chevron sable and three cross crosslets* [*gules*] (Wycliffe); (ii) and (iii) [*argent*] *a chevron* [*sable*] *charged with three bucks' heads* [*argent*] (Ellerton).

(2) Wycliffe quartering Ellerton and impaling [*argent*] *a chevron and three rooks* [*sable*], *a fleur-de-lys on the chevron for difference* (Rokeby).<sup>1</sup>

This represents the marriage of John Wycliffe (died 1444) with Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Rokeby. His great-grandfather, Robert Wycliffe, is stated to have married Joan, daughter and heir of Geoffrey Ellerton.

Brass of Roger Wycliffe<sup>2</sup> (c. 1380). Arms: Wycliffe.

Brass of Ralph Wycliffe, 1606:<sup>2</sup>

Quarterly: (i) and (iv), Wycliffe; (ii) Ellerton; (iii) *ermine on a canton* [*gules*] *an orle* [*argent*] (Surtees).<sup>3</sup> Over all a label of three points. He was the eldest son of William Wycliffe, and died in his father's lifetime.

<sup>1</sup> Whitaker's *Richmondshire*, i, 199; *Y.A.S. Journal*, xix, 411, where the shields are illustrated.

<sup>2</sup> Whitaker's *Richmondshire*, i, 198; *Y.A.S. Journal*, xvii, 337.

<sup>3</sup> Jenyn's Ordinary. This interesting

coat is derived from the arms of the Breton Earls with the addition of a Canton of Baliol, and is strikingly similar to the coat used by the Borough of Richmond—Baliol, *over all a bend ermine*.

## KNARESBOROUGH CAVE-CHAPELS.

By ABBOT CUMMINS, O.S.B.

Visitors to Knaresborough who get beyond the fine old castle and the somewhat vulgar shows of Fort Montague and Mother Shipton, will be rewarded by the discovery of two really interesting, ancient sanctuaries. They are known locally as St. Robert's Cave and St. Robert's Chapel, but as precisely the same account is given of the two places the pilgrim is apt to go away mystified if not incredulous and scoffing. The general features of the two shrines have much in common; both are caves artificially hollowed out of the limestone cliffs on the left bank of the river, both have religious associations and a more or less ruined altar; popular tradition connects both with St. Robert of Knaresborough, in one case correctly, in the other quite incorrectly. The genuine stories of the two places are, however, perfectly certain and perfectly distinct, though only of late has it been possible to straighten out the tangle. Confusion between them, as discreditable to local scholarship and inconvenient to the public, should not be allowed to continue; and the authority of this *Journal* may help to dissipate a misleading tradition that only grew up in the dark ages of archæology.

### ST. ROBERT'S CAVE.

A mile or so below the town on the left bank of the Nidd, hidden in a low cliff between the river and the road, just opposite Grimbold's Crag and a little above Grimbold's Bridge, is the genuine hermitage of St. Robert, and the place where many centuries later Eugene Aram murdered and buried his victim. Robert of Knaresborough was a real historical personage (1218). Though sometimes confused in the past with St. Robert of Newminster, a Cistercian abbot (†. 1159), or even with Robert Grossetete, the famous bishop of Lincoln (†. 1253), his authentic story rests upon the clearest contemporary records. He was born in York about the year 1160, of a family named Flower, which had some standing in the city where his father and his brother are said to have been mayors. A fragment of the brother's tombstone still exists in the south aisle of Holy Trinity, Micklegate, with the inscription, *Hic jacet Gualterus Flos*; it was this Walter Flower who built for the hermit the Holy Rood oratory of which ruins are still visible by the cave. After becoming a subdeacon and trying his vocation among the Cistercians



at Newminster, near Morpeth, Robert adopted the eremitical life, settling at last on the banks of the Nidd, where he made the cave and the grave as they now exist. Here he died and was buried (1218); hither came pilgrims from all parts of England, to the scene of the marvels of which Matthew Paris tells (1238), the healings and graces and the flow of miraculous oil, which, together with the fame of his holy life won for him popular canonisation, and at least partial recognition from the Church and the Holy See.

Different dates have been assigned for the Saint's death; Professor Pollard in *D.N.B.* accepting one as late as 1235; but a writ of Henry III, dated February, 1219, has been discovered in which the king commits to the Vicar of Knaresborough "the care of our hermitage," as though it were recently vacant, and a royal charter of 1227 assigns the lands of Brother Robert to Ivo, hermit of Holy Cross. The Lanercost Chronicler, who should have known when the feast was observed, gives September 19th as the day of death, which we may conclude to have been in the year previous to the king's deed, viz. 1218.

In 1257 (April 10th) Richard, Earl of Cornwall and King of the Romans, as lord of Knaresborough gives the Chapel of St. Robert to the Trinitarians; and in 1252 a Papal brief grants an indulgence to those who should help to complete the "monastery of St. Robert of Gnarebur where that Saint's body is buried."<sup>1</sup>

Besides these deeds the main authorities for St. Robert's life and legend are as follows:

(1) *The Chronicle of Matthew Paris* (Rolls, iii, 521; iv, 378; v, 195), "The same year (1238) shone forth the fame of St. Robert the hermit of Knaresboro, from whose tomb medicinal oil was brought forth abundantly."

(2) *The Lanercost Chronicle* (Bannatyne Club, 1839), pp. 25-7.

(3) A MS. Life in Latin, probably written in the fourteenth century, which is the principal source of all later Lives. It is now at Clumber, in the Duke of Newcastle's library, and has partly been published in *Memorials of Fountains*, i, Surtees Soc., xlii.

(4) British Museum, Harleian MSS., 3775, f. 76, a Latin Life, by R. Stodley (fourteenth or fifteenth century?).

(5) Bodleian, R. 198, MS. containing three lives of St. Robert, the first in Latin rhyming triplets, the second in Latin prose, the

<sup>1</sup> St. Robert was probably never formally canonised. No evidence is forthcoming of any decree; he had no feast or office in the York Kalendar, and the Latin Metrical Life says:

"Licet non canonicatur

Adhuc tamen operatur  
Per hunc, Pater cum precatur  
Plura beneficia."

On the other hand he is commonly styled "Saint" in papal, royal, and episcopal documents, as well as in popular usage.

third in English verse. This latter Metrical Life was printed by the Roxburghe Club in 1824. Internal evidence shows it to have been written in the fifteenth century, not at Knaresborough, nor by the Trinitarians, but much further to the north of Knaresborough and York, probably in Northumberland, perhaps by a friar of Newcastle.<sup>1</sup>

(6) An English Life, by Nicholas Roscarrock, chaplain to Lord Will. Howard at Naworth (*circa* 1600), based on a MS. Life lent by Mr. Francis Slingsby, which formerly belonged to St. Robert's House and is probably the one now at Clumber.

To these may be added a short notice by Professor Pollard in *D.N.B.*, under St. Robert of Newminster; and a Catholic Truth Society pamphlet, *The Holy Hermit of Knaresborough*, by Abbot Cummins.

Some twenty-five years after the Saint's death Richard, earl of Cornwall, founded a house for Trinitarian friars on the river bank on the nearest level spot to the cave, and endowed it with the Saint's possessions, which "House of St. Robert" carried on his charitable works, cared for his shrine, and perpetuated his memory until the suppression under Henry VIII. Neither an abbey nor a priory, it was ruled by a minister, had never more than some ten members, and was known as *Domus Sti Roberti*. Whether the Saint's relics remained in the original tomb is perhaps a little uncertain. Pope Urban's grant (1252) of an indulgence to those who helped to complete the "monastery of St. Robert of Gvarebur where that Saint's body is buried" might imply that the remains had been removed from the grave in the Holy Cross Chapel to the new church a quarter-of-a-mile up the river; but papal documents are not always accurate; there is no record of any transiation, and the Saint's body probably remained, as he had wished, in the grave made by himself. Neither do any details survive as to the fate of the shrine or its relics when the monastery was suppressed. House and church have now completely disappeared, though the site can be identified near a modern residence called the Abbey. Holy Rood Chapel was disused and destroyed, and the cave was abandoned; even the situation must have been almost forgotten before its further desecration by Eugene Aram's sordid crime.

#### THE CHAPEL OF OUR LADY OF THE CRAG

has a distinct history not less clear and certain. At the foot of a

<sup>1</sup> "Enformed als I was by a boke  
That was sentt me by a frere  
Ffray sayntt Robert to me here.

Robertt—purpost him with page to  
passe  
Unto this north Countre a day  
To New mostres the abbey gray."



limestone cliff just below Low Bridge a tiny grotto has been formed in the rock face some forty feet above the river, easily distinguishable by the rude figure of an armed man standing by the doorway. Evidently an oratory, its altar with a canopied niche, the pillars in the walls, the piscina and ribbed roof are all carved from the rock; it measures about twelve feet long, eight broad, and seven in height, and its architectural features, that are not without artistic merit, indicate work of about 1400. The interior, defaced when abandoned at the Reformation, has been further desecrated by some grotesque faces cut on the right wall. For the last two hundred years the grotto has generally been called "St. Robert's Chapel," and described as the place of his dwelling and death, and even of his burial. But the inaccuracy of this ascription is abundantly clear both from the architectural features and particularly from the following records that were not accessible when the legend arose.

(1) In the Court Rolls at the Castle a licence is found, dated 9th Henry IV (1408): "Johannes Maisone cepit de domino unum vastum subtus quarreram cum licencia minandi infra quarreram ibidem pro quadam capella facienda et habenda: Habendum et tenendum sibi et assignatis suis pro termino vitæ suæ per redditum per annum, etc." Rent is not stated, being probably remitted in consideration of the religious purpose of the holding. Remark, too, the force of the term "*minandi*"—to mine or excavate, not to build. This is the earliest notice of the chapel, which is, however, frequently referred to in later deeds, and always as the "Chapel of Our Ladie of the Cragg," or "Quarrell Chapel," or "Our Ladie of the Quarrell" or "Quarry," never as the Chapel of St. Robert (*Knaresborough Wills*, Surtees Soc. civ, 1902, vol. i, 222, note).

The credit of this discovery of the chapel's correct title and authentic history is due to Dr. Collins, editor of *Knaresborough Wills*, and a diligent student of local records, who further adds, "how or when it obtained this name (St. Robert's) it is impossible now to say." Miss Rotha Clay, the sympathetic historian of English Hermits, writes in 1914, "There is no ground for believing that it was ever the habitation of St. Robert" (*Hermits and Anchorets of England*, 1914, Antiquary Series, p. 44).<sup>1</sup>

(2) John Mason, of Knaresborough, cleric of the parish church, is mentioned among others as being present at Archbishop Kempe's visitation, held March 24-26, 1428 (*Surtees Soc.*, cxxvii, 211).

The founder of the chapel would seem to have been the elder John Mason, possibly identical with John Lovell, whose name occurs

<sup>1</sup> See also Fletcher's *Harrogate and Knaresborough*, p. 36.

in contemporaneous documents. A master builder of the period, employed in restoring the castle and parish church, a large employer of labour and a devout man, he may have conceived the project, not unusual in those ages of faith, of constructing a wayside oratory in honour of Our Lady, near to the quarries where his men worked and from which his fortunes came. His namesake, the second John Mason, a cleric, was probably his son, deriving a surname from his father's occupation, presented by him possibly to the service and tenancy of his chapel.

From this time the Court Rolls contain frequent allusions to the place,<sup>1</sup> always under the above names, but never as in any way connected with either St. Robert or his Trinitarian successors. The architectural features point to the same date, the ogival arches and florid decoration of the early fifteenth century are quite impossible as work contemporary with St. Robert in the thirteenth century.

(3) Leland, who visited Knaresborough about 1540, just after the suppression of the monasteries, writes: "A litle beneth March-Bridge . . . . . I saw an old Chapelle yn a Rok hewen oute of the mayn stone." He does not give it any name; but does not connect it in any way with St. Robert whose cave and monastery and story he describes elsewhere.

(4) After the Reformation, when the grotto ceased to be used as an oratory, it gradually lost its definite association with Our Blessed Lady, which is the less surprising when we recall that the dedication of the parish church also was changed from Our Lady to St. John Baptist. In legal documents, however, the chapel's early name survives. Thus in 42 Elizabeth (1600), "Thomas Hill of Windsore . . . . . surrendered one waist with two cottages there-upon builded, nere to one Chapell called the Ladye Quarrye" (*Knaresborough Wills*, i, 222). Again, "one waste with a little garth, called by the name of 'the Lady of the Quarrell' (Quarry) in tenure of John Slater"; as to which Dr. Collins adds: "The survey of the borough, 11 James I (1614), shows clearly that this chapel is the same as that now known under the name of St. Robert's Chapel" (*Book of Wastes*). And as late as 1657 Will. Conyers bequeaths "one feild within the parish of Knaresborough comonly

<sup>1</sup> Godfrey le Massoun' was working in the castle in 1347 (158); John Lovel was a king's yeoman in 1314 (104); Agnes, wife of John Lowell, mason, in 1432 took land below the quarry near the chapel, paying 1*d.* yearly (274). Marjery Lovel married Thomas Bothe,

and in 1459 they surrender to Ralph Bekwyth 3*d.* worth of land yearly under the quarry where the chapel is built, called Lady in le Cragg juxta Staynbryg (275). These are extracts from W. Wheeler's *Knaresburgh and its Rulers* (1907).



called the Quarry Feild, or Ladie of the Quarry" (*Knaresborough Wills*, ii, 230).

Never in all these centuries or deeds is the chapel in any way referred to as St. Robert's. No record remains to suggest that the Saint knew the place, that his religious successors ever used or claimed it, that it was in any way connected with his name before the last years of the seventeenth century. Yet it is easy to see how the mistake arose. Sheltered in a protecting cliff the Chapel of the Crag escaped the destruction and oblivion which befell St. Robert's genuine house and cave. The fate of the latter is easily conjectured. No longer visited for devotion, and with no one to protect it, as the unroofed walls of the oratory fell their ruins encumbered the rocky floor and filled up the Saint's grave. Being only a few feet above the river the site would be invaded by wintry floods that, before the construction of the Nidderdale reservoirs, were more frequent and destructive than they are now. Trunks of trees swept down in the stream, or ice blocks caught at the Grimbold's Bridge, would hold back the flood waters till they submerged the whole site of chapel and cave; slime and silt accumulating in the slack water over the bank would soon obliterate the foundations and gradually fill up the cave; brushwood and grass would spring up among the debris, and when this process had continued for a few score of years all traces of the ruins would be lost and their existence forgotten. Yet the name and fame of the town's hermit Saint never entirely passed away; what more natural when oblivion overtook the authentic cave and chapel that his legend should become associated with a similar sacred place in the neighbourhood of which the true name and story had likewise been forgotten. The transition was the more inevitable as here also were a cave and a chapel, on the river bank, and close to Knaresborough; and the error is excusable in the dark ages of archæology when the manuscript Lives of the Saints, together with local records, lay mouldering under the dust of centuries.

The earliest printed reference that I find giving the Crag Chapel St. Robert's name is Bishop Gibson's enlarged and annotated edition of Camden's *Britannia*, 1695. The original *Britannia* of 1607 makes no reference whatever to St. Robert or these chapels; but the additions made by Gibson to the London edition of 1695 include the following paragraph: "Nor must St. Robert's Chapel be forgot, being a cell hewn out of an entire rock, part of which is formed into an altar which yet remains, and 3 heads which (according to the devotion of the age) might be designed for the Holy Trinity" (p.734). Gibson

makes no reference at all to the true cave; he speaks of three heads on the chapel wall (there are now four); and both he and Ieland ignore completely the figure of an armed man, popularly styled a Knight Templar, which is now so prominent outside. Obviously of modern cement, the figure possibly encloses a core of carved stone; the present tenant remembers a new head being put on; is it in any way coeval with the chapel, was it existing even in 1695? No figure in the friable rock would have survived the weathering of five centuries; in 1408 the Templars had been suppressed for a hundred years! If coeval with the chapel the armed man may represent, not a Templar, but the protection of the lord of the castle under whom the chapel was held, though it seems more likely that both the figure outside and the grotesque heads inside are the work of some idle occupant long after the chapel's desecration. The sympathetic craftsman who carved the floriated capitals and artistic bosses of altar and canopy could never have perpetrated these hideous masks; still less could he have meant them to represent the Blessed Trinity.<sup>1</sup> From another contemporary reference there would appear to have been a revival, or a survival, of devotional interest in this little shrine about this time, for in a diary written about 1700, Celia Fiennes, sister of Viscount Saye, tells how she was taken at Knaresborough to see a "Chapel with altar decked with flowers and the ground with rushes for ye devout that did frequent it"<sup>2</sup>—evidently this Crag Chapel, though she does not call it St. Robert's, or give it any name. She also visited the "ruines of an Abbey where there has been many bones taken up and some preserved as reliques," and tells of a Papist lady who lodged where she did, who would say her prayers among these ruins and seek for relics there. This can only refer to the Trinitarian church and monastery of which there then existed many remains; it had been a favourite place of sepulture, and from this "St. Robert's," not from the cave, was probably taken the large grave-stone which covers ill-fated Sir Henry Slingsby in the parish church.

From this time onward the authority of Bishop Gibson's *Camden* sufficed to sanction the ascription of the Crag Chapel to St. Robert. In 1736 Drake's *Antiquities of York* repeats and perpetuates the

<sup>1</sup> The earliest evidence of the "knight" is a plate showing the exterior of the chapel in 1739, and Richard Gough's

edition of *Camden* (1806) describes it.

<sup>2</sup> Speight's *Kirkby Overblow and District*, p. 32, and *Upper Nidderdale*, p. 72.



error which, in spite of revelations from records and ruins, still survives in guide-books and popular parlance.<sup>1</sup>

In 1744-5 Eugene Aram, a Knaresborough schoolmaster, together with Richard Houseman, decoyed a neighbour named Daniel Clarke to a lonely spot on the river bank near Grimbald's Bridge, where they murdered him for a few shillings and spoons, and disposed of the body by thrusting it into a hollow of the cliff. The crime and its tardy detection led to a revived interest in the Hermit's Cave that was almost equivalent to rediscovery. That the place was still associated in some way with St. Robert seems clear from evidence given at the trial, but it could not have been in any way frequented. Murderers would not hide their victim in a cave into which antiquarians or prying rustics might stray. The learned schoolmaster would know, if anyone did, traditions that were clinging to the place. Was the cave at that time anything more than a natural hole in the rock, one of many such along the river bank? The body was not found for fourteen years, and only then through the avowal of an accomplice. Had Aram, who was scholar as well as scoundrel, been aware of the Saint's ready-made grave beneath his feet, he had only to bury his victim in it, and if ever found the remains would have been taken for those of the Saint! In his clever defence at his trial he made the point that human bones were often discovered in such places, yet never suggested that these might have been St. Robert's. The tradition as to the Saint's burial-place seems to have been lost; the sacred spot was saved from further desecration, and later antiquarians or pilgrims from a ghastly but plausible error.

Though the site was more frequently visited through interest in Aram's crime, yet its clearance was so incomplete and gradual that when Hargrove wrote seventy years later (*History of Knaresborough*, 1821, p. 101), the hermitage was "so filled with rubbish as to render entrance rather difficult"; and even at that late date the adjoining chapel is described without any mention of the altar-steps and rock-grave that are now such prominent features. These were not uncovered before 1834. Bulwer Lytton's fanciful romance is so inaccurate in topography that one wonders whether he had ever seen the spot, but, together with Smollett's misplaced sympathy and Hood's powerful poem, it roused interest in a commonplace crime that lasts to the present day. To vulgar minds the scene of

<sup>1</sup> In his *Upper Nidderdale* (1894) Mr. Speight employs the usual mistaken name for the Crag Chapel, but in his

*Kirkby Overblow* (1903) he corrects this and gives "Our Lady of the Crag" as its original dedication (151).

a murder has more fascination than the home or tomb of a saint; the anchoret's fame faded before that of the assassin, and the cave of St. Robert's became known as Eugene Aram's.

Meanwhile, fuller light was being thrown on the Saint's story and the shrines that bore his name by the Roxburghe Club's publication (1824) of the *English Metrical Life*, by Walbran's account and extracts in the *Memorials of Fountains* (Surtees Soc., 1862, xlii, 222), and by Dr. Collins' researches among the Castle records. When in 1916 these ancient shrines came into the market for the first time since the Reformation they were acquired by the Catholic body and partially restored to their original purpose. A cross has been set up on the altar of Holy Rood Chapel, the empty niche in Our Lady of the Crag is again filled with a stone figure of the Madonna and Divine Child, and religious services are occasionally held in both places.<sup>1</sup> The true story of the sanctuaries is gradually making its way into the more literary guide-books, if not yet into popular usage; it only needs the high authority of the Yorkshire Archæological Society to restore these venerable shrines to their rightful owners, Eugene Aram's Cave to St. Robert, and St. Robert's Chapel to Our Lady of the Crag.

<sup>1</sup> *Knaresburgh and its Rulers*, by William Wheater, 1907, is valuable for facts and details laboriously collected from

the Court Rolls, though not trustworthy for inferences and theories.



## CORKER: AN OLD NORTHUMBRIAN FAMILY.

The Abbot James, or Maurus Corker, whose life is sketched in the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, was a Yorkshireman, born 1636, died 1714. He was President-General of the Benedictines in England. He stated that his father was the Rev. Francis Corker, whom we know as the fighting parson of Pontefract, and that his great-great-grandfather was James Corker, of Huntwicke Grange, near Nostell Abbey, whose will and inquisition, which have lately come to light, indicate that he was married c. 1544, and died 1573.

In 1703 Edward Corker, a barrister of Gray's Inn and intimate with the Abbot—a relation, wrote a series of letters to Rob. Corker, M.P. for Bossiny, in Cornwall. They embodied the Abbot's knowledge of his family, and the barrister's researches. Copies are in the possession of the Rev. John Hume Townsend, D.D., who is of Corker descent. These letters formed a basis for our own researches and those of Dr. Chambré Corker Vigurs.

From various sources I collate the following brief notes.

The barrister stated that in deeds one hundred years prior to 1700 the name Corker was spelt "Corcor" and "Coeur Coeur," and he deduced a Norman origin. It seems equally likely that the name was Saxon or Scandinavian, and became Normanised. These deeds were also said to have the Corker arms "stamp'd in the margin." If still existent they may be in the archives of Henshaws, Bromleys, or Thornleys. The Rev. Saml. Corker, of Alderley, in Cheshire, married a Henshaw, and his sister a Bromley, and Edward's grandson, and only known descendant, was Corker Thornley. Jacksons of Macclesfield and Pinders were other relations of this Cheshire group.

One ancestral source of the Corker stock was in Northumbria, although members are found elsewhere. In 1284 John Corker is found in Ireland. In 1350 Corkers were burgesses in Manchester, and a John Le Corker was a chaplain in Liverpool. In 1430 died Thos. Corker, Coroner of Furness, and Canon Bardsley, in his *Chronicles of Ulverston*, allots the Corker family five centuries of existence in that region. In 1632 the Court Leet Records of Manchester include Charles Corker as one of the two constables. It is very important to trace this Charles, as I believe him to be a link

between the later branch in the south of Ireland and the branches in Yorkshire, Lancashire and Cheshire.

I discovered two old deeds in the P.R.O., Chancery Lane, both of 1471. One is a grant by Blevett of Hoghton, co. York, to Bellingham, Walles, and Beltoft, of lands in Lagton (Laughton), and the attorneys to deliver possession are Poppylwelde and John Corker. In the other a John Corker, clericus, demises property to Margery Walbelton, "nuper uxor" of Wm. Walbelton. Included were five manors in Berks., Oxon., and Kent. Magister John Corker was a trustee from 1447 as other deeds indicate.

In 1696 a grant of arms was made by Ulster (testified by Chester) to Edward Corker, of Dublin: "Argent a lion rampant azure and two hearts in chief gules, and for his crest, on a helmet a wreath of his colours, a heart gules, crowned with a ducal crown or, between two laurel branches proper, with this motto, 'Sacrificium Deo Cor Contritum.'" (Cork Hist. and Arch. Society, July, 1894, cites a copy.) Edward Corker, the barrister, was indignant because his uncle in Dublin accepted this as an original grant.

The Abbot had much to record as to James of Huntwick. He had held a "Command," and Henry VIII granted an eagle as an addition to his arms, as he had captured a standard from troops of Charles V, then in alliance with Scotland. The barrister writes in 1703 that he had then a letter lying by him from a Mr. Johnson, who had seen this eagle carved on James Corker's tombstone. Search at Wragby has not yet revealed the tombstone, but it may still be there, or in some neighbouring churchyard.

From James Corker's will and inquisition of 1573, it is clear he married c. 1544. His wife, Elizabeth, was probably a Cotton or a Gargrave, as one son was called Cotton and Sir Cotton Gargrave was one of the guardians. Some entries should appear in the registers of Wragby, copied in full by the Rev. E. H. Sankey (*Yorks. Arch. Journal*, 1893). Who is the present possessor of these copies?

In 1573 a Thos. Corker, a priest, was concerned in plots to free Queen Mary of Scots. His life, like that of Francis and of James, throws sidelights on history. He appears in Dr. Venn's *Alum. Cantab.* I found Francis' appeal to King Charles II in the P.R.O. This Francis married Ann Hippon, but when and where has not been discovered. The entry should be in or near Featherston.

There is a Francis Corker, of Badsworth, who is very puzzling. He received properties near Nostell Abbey upon his father, James', death in 1573. There may be, extant still, MSS. or deeds that would greatly add to our knowledge of this Yorkshire branch.



Huntwick Grange became Saltershall property in 1600, and is probably in their hands at present.

A young officer, Edward Corker, was fighting at the Boyne in 1690, and at Namur in 1695 in Sir John Edgeworth's regiment, afterwards 18th Royal Irish. He was later Col. Ed. Corker, of Ballymaloe, co. Cork. His portrait in armour hung in the house of my grandfather, Major John Corker, and is in our possession, together with a gold medal presented to the latter 'for merit' after the Irish rebellion of 1798 by Lord Longueville, Commanding the Royal City of Cork Regiment.

The writer of these notes will be grateful for any information or suggestions addressed

Major-General T. M. Corker,

Junior United Service Club,

Charles St., London, S.W. 1.

Will of James Corker, of Huntewicke, in the county of York,  
gent.

To my sons, Leonard Corker, Lionell Corker, William Corker, and Cotton Corker, the Lease of the Hall and Mylne of Ackworth and the corn and fulling mylnes in Castleford, co. York, and also the Parsonage of Pennington, co. Lancs. To John Corker, my eldest son, my lands and tenements in Fournes, co. Lanc. To my son Thomas Corker, the lease of a close called "Nourode" in the parish of Guiseley and a moiety of the parsonage of Whitkirke. To Elizabeth Corker, my wife, the Lease of Little Southwode for life and after her decease to my son, Francis Corker. To my son, Francis Corker, the corn Mylne in Sharlston, and on his decease to his heirs male, and for default of such issue to my son Cotton, then to my son William, then to Lionel and then to my son Thomas. To my son, John Corker, my lands at Ulverston, co. Lanc., which I had of the grant of William Heaton and John Bolde, also all my goods and chattels at Ulverston. To the repair of Castleford Brige 26s. 8d. To the Common Box of the Parish of Wragbie 10s. To Mr. Cotton Gargrave one white mare. To Thomas Holgate, the younger, son of Henry Holgate, one silver spoone. To James Leverage and James Sterling a wether. To my daughter Ann over and besides 20 marks I owe her, £6 13s. 4d. To my son-in-law, Thomas Crosbie, one gold ringe. The rest of my goods to be into three parts, one part I give to my wife, another to my children, Leonard, Lionel, William, Cotton, Francis, Thomas, Mary, and Jane Corker.

Guardians of my son Francis to be Mr. Cotton Gargrave, of sons William and Cotton Xpofer Mather and Cuthbert Flemynge, of son Thomas and daughters Mary and Jane my wife and Thomas Crosbie. To my son, John Corker, £20 to be paid out of a debt owing by Xpofer Anderton.

Executrix, Elizabeth my wife.

Supervisors, John Flemyng, Thomas Holgate, Henry Holgate.

Witnesses, Richard Pollard, Thomas Crosbie, Robert Dobson, clerk, Thomas John Whitaker.

Dated 9 July, 1573.

Proved 22 February, 1573, by Elizabeth the relict the sole executrix.

(Prerogative Court of York, vol. xix, f. 567.)

Will of Elizabeth Corker of Huntwicke in the parish of Wragbie, co. York, widow.

To the poor men's box of Wragbie 3s. 4d. To Thomas Crosbie, my son, £10. To my son-in-law, Allen Kustwerke, £3 6s. 8d. To my son-in-law, Robert Lovell, £3 6s. 8d. To Thomas Hollings 12s. To Isabell, wife of Richard Okes, 10s. To Thomas Fell 12s. The sum of £20 to be bestowed upon my funeral and the poor people in Wragbie and Whytkerke, of which £20 I give £3 to the poor of Wragbie and 40s. to the poor of Whitkerke. The residue to my son, Thomas Corker, whom I make sole executor.

Witnesses, Henry Scolye, clerk, Thomas Fell.

Dated 20 March, 1590.

Proved 11 June, 1592.

(York Wills, vol. xxv, f. 918.)



## ROMAN LEAD MINING IN WEARDALE.

### DISCOVERY OF BRONZE LEAD-POURING LADLE.

By EDWARD WOOLER, F.S.A.

The exhibit described herewith is a bronze ladle used for pouring molten metal into moulds for lead pigs. It was discovered on Wolsingham South Moor by my friend, Councillor Hardwick, in the summer of 1920.

He is a great entomologist, and went on to Wolsingham Moor in the summer to collect Emperor moths.<sup>1</sup> In order to pack his specimens he jumped into what appeared to be a ditch across the moor. Whilst packing, he noticed in the west bank a curious-looking article, which he grubbed out from the bank.

It weighs 10 lbs. 4 ozs., and its dimensions are, outside—depth 8 ins., base diameter  $3\frac{7}{8}$  ins., diameter top  $5\frac{3}{8}$  ins., thickness  $\frac{3}{8}$  in.

This he ultimately brought to me.

The ladle is composed of bronze (90 parts copper, 10 parts tin) and has a lip for pouring. It is conical in shape, like the old sugar-loaf, only not so long, and the lip has been made by the pressing of a thumb in the clay mould. The core of the mould was shaped in clay and then coated with wax. Then a layer of clay was placed on the top of the wax, and when all was dry the wax has been melted out, thus leaving the space for the metal to run in, and so the mould has been formed. This ladle has undoubtedly been used for pouring lead into the mould for pigs of lead. The ladle will hold  $2\frac{1}{2}$  pints.

Iron is said to have been introduced into Britain about 500 years B.C., and it may be asked why the mould was not made of iron, but it is clear that at the time of its use iron was not generally

<sup>1</sup> It is noteworthy that in short-lived insects the male is often provided with elaborate sense organs which assist him to find a mate with as little delay as possible. The male May-fly has especially complex eyes, while the feelers of the male silk moth or egg-worm are comb-like or feathery, the branches bearing thousands of sensory hairs. The process of sembling is interesting. A living female is put into a cardboard box covered with gauze, and taken on a beautiful day in May to the moors. An ele-

vated spot is chosen from where the wind is blowing towards a likely hollow. Quickly the scent attracts the males of that particular species, and the female becomes rapidly surrounded by a swarm of would-be suitors, attracted by the odour emitted from the prisoner's scent glands, and scores may be caught in a few hours. It is most interesting to watch the males assembling. They fly in a zig-zag manner towards their mate. When they lose scent they fly back until they are able to find it again.

used in that part of Britain. The melting point of bronze is about 1,200 C., that of lead is only 425 C., so that bronze can be readily used for the purpose described.

I took two geologists, friends of mine, to examine the ditch or trench and they unhesitatingly pronounced it to be an old lead working—a quantity of galena lying near.

Galena is of very wide distribution, and in many localities occurs in almost inexhaustible deposits.<sup>1</sup> Several ancient writers have said that unusual conflagrations of a forest where the metallic ore was exposed at the surface, were the means by which lead was discovered, but Professor Gowland contends that the discovery was due to lumps of the ore being used in building camp fires, and that from the camp fire the lead smelting furnaces of later times were gradually evolved. One of the first stages in the development of the furnaces was reached by simply enclosing the fire within a low wall of one or two courses of rude stone and making a cavity or channel in the ground for the reception of the molten lead. This primitive arrangement varied little throughout Britain, and the description agrees with the remains of furnaces discovered.

In vol. 59, part 2, of *Archæologia*, p. 328, Mr. Horace Sandars gives an interesting description of Roman mining operations in Baetica, and there are illustrations of the tools used by the Romans in mining.

Where this ladle was found I made excavations, and lead, slag, charcoal, and wedge-shaped fire-resisting stones were found, showing there had been a lead furnace erected at the edge of the mountain, and a flue had been formed to catch the prevailing wind and act as a blast to the furnace.

I must now proceed to describe a Roman penal settlement which is  $1\frac{3}{8}$  miles from the place where the lead furnace was discovered.

The following extracts are from a paper which I read at the meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle on the 29th July, 1903.

“On one of our expeditions we visited the neighbourhood of Wolsingham, and there found old remains of absorbing interest at the place known as the ‘Castles.’ These are the ruins of what appear to be an old fortification, probably of the Brigantes. It is situated within about 300 yards of Harehope Burn, and to the north-west of Hoppyland Park, Hamsterley, at the foot of a high ridge of hills at an altitude of 612 feet. It is an oblong enclosure,

<sup>1</sup> Lucretius *De Rerum Natura* V. 1251–1256.



the interior space being a plane inclining to the south. The internal dimensions are on the south side 278 feet, on the north side 249 feet, and the general width is 215 feet from east to west. On every side the structure was enclosed by lofty dry walls of stones, built upon the soil thrown inward from the ditch which girdled the building. Both the outside and inside faces of the walls were originally built with quarried stones laid in courses, the space between the faces being filled with loose stones.

On the eastern side, about the middle, there is evidence of there having been at one time an entrance, but no reliable idea of the original size of this opening can be formed owing to the circumstance that the whole of the wall is down, but in the centre of it is a large upright flag which, conjecturally, may have answered the purpose of a door. The base of the stone walls exceeded 26 feet in thickness, and the average height of the walls outside was upwards of 15 feet. Near the place of entrance on the east side a stream runs down a deep ghyll, showing that advantage had been taken of the natural formation of the ground to strengthen the defences of the settlement, and probably a bridge or platform of trees or hurdles, which could easily be either removed or destroyed, was used at that particular point. Apparently the ghyll had been damned up at the north-east corner in order to fill the ditches with water, and in all probability there was also a dam at the south-east corner for the purpose of more effectually securing deep water.

Judging from the manner in which the wall has been thrown down, the fortifications would appear to have been attacked from the north, which is undoubtedly the weakest side. At the present time the site of the camp is partially covered and surrounded by growths of mountain ash, birch and whins, and the ditches are filled with growing brushwood. Looking from the beck the wall is stupendous, as on this side the greatest quantity of materials has manifestly been needed in order to bring the ridge to the level of the rest of the work. It is difficult to conjecture whence the stones were obtained to build the fort, as there is no appearance of any such materials on the adjacent lands. Although the enclosed space is now covered with trees and undergrowth, there are evidences that the whole space has been ploughed at no very distant time."

'The Castles' is on land which now forms part of the estate of Mr. Blenkinsopp, of Hoppyland Park, with whom I have been in communication, and from whom I hope to obtain permission to excavate a trench some three feet deep across the internal part in the hope of making discoveries to throw light on the age of the

remains. Mr. Blenkinsopp tells me the property has been in his family for about 150 years. He describes some remains discovered as looking like 'fossilised tusks,' and he also says some slag was found in one or two places near by as though ironstone had been smelted there. The property was formerly copyhold, held of the Bishop of Durham, and was anciently part of the possession of the Eures who held it for many generations.

I visited 'The Castles' on Saturday, the 6th June, 1903, with my friends, Messrs. Turnbull and Mountford, and found climbing the mounds of stones a difficult task. The interior plane would be capable, according to Hutchinson, the Historian of Durham, of receiving about 500 huts, so that the fortress would secure within the ramparts probably between 2,000 and 3,000 people, basing the calculation on five persons or thereabouts to each hut. Some antiquaries surmise that this camp was on the line of the Scots or Black Dyke (see Bruce's *Roman Wall*), others that the Brigantes, after they were defeated by the Romans at Stanwick Camp, fled hither and entrenched themselves. In support of the latter view there is the fact that a road leads from 'The Castles' to Stanwick, and ancient British and Roman remains have been found within a few miles of the old fortress.

Nine years later I called the attention of Mr. J. E. Hodgkin, F.S.A., to these remains, and he conducted further explorations, removing the stones from the eastern entrance.

Below I give extracts from "The Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne," describing a visit paid by them to 'The Castles' on the 22nd May, 1912.

"Then Mr. Hodgkin conducted members across the fields to the early entrenched enclosure known as 'The Castles,' where he has recently made excavations, the chief being the uncovering of the gateway on the east side, apparently the only entry to the enclosure.

The stone walled camp, known locally as 'The Castles,' and so marked on the Ordnance Survey, is situated about 300 yards north of the Harehope Burn, which is a tributary of the Bedburn river and is about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles north-west of Hamsterley village. The camp has formed the subject of a paper by Mr. Wooler. At the time this paper was written the camp appeared to consist simply of a roughly rectangular enclosure with large piles of water-worn rounded stones varying in height from a few inches above the ground level to as much as 15 feet. There had only been cleared in the south-east corner internally a small piece of the wall face, which consisted of



fairly smooth stones laid dry but giving no appearance of having been worked with tools.

For the last three years Mr. Hodgkin has been engaged in personally investigating the camp, and has opened up considerable sections of the wall, from which the following points are clear:

(1) The whole of the interior corners of the camp were rounded and the external corners square, with massive quoin stones, many of which are still in position.

(2) There was only one entrance in the middle of the east wall, this side being very strongly defended in addition by a natural stream, and a second mound or earthwork between the stream and the wall running the whole length of the east face. In the south face of the gateway there is a round guard-house, which was entirely filled with stones before Mr. Hodgkin commenced his operations. The whole of the gateway has been cleared, showing what is probably rough stone flagging, and at the north side of the gateway a curious large flagstone on end, which may have been used in connection with a wooden barrier to close the gateway.

(3) The width of the walls varies from 14 to 21 feet, the widest part being in the middle of the east side, where it has been widened to allow of the construction of the gate-house in the thickness of the wall. The only finds which Mr. Hodgkin has come across which could help to fix the date, are the upper half of a stone quern and a squared stone that has been used to hold the gate-pin, the hole for which has worn oval. The Rev. J. Holliday, Vicar of Hamsterley, reported having seen a fine stone hammer-head on the occasion of a visit last winter, but this has disappeared."

Until the discovery of this ladle, the size and position of the encampment, the thickness of the walls, and the strange position in which it is built were a mystery to me. Now I think there cannot be the smallest doubt that it was a Roman Penal Settlement, in which the Romans kept their slaves or convicts and their lead. This would explain the strength of the building, the single entrance, and the guard-house in the centre of the wall. The roof of the guard-house is corbelled over. The Romans always set work out with such precision that you would have thought if the original guard-house was truly circular its present shape must be due to the pressure of the walls.

One of the chief incentives to the conquest of Britain by the Romans was the wealth of its minerals; of this there is abundant and well-known documentary evidence, but the corroboration of archæo-

logical testimony has not been so fully utilised. The products must have been enormous, and the districts numerous.

Pliny tells us that the ore was so abundant in Britain and so near the surface, that it was necessary to restrain the working by legal enactments. A large number of lead pigs which have been recorded as found in various places testify to the early and systematic working of the lead mines. These pigs weigh from 150 to 190 lbs. and upwards, and were therefore valuable.

From the quantity which has been found some idea may be formed of the vast amount exported to Italy and sent to various parts of Britain for sale to the manufacturers of leaden utensils.

The pigs already found date from the reign of Claudius to that of Marcius Aurelius, or rather Severus if we accept that found at Lilleboune, in Normandy, as having been brought from Britain. Two of them, in addition to the imperial stamp, bear also the names of British tribes, Cangi Brigantes Lutud, a recognition at least of nationality not extinguished.

The working of so many mines must have required thousands of hands, and by far the greater part must have been Britons, who, with the Gauls, were expert metallurgists and accomplished in the manufacture of metallic implements and utensils.

The earliest date is borne by a mass of lead found in Somersetshire in 1853, near Blagdon, which is now in the British Museum, and is from A.D. 44 to A.D. 48. Another of the date of 1 Emperor Claudius, A.D. 49, was found at Wookey Hole, near Wells. These show at what an early period this part of the island was brought under tribute (Scarth's *Roman Bath*, p. 8).

All mines were the property of the State, like the salines or salt mines. They were worked either directly by the Government, which provided labour, or were let to individuals or corporations for a rent or royalty. Many of these persons were merely employed in the works, being either slaves or condemned malefactors.

In this case, owing to the adaptation of 'The Castles' to the requirements of the penal settlement, it seems that the lead in this particular locality must have been worked by slaves and criminals.

Dr. Bruce, in his *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, p. 358, says, "There can be no doubt that the Romans worked the rich lead mines of the Stanhope district (a few miles above the point where the ladle was found). Heaps of mineral slag are found in the vicinity of the metaliferous veins."



There is ample reason to believe that the Emperors had Roman soldiers stationed to superintend the working of the mine, and to distribute the lead to the cities of the empire.

Iron was produced in the neighbourhood in large quantities at a later period. In the neighbourhood of Lanchester, a few miles distant, the process seems to have been carried on very extensively. On the division of the common two large heaps were removed; one contained 400 loads of dross and the other 600 loads. It was used in the construction of the new road over the moor.

The Romans who became domiciled in Britain indulged in an uncommon degree in the use of lead for interments. In the museum at York there are four lead coffins found in one of the burial places of Eboracum.

Bouchier, in his *Spain under the Roman Empire*, p. 86, says nearly all the Spanish mines seem to have been at one time Carthaginian, and for some time were a success and were left in the hands of the natives.

Cato, as Censor, first levied a tribute on the produce, virtually declaring them State property.

The Carthaginians were there until the Augustine age, and were followed by a succession of individuals or municipalities which paid or fixed a rent to the State, or a kind of combination might be formed for their exploitation under smaller committees.

I must now consider if we can fix the date when this penal settlement was erected. I will first summarise the dates of the principal events connected with the history of the Brigantes.

A.D. 47. Ostorius suppresses commotions amongst the Brigantes.

A.D. 52. Caractacus surrendered by the Brigantes and taken prisoner to Rome.

A.D. 52. Gallus in conflict with the Brigantes.

A.D. 71-5. Cerealis attacked Brigantes, many battles fought.

A.D. 69-79. Coin of Vespasian found at Stanhope, 7½ miles west.

A.D. 78. Agricola came to Britain.

A.D. 79. Brigantes finally subjugated. Brigantes not mentioned again during the praetorship of Agricola.

A.D. 81-96. Coin of Domitian found at Stanhope.

A.D. 98-117. Coin of Trajan found at Stanhope.

A.D. 100. The Penal Settlement was 93 yards by 72 yards, and constructed on exactly the same lines of a Roman station except that the walls were built of dry rubble and there was only one entrance on the east with a circular guard chamber

in the middle of the wall. Previous to about A.D. 100 camps were Polybian or square. Comprehensive descriptions of the system of fortifications followed by the Romans at two widely separated epochs are available for information. Polybius describes the square camp as it was before B.C. 100, while Hyginus gives an account of the rectangular encampment about A.D. 100, so that it seems clear that the settlement cannot have been erected before A.D. 100, and was probably erected between that date and A.D. 117.

A.D. 117-138. Coin of Hadrian found at Stanhope.

A.D. 138-161. Coin of Antoninus found at Stanhope.

From the above facts I am of opinion that the settlement was erected between 100-117.



## THE PARENTAGE OF WILLIAM DE PERCY.

BY THE REV. S. P. H. STATHAM, B.A.

Mr. Ellis,<sup>1</sup> in his description of William de Percy, states that "he came from Perci in the *Département* of La Manche, a seigneurie owned by the Paynels." As a statement of fact this is correct; but it is also a statement which clouds the issue raised, viz. the paternity of William. Whilst it is true that the fief of Percy belonged to the Paynels it is also true that it did not come into their hands until 1214. Before this it had been in the possession of Jordan Taisson and his son, Ralph, from about 1139. A reference to the chart pedigree attached will explain this statement at a glance. This chart has been compiled from Delisle<sup>2</sup> and other authorities, which need not be given here in detail as they are fully discussed in a volume now in the press entitled the "Descent of the family of Stathum." The dates above mentioned throw no light upon the ownership of Percy in 1086; but in a *pancarte* quoted by Delisle (*Preuves*, 59), which must be dated prior to 1138, we find the following:

"*Nigellus vicecomes Sancti Salvatoris, qui Abbatiam inchoavit, dedit in Perceio eidem abbacie ecclesias cum decimis earundem, et decimam totius redditus ejusdem ville. Postea, quando Rogerus vicecomes patriam rehabuit, ecclesias cum decimis et redditibus omnibus sancto Salvatori reddidit.*"

The Nigel referred to herein was, I think, Nigel III, who in 1049 suppressed the Collegiate Church of Saviour the Vicount founded by his ancestor and established in its place an abbey of Benedictines (*Histoire des Evêques de Coutances*; M. Lecanu, 124; and *Mémoires, Société des Antiquaires de la Normandie*, ii, 46). It may, however, refer to Nigel IV, who was viscount in 1073. In either case it proves that the fief of Percy belonged to the family of S. Saviour at a date previous to the compilation of Domesday.

Having established this highly important fact, it remains to consider, (a) the date on which it was granted out, and (b) to whom it was granted.

<sup>1</sup> *Yorkshire Domesday Tenants*, Yorks. Arch. and Top. Journal, iv, 1877, f. 153.

<sup>2</sup> *Histoire du Chateau etc. de Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte*. L. Delisle. Valognes, 1867.

(a) Percy as a family name is not to be found, so far as I can discover, anterior to 1086. This is fair proof that this fief had not hitherto been granted out. This would seem to limit the date to the lifetime of the baron of S. Saviour living between the years 1050–1065, as William de Percy must have been at least 21 in 1086. The owner of S. Saviour from 1049 to 1073 was Nigel III.

(b) This Nigel married Adela, daughter of William de Vernon. They were the parents of several children, among whom were two sons named William (*C. French Doc.*: no. 1166). One of these Williams, William fitz Nigel, of Halton, co. Cheshire, is well known to genealogical students; the other, I venture to suggest, was William de Percy. I am quite aware that the parentage of William fitz Nigel is hotly contested; but the evidence produced by Mons. E. Pégot-Ogier in his *Histoire des Isles de la Manche*, Paris, 1881, appears to me to definitely settle that question.

Is there any evidence by which this suggestion can be confirmed? I think there is, although it is not entirely convincing.

William de Percy, of Whitby, is stated (*Dugd. Mon.*, old ed., i, 72, *et seq.*) to have appointed Serlo his brother, first of all as prior and subsequently, abbot of Whitby. In a *pancarte* contained in the chartulary of S. Saviour the Viscount, reproduced by Delisle (*Preuves*, 50–55), which covers the period 1090–1100, we find the following:

“*Sciendum est quod Roger camerarius dedit terram suam quam habebat in villa Sci salvatoris abbacie et monachis ejusdem ville, et illam quam habebat in villa que dicitur Columba, que est de feodo Nigelli vicecomitis. Testibus ex parte monachorum: Serlone (Sellone) carpentario et Willelmo fratre ejus, etc.*”

Roger the chamberlain was undoubtedly a son of Nigel the Viscount, which makes more weighty the significance to be attached to the names of the witnesses to his grant. It would be quite in accordance with the custom of those days for the founder of a religious establishment to appoint his illegitimate brother, as Serlo must have been, as its first prior.

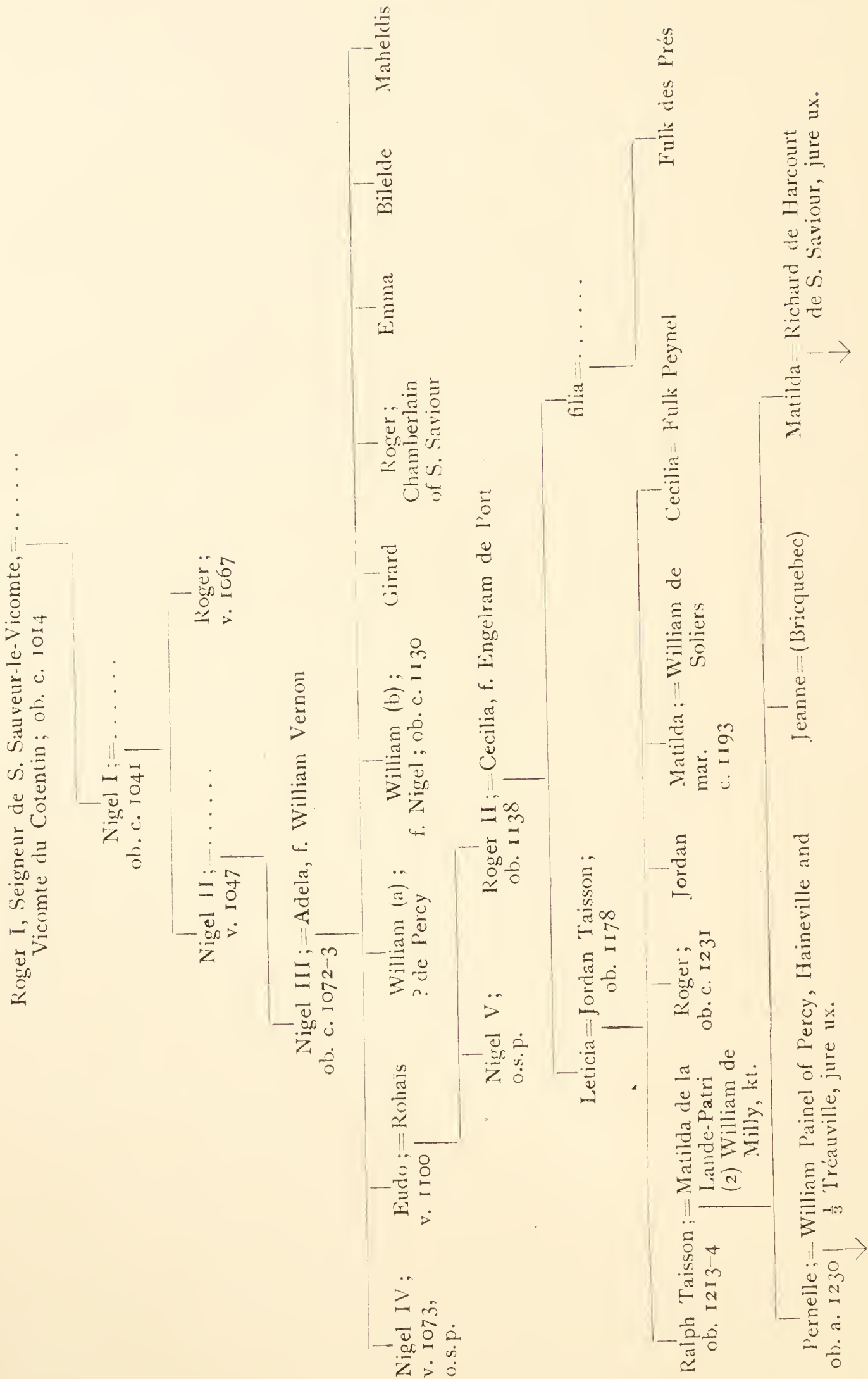
We also find members of the family of Percy witnessing the charters of the subsequent barons of Saint Saviour the Viscount. Humphrey de Percy attests one of Eudo the Viscount about 1104, and other instances will be found in Delisle (*Preuves*, 56, 65, 67, 68).

William fitz Nigel, William de Percy's brother, as I suggest, was an under-tenant of Hugh, Earl of Chester, in Cheshire, and several other counties, and it would not be surprising to find, as we do, that the earl had enfeoffed a brother with the manors of Whitby and Sneaton, in Yorkshire.



Too much stress cannot be laid on the coat armour of the earlier generations of our ancient families; but it is worthy of note that the arms ascribed to the Percies are *fusils in fess*, whilst those of Halton are *fusils in pale*. Students of Cheshire families cannot fail to be struck by the use of the fusil in all the coats of families imagined to be descendants of the S. Saviours.

This family, one of the most distinguished in Normandy, has hitherto received but scant attention from English antiquaries. A full knowledge of its many ramifications, both before and after the Conquest, would dissipate many of our genealogical mysteries. It requires the hand of an expert to deal with it, and I can only hope that someone, possessed of the necessary knowledge, will devote his attention to the Viscounts of the Cotentin. I make no claim to having settled the parenthood of William de Percy; but I think I have opened the way for further investigation.





## WILLIAM PALEY BAILDON.

Archæology has lost one of its most zealous and capable students and the Yorkshire Archæological Society a devoted friend and helper by the passing of William Paley Baildon, who died at his house in Westbourne Park, London, on the 14th of March last. His health had for some months given rise to anxiety, but he bore up bravely under much suffering and remained at work, patient and cheerful, to the end.

Born in Staffordshire, 7 July, 1859, the second son of Joseph Baildon of Newcastle-under-Lyme, Baildon took up Law as his profession and was called to the Bar in 1885. He attained a high reputation as a Chancery barrister and draughtsman, having few equals as a conveyancer. Indeed, he would have risen to greater eminence in his profession had he not devoted so much of his time and energy to antiquarian research. It was in the study of our national muniments that he found full scope for his talent: upon these he brought to bear a mind accurate and precise, carefully trained in the sifting and weighing of evidence, capable of reading between the lines of a dull record facts of high historical value. The intricacies of a medieval pedigree, the descent of an ancient estate, the problems of manorial rights—in such was his delight. At the end of a busy day in chambers, he would be found at the Record Office snatching the last few minutes before closing time to carry on a systematic search of some series of rolls or other records. There was nothing small or selfish about Baildon: the results of his labour were freely placed at the disposal of all who sought them; he was ever ready to assist and advise fellow-workers in the fields of research, to encourage with helpful criticism all who sought his aid. Genealogy, to Baildon, was no mere collection of dry sticks, but a living tree that brought him into closer touch with the past, in every detail of which he took deep interest.

In 1892, Baildon was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London, in whose work he took a very prominent share. He was for many years on the Council and was a Vice-President at the time of his death. He contributed often to the publications of the Society, and took a frequent part in the discussions. His legal acumen and shrewdness were of peculiar value when the Statutes were revised and on other committees of importance. He

also rendered great service, as editor and otherwise, to Lincoln's Inn, of which he was a valued member; nor will he soon be forgotten in "E" Company of the old Inns of Court R.V. He was indeed a man of many friends, to whom his genial nature and kindly wit are precious memories of one whom they sorely miss.

Wide as were his antiquarian interests, it was to Yorkshire, the home of his race, that Baildon devoted the chief part of his labours. His zeal found expression in "Baildon and the Baildons," a work of extraordinary interest, based entirely upon personal research. It was unfortunately suspended during the late War and printing ceased with the issue of Part XI; but the material for the remaining Parts is all available, and it is hoped that they will shortly be in print. The whole will form a worthy monument to a man whose industry, patience, research and critical skill, have produced so detailed a history of a Yorkshire village. To the various Societies in Yorkshire that deal with the history and records of the County, Baildon was a warm friend. His contributions to the Yorkshire Archæological Journal include:—The Elland Feud (1891); Star Chamber Proceedings (1899); Acaster Malbis and the Fairfax Family (1906), and The Keighley Family (1923): he had just completed for our Journal an important paper on the early Savile Family, which it is hoped may be available for publication. For the Record Series, he edited a volume of Monastic Notes and collected material for another volume, with a MSS. index for use in the Y.A.S. Library. He also edited the Feet of Fines for Yorkshire (2 volumes) for Edward III, and had calendered ready for publication those for Edward I. To these must be added two volumes of Wakefield Manor Rolls and (in conjunction with J. W. Clay) a volume of Yorkshire Inquisitions *temp.* Henry IV. and Henry V. He was always full of interest in the work of our Society and anxious to promote its interests. His contributions to the volumes of the Thoresby Society were also important, including papers on the Skyrack and Claro Muster Rolls and the Families of Lethley and Maude: and he was joint-editor of the Calverley Charters and the Kirkstall Coucher Book. He bequeathed to the Bradford Library his splendid collection of manuscripts, the result of his life's work among national and private records. There they will be available to those who would consult them—a mine of information for all who take interest in the early history of our County. But William Paley Baildon, the wise counsellor, the kind helper, the witty, pleasant companion and friend, has passed: and we cannot fill his place.

J.W.R.P.



## JOSEPH THOMAS FOWLER, D.C.L., F.S.A.

Joseph Thomas Fowler, who died at Winterton on 23 March, 1924, in his ninety-first year, found a life-long interest in the antiquities of Yorkshire, and for many years was closely connected with our Society, sitting upon its Council and contributing valuable articles to its journal. His life, however, was for the most part spent outside the county, though near its borders, and other friends, especially in the University of Durham, to which he gave forty-seven years of devoted work, will doubtless tell in full a story for which copious material exists in his diaries. Nevertheless, his departure calls for a brief attempt to present some idea of his life and work to members of a body to which he gave so much of his learning, and to many of whom, although several years have passed since he last appeared among us, his personality was familiar.

Winterton, in the north of Lincolnshire, where he was born on 9 June, 1833, lies within a short distance of the Humber, and in sight of the Yorkshire Wolds, on the low upland, west of the Ancholme valley, along which the Roman road runs northwards from Lincoln. Even now, when industry has developed in the neighbourhood, it lies somewhat out of the world, one of those large country villages which long lived a self-contained life, untouched by railways until within comparatively recent years. To antiquaries it has been famous for more than a century as the home of the builder and artist, William Fowler (1761-1832), whose magnificent coloured engravings of Roman pavements and stained-glass windows are remarkable examples of learned and accurate draughtsmanship and technique. The subject of this notice was the eldest son of William Fowler's eldest son Joseph, and of Elizabeth his wife, eldest daughter of Thomas Fowler of Owmbly-by-Spital in the same county. Another son of William Fowler, William Henry, of Burton Stather, was the father of Thomas Fowler, the late President of Corpus Christi, Oxford,<sup>1</sup> born a year earlier than his cousin. Joseph Thomas Fowler, after being educated at home by his father and at Saltfleetby by an uncle, was sent to the West Riding Proprietary School at Wakefield. On leaving school he studied medicine, was admitted M.R.C.S. and L.S.A. in 1856, and became house-surgeon for a year at St. Thomas' Hospital, and afterwards for another year at the

<sup>1</sup> He died at Oxford 20 November, and was buried at Winterton  
24 November, 1904.

Bradford Infirmary. In 1858, however, he entered Hatfield Hall (now College) at Durham, with the intention of taking Holy Orders: he obtained a Theological scholarship, won the Hebrew prize for three successive years, and the Barry scholarship in 1861, when he took his B.A. degree, proceeding to his M.A. three years later.

In 1861 he was ordained deacon, and went as curate to the Hon. John Grey, Rector of Houghton-le-Spring, co. Durham. After his ordination as priest in 1863 he became chaplain and precentor of St. John's College, Hurstpierpoint, one of the newly-founded Woodard schools. Here, as he reminded us a few years ago, he met a promising boy with a strong interest in ecclesiology whose tastes he had some share in directing. William St. John Hope, whose letters to his father at this period are full of visits to churches, described with careful observation of detail, regarded Fowler as his archæological parent: the friendship was strongly cemented with the growth of years and lasted throughout life, and on more than one occasion the two collaborated in work upon the history of the Church of Durham. Fowler's own tastes were by this time fully formed. A devout Churchman, rooted in the Tractarian conception of Church doctrine and discipline, he was a keen student of ecclesiastical architecture, music and ritual. He appears to have begun to contribute archæological articles to periodicals as early as 1862. He was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries on 30 May, 1867, and, upon his admission a week later, read a paper upon the musical inscription on the fourth bell at St. Mary's, Oxford, which, with amplifications made at a later meeting, was printed as a supplementary article in the forty-second volume of *Archæologia*. For a short time he acted as local secretary for Sussex, and afterwards for a long period in the same capacity for Co. Durham. His numerous contributions to the proceedings of the Society range over the years 1867-1905, and, as late as January, 1904, he read no less than four short papers on widely different subjects at a single meeting.

He left Hurstpierpoint in 1869 and accepted a curacy at North Kelsey in Lincolnshire. Almost immediately, however, he was appointed, in 1870, Vice-Principal of Hatfield Hall. Here he remained for the rest of his active life, retiring only in 1917. From 1871 to 1917 he was Lecturer in Hebrew in the University, and from 1873 to 1901 University Librarian. In 1881 he became Maltby's Librarian, and in 1889 Cosin's, holding both offices until 1911.

His contributions to the *Yorkshire Archæological Journal* began in 1870 with its first volume and continued with remarkable fre-



quency. He was closely associated with its founders, and the obituary notice of Fairless Barber came from his hand, as did also that of Father Haigh, whose interest in inscribed stones of the Saxon period he shared. On 4 June, 1872, he was elected a member and member of Council of the Surtees Society. Between that time and 1881 he occupied the semi-official post of assistant-secretary, and continued upon the Council until his death. He joined the Council of the Yorkshire Archæological Society in 1880, and retired in 1907. He was also an active member of the Durham and Northumberland Archæological Society. It is curious to notice that, apart from one short article in *Archæologia Æliana*, he took no part in the work of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries, and appears never to have joined it.

Amid his employments in the University of Durham, he was able to undertake a large amount of literary work, and considering the bulk and variety of the material which he covered, it is astonishing to notice with what punctuality it was performed. He was not one of those who let the grass grow under their feet, dallying with annotations until the commentary outgrows the text. A comparison of the dates of his publications suggests that he was content to have one serious piece of work on hand at a time, not allowing another to overlap it or usurp its interest. Thus, his edition of the Cistercian Statutes, embodying much patient research, was compiled after the completion of the three volumes of *Memorials of Ripon*, and was followed methodically by his text of the Coucher-book of Selby Abbey, and this by his work upon the Durham Account-rolls. While he was busy at this last and *Rites of Durham*, he did little else: his contributions to our *Journal* were intermitted, and it was not until *Rites of Durham* had been published that he allowed himself the liberty of returning to occasional articles, each of which involved minute and exacting labour. The result is that he produced a singularly complete body of work, on which at the end of his long life he looked back with justifiable satisfaction.

*Rites of Durham* is probably the book by which he is best known. It is typical of his thorough methods of editing. The treatment of the English text, with all the abbreviations as in the original, may be regretted, although the caprices of sixteenth-century English spelling do not admit of the extension of contractions which in a Latin document are less open to doubt. The apparatus of notes, however, is admirable: crammed with learned and curious information, which is treated with exemplary compression, it has something of an encyclopædic character. Fowler had a great gift of putting much into a small space. His notes are interesting reading, for

he expressed himself lucidly, selected his illustrative quotations with an obvious pleasure in them, and, with the true care of a finished scholar, took great pains over the construction and punctuation of his sentences; but there is never a word too much, and his references are so neatly arranged that their copiousness does not obtrude itself upon the notice. In his *Durham Account-rolls* he had a more difficult task. A captious critic of monasteries, sensitive to the possible significance of omissions from printed documents, has been known to object to Fowler's method of judicious selection. No apology for it is needed, when the mass of the entire series of rolls is considered. The selection is sufficient to give the necessary picture of the life of the monastery and the conduct of its business: it is accompanied by an elaborate introduction, which saved much trouble and superfluous explanation when *Rites of Durham* came to be edited, an index which is a model of scholarship, and a glossary which, considering the small space it occupies, is one of the most useful guides in existence to medieval Latin terms, and is a resort in time of need from which the student seldom returns without information. From an early period in his life, its compiler was interested in words and their uses. His collections, in process of time, were made with a view to incorporation in the *New English Dictionary*, which, throughout its progress, has profited highly by his aid. An unfamiliar employment of a word at once set him on the track of its authority, and chapter and verse would be sedulously noted on a slip of paper, to be inserted in its proper place among his voluminous gleanings.

Fowler's work, though by no means limited in scope, was founded upon an ecclesiastical basis, and, upon its historical side, was intended to illustrate medieval church life. Within this area, which is wide enough, he ranged at will. Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Christianity interested him deeply. Inscribed stones and crosses of early date were one of the subjects to which he first devoted his attention, and to the churches of two great Anglian saints, Durham and Ripon, he gave most of his best work. *Memorials of Ripon*, a collection of documents from many sources, to which he added a supplementary volume in 1908, is the most complete *corpus* of records relating to a church of secular canons which has been made by an English scholar: it supplemented and fully explained the material of a special kind contained in the *Ripon Chapter Acts*, his first volume for the Surtees Society. In his *Cistercian Statutes* he worked upon the constitutional aspect of a subject which his friends Hope and J. T. Micklethwaite were approaching at the same time from the point of view of architecture and ritual. *The Nomasticon Cisterciense*,



on which he founded his text, was a rare and almost forgotten book, and to what he discovered in it he added a full illustrative commentary, in which he drew amply upon his acquaintance with the remains of monastic buildings.<sup>1</sup> A new and sumptuous edition of the *Nomasticon*, now almost as rare as the old, appeared at Solesmes soon after Fowler's work was finished; but it was without the commentary which gives his more accessible text its permanent value. His interest in Cistercian customs led him, in 1907, to visit Clairvaux and supply additional notes to a previous article upon an old description of the monastery; while in 1914, when he was in his eighty-first year, he wrote for our *Journal* an illustrated account of the splendid remains of the Cistercian abbey of Villers in Brabant. It is characteristic of his thoroughness of method that, in order to bring back some adequate record of Clairvaux in its present state, he learned photography: the results of his first attempts illustrate the article which he wrote on his return.

The records of a scholar's life are uneventful: the absorbing interest of his adventures in search of knowledge can be known to few but himself. Fowler's scholarship was of the massive type of an earlier age: inspired and continually impelled to research by the memories of the great Benedictine monastery whose history he illustrated with such good result, fed by his access to libraries richly stored with the treasures of the past, his power of untiring work and his critical faculty were Benedictine in the special sense of the word. There was much in common between the group of scholars who directed the Surtees Society in his day and the great band which worked at Saint-Maur in the seventeenth century. Their productions were less colossal in scale and their field of work was strictly localised; but Mabillon, Martène and Ruinart would have recognised their gifts as akin to their own and approved the accumulation of learning which they applied to the history of their chosen area. Among them Fowler stood pre-eminent as the representative of medieval learning: if William Greenwell, the most comprehensive antiquary of his day, was more fully versed in general archæology, and if James Raine, the inheritor of his father's talents, surpassed the rest in the power of literary presentation of his material, Fowler excelled in the solidity and fullness of his erudition.

In 1894 his University granted him the honorary degree of D.C.L., and it may be noted that in after years he had the gratification of presenting for similar degrees two of his most attached

<sup>1</sup> He was incited to his work on this subject by the publication of Guignard's *Monuments primitifs de la règle cister-*

*cienne* (Dijon, 1878), which contains the earlier constitutional documents of the Order.

friends, William St. John Hope for that of D.C.L., and, on the occasion of his last visit to Durham, William Brown for that of Doctor of Letters. In 1897 Bishop Westcott appointed him an Honorary Canon of Durham Cathedral. In the course of the next few years he produced some publications of a rather different kind from his usual type of work. His short account of Durham Cathedral for a popular series appeared in 1898, and, in the same year, his *Life and Letters of John Bacchus Dykes*. His friendship with Dykes was founded upon community of interest in Church music and upon their common attachment to the same principles of Churchmanship, a bond which also brought Fowler into sympathetic relations with the well-known architect, Charles Hodgson Fowler, a devout worshipper and office-bearer in Dykes' church of St. Oswald at Durham.<sup>1</sup> He wrote a history of the University of Durham, published in 1904, for Robinson's excellent series of *College Histories*, to which his cousin contributed the history of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Finally, in 1907, he issued a privately printed selection from the correspondence of his grandfather, William Fowler, of whose memory he was justly proud.

Although his mind remained as vigorous as ever, age and growing infirmity began to tell upon him. Always, as the writer remembers him, heavy in build and deliberate in movement, with some resemblance to the portraits of Dr. Johnson,<sup>2</sup> he began to find difficulty in walking, and grew very deaf. In 1917 he resigned his offices at Durham, where his departure and the death of Dr. Greenwell in the following January severed an important link with the past. He sold his library, a step which he afterwards lamented, and retired to the house at Winterton which had been long his second home. There he spent the last years of his life, visiting Durham annually in the summer, as long as he was able, and making occasional visits to old friends, once going as far as Hope's house at Shelford, near Cambridge. Until within two years of his death, he helped in the services at Winterton church, frequently reading the lessons

<sup>1</sup> Hodgson Fowler, a member of a family unrelated to the Fowlers of Winterton, but connected with Lincolnshire by marriage, was responsible for the careful restoration of the interesting church of Winterton in 1904.

<sup>2</sup> Since this was written, Mr. Luard-Selby has reminded the writer that the resemblance went deeper, and quotes some phrases from Boswell's character of Johnson at the beginning of *The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*: 'He was a sincere and zealous Christian, of high Church of England and monarchical

principles, which he would not tamely suffer to be questioned; steady and inflexible in maintaining the obligations of piety and virtue . . . . . of a most humane and benevolent heart; having a mind stored with a vast and various collection of learning and knowledge, which he communicated with peculiar perspicuity and force . . . . . He had a loud voice, and a slow deliberate utterance, which no doubt gave additional weight to the sterling metal of his conversation.' These words might well have been written of the subject of this notice.



and occasionally taking late celebrations of the Holy Eucharist, especially on the great festivals. His last work for the Surtees Society, a supplementary volume to J. R. Walbran's unfinished *Memorials of Fountains Abbey*, appeared in 1918. At Winterton he took up an important piece of work which had been begun by the late Canon R. E. G. Cole, an antiquary of singular merit, whose contributions to Lincolnshire history deserve far more general attention than they have received, the transcript in extended form of the Act-books of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln. It was a formidable task for a man of his age: these fourteenth and fifteenth century manuscripts, written in minute and sometimes careless handwriting, full of unusual contractions due to the arbitrary custom of local scribes, and frequently defaced and blurred, presented difficulties which had occasionally baffled their previous transcriber, by some two years Fowler's senior. Each volume was sent to Winterton, carefully copied in a hand which, though showing obvious signs of age, was easily legible and could make a sheet of foolscap hold more than twice its normal allowance, transmitted to a friend with the transcript for comment on problematic readings, and finally returned with the transcript to Lincoln. He copied no less than six of these volumes, and was beginning to work on a seventh: his last transcript, revised and emended with his usual care, was sent to his friend shortly before his death, and, by a curious coincidence, its perusal was finished and it was ready for return on the very day on which he passed from this life. It may also be mentioned that, during his retirement at Winterton, in 1920, he brought out a new edition of Adamnan's *Vita Columbæ*, with notes revised and amplified from his earlier edition of 1894: he had published a translation of the work in 1895. Seldom has a life so far prolonged been granted the privilege of continuing in patient labour up to the very eve of death.

In these last years he found much pleasure in the society of the Rev. R. B. Luard-Selby, Vicar of Winterton, who aided him greatly in his labours and is continuing his work upon the Lincoln Act-books. He never failed to find such friends and disciples, infecting them with his own enthusiasm and awakening in them the desire to emulate his accuracy and thoroughness. Formidable as he could be to the pretender to knowledge, he was kindness itself to all who sought his aid, and was ready to learn from all. Much younger men to whom he submitted his work for criticism will long remember with gratitude a privilege which taught them more than they could give in return. His University may well

congratulate itself upon its sole possession of a son whose scholarship, acquired within her borders, would have been conspicuous and was duly respected in older seats of learning. The North of England owes much to his painstaking toil upon the history of her great churches—Durham, Ripon and Selby, and to his manifold contributions to the literature of her ecclesiastical antiquities. Among the generation of Northern scholars and churchmen to which he belonged, he took his part in reviving and maintaining the high traditions of the Christianity and learning of the early Northumbrian kingdom. To none can he be more fitly compared in this connection than to the master to whose writings he constantly referred for guidance in his tasks. His life, like that of the Venerable Bede, was given to study and teaching beneath the walls of a church which reminded him daily of the close relation between labour and prayer; like that of Bede, it was happily fruitful in literary work produced out of fullness of knowledge; and, in like manner, as Bede dictated the last words of his commentary on the Gospel of St. John from his death-bed, so this scholar of our own day fell on sleep with his work accomplished and his heart content.

A.H.T.

## APPENDIX.

The list which follows contains the names of such of Dr. Fowler's works as it has been possible to trace in sources easily available to the writer. There are probably, however, many scattered articles of his in other periodicals, and he did much work in reviewing books for the *Church Quarterly Review* and other papers.

## A. CONTRIBUTIONS TO PERIODICALS OF SOCIETIES.

## (a) YORKSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL JOURNAL (1870-1920).

On some Ancient Inscribed Stones at Dewsbury. Vol. i, pp. 223-225.

Notes on a Bell Inscription formerly at All Saints', Pontefract. Vol. ii, pp. 61-68, 193-194.

Ripon Minster Library and its Founder. *Ibid.* pp. 371-402.

On certain "Starrs" or Jewish Documents, partly relating to Northallerton. Vol. iii, pp. 55-63.

On the St. Cuthbert Window in York Minster. Vol. iv, pp. 249-376 [see also vol. xi, pp. 486-501].

On an Inscribed Stone at Yarm [by D. H. Haigh, annotated by J.T.F.]. Vol. vi, pp. 47-52.

The late Daniel Henry Haigh. *Ibid.* pp. 53-57 [see also Vol. xiii, pp. 561-562].

Obituary Notice of the late Fairless Barber, F.S.A. Vol. vii, pp. 1-5.

Two Epigrams. Vol. viii, pp. 424-425.

Early Dial at Monk Fryston. Vol. ix, p. 254.

Early Dials. *Ibid.* p. 397.



- Earliest Monumental Inscriptions in Howden Church. Vol. ix, p. 398.  
 Cistercian Statutes. *Ibid.* pp. 223-240, 338-361; vols. x, pp. 51-62, 217-233, 389-406, 502-522; xi, pp. 95-127 [also collected in reprint].  
 Kirkheaton Church. Vol. x, p. 165.  
 Ballads in Ripon Minster Library. Vol. xi, pp. 200-201.  
 Mural Paintings in Pitlington Church. Vol. xii, pp. 38-41 [see also Durham and Northumberland Society's Transactions, Vol. iv, pp. 1-4].  
 Runic Inscription at Kirkheaton. *Ibid.* pp. 106-138.  
 The Early History of Crayke. Vol. xvi, pp. 459-461.  
 Parish Coffins. *Ibid.* p. 467.  
 Haliwerfolk. Vol. xvii, p. 127.  
 Some Legends of St. Nicholas, with special reference to the Seal of Pocklington Grammar School. *Ibid.* pp. 254-260.  
 Grave Slab of Abbot Barwick in Selby Abbey Church. *Ibid.* p. 373.  
 An old Description of the Site of the Cistercian Abbey of Clairvaux. Vol. xix, pp. 1-18.  
 Further Notes on Clairvaux and a Note on Cîteaux. Vol. xx, pp. 1-5.  
 On a Twelfth-Century Font at Everingham. *Ibid.* pp. 487-489.  
 The Church in Ripon. Vol. xxii, pp. 1-15.  
 On a Figure of St. Margaret, supposed to have come from Marton Priory. *Ibid.* pp. 49-54.  
 The Abbey of Villers in Brabant. Vol. xxiii, pp. 92-104.  
 The Fifteen Last Days of the World in Medieval Art and Literature. *Ibid.* pp. 313-337.  
 A Boundary Cross at Markenfield. Vol. xxiv, pp. 320-321.  
 Blubberhouses. Vol. xxv, p. 128.  
 The late Sir William Hope. *Ibid.* p. 447.

## (b) ARCHÆOLOGIA.

- A Musical Inscription on the Fourth Bell at St. Mary's, Oxford [read at Soc. Antiq., 6 June, 1866 and 17 December, 1868]. Vol. xlii, pp. 591-593.  
 An Account of the Excavations made on the site of the Chapter House at Durham Cathedral in 1874 [15 April, 1875]. Vol. xlv, pp. 385-404.  
 On a Sculptured Cross at Kelloe, Durham [24 January, 1889]. Vol. lii, pp. 73-74.  
 On the Use of the Terms Crosier, Pastoral Staff and Cross [19 June, 1890]. *Ibid.* pp. 709-732.  
 On an Examination of the Grave of St. Cuthbert in Durham Cathedral Church in March, 1899 [14 December, 1899]. Vol. lvii, pp. 11-28.  
 Recent Discoveries in the Cloister of Durham Abbey [with W. H. St. John Hope, 18 June, 1903]. Vol. lviii, pp. 437-460.

## (c) PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES.

## SECOND SERIES.

- Querns, etc., found at Winterton [18 June, 1868]. Vol. iv, p. 141 [see also p. 190].

- Notes on the Discovery of a Stone Cross with a Runic Inscription at Crowle Church, Lincolnshire [17 December, 1868 and 18 November, 1869]. Vol. iv, pp. 187-190, 378-379.
- Two small carved figures [2 December, 1869]. *Ibid.* p. 383.
- Report as Local Secretary for Durham [16 April, 1874]. Vol. vi, pp. 175-183.
- A Romano-Palmyrene Monumental Slab from South Shields [5 December, 1878]. Vol. vii, pp. 479-480.
- An Ancient Doorhead at South Ferriby, Lincolnshire [23 January, 1879]. Vol. viii, pp. 26-28.
- A Wall-Painting found at Newminster [30 January, 1879]. *Ibid.* p. 29.
- On an Error in the Vulgate [Job xix, 24. 5 May, 1882]. Vol. ix, pp. 140-141.
- An Iron Spearhead found on the Site of the Chapter House at Durham [11 February, 1886]. Vol. xi, p. 78.
- A Roman Steelyard of Bronze found at Catterick [24 February, 1887]. *Ibid.* pp. 317-318.
- Inscriptions on the Towers at Totnes, Devon, and Great Carlton, Lincolnshire [6 December, 1888]. Vol. xii, pp. 257-258.
- A Brass at Winterton [28 March, 1889]. *Ibid.* p. 359.
- On some Grave Slabs in the Cathedral Church of Durham [16 January, 1890]. Vol. xiii, pp. 34-44.
- A Portrait Bust with Inscription on Frampton Church, Lincolnshire [17 December, 1891]. Vol. xiv, pp. 16-18.
- Stone Mortars found at Appleby, Lincolnshire, and a rubbing of a Grave Slab at Othem, Gotland [2 February, 1893]. *Ibid.* p. 275.
- A Monumental Brass at Hampsthwaite [21 February, 1895]. Vol. xv, pp. 324-326.
- An Effigy of a Deacon in Rippingale Church, Lincolnshire [do.]. *Ibid.* p. 328.
- An Inscribed West Doorway at Yarburgh Church, Lincolnshire [10 December, 1900]. Vol. xviii, pp. 228-230.
- On a Fireplace in the Cathedral Church of Durham [18 December, 1902]. Vol. xix, pp. 179-185.
- On the Seventeenth-Century Glass in Stoke Poges Church, Bucks. [do.]. *Ibid.* pp. 185-187.
- The Grave of Richard de Bury [14 January, 1904]. Vol. xx, pp. 18-20.
- The Discovery of the primitive Nave at Winterton Church [do.]. *Ibid.* pp. 20-24.
- Fireplaces in the Vestries at Morpeth and Warkworth [do.] *Ibid.* pp. 24-25.
- A Collection of Engraved Views of French Monasteries [do.]. *Ibid.* pp. 25-26.
- A Bronze Pax of English Workmanship [12 January, 1905]. *Ibid.* p. 174.
- An Armorial Pendant of the Fifteenth Century [19 February, 1913]. Vol. xxv, p. 61.
- On three Panels of Thirteenth-Century Stained Glass from Lanchester Church [15 April, 1915]. Vol. xxvii, pp. 205-213.



Bishop Flambard's Great Wall at Durham [with W. T. Jones, F.S.A., 18 May, 1916]. Vol. xxviii, pp. 221-226.

(d) ARCHÆOLOGIA ÆLIANA.

Middleton St. George: Cross in the Garden at the Low Hall. 2nd Series. Vol. xvi [1894], pp. 45-46.

(e) TRANSACTIONS OF THE DURHAM AND NORTHUMBERLAND  
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

A Visit to Brancepeth Church in 1863. Vol. i, pp. 73-81.

Mural Paintings in Pitlington Church. Vol. iv, pp. 1-4 [see also Yorks. Archæol. Journal, Vol. xii, pp. 38-41].

Inventory of Vestments, Books, etc., of the Priory of Finchale, A.D. 1481, with Translation, notes and glossary. *Ibid.* pp. 144-152.

(f) ASSOCIATED ARCHITECTURAL SOCIETIES' REPORTS AND  
PAPERS.

Notes on some Painted Glass in the Priory Church at Great Malvern. Vol. xvii [1884], pp. 115-120.

Notes on All Saints', Winterton. Vol. xix [1888], pp. 363-375.

The Parish Church of All Saints', Winteringham. Vol. xxx [1909], pp. 1-10.

Tombstone Inscriptions from Bardney Abbey. Vol. xxxii [1914], pp. 403-410.

B. CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE PUBLICATIONS OF RECORD SOCIETIES.

(a) SURTEES SOCIETY.

Acts of Chapter of the Collegiate Church of SS. Peter and Wilfrid, Ripon, 1452-1506 [lxiv], 1874.

Cartularium Abbatiae de Novo Monasterio (Newminster) [lxvi], 1876.

Memorials of the Church of Ripon, 4 vols. Vol. i [lxxiv], 1881; ii [lxxviii], 1884; iii [lxxxix], 1886; iv [cxv], 1908.

The Life of St. Cuthbert in English Verse [lxxxvii], 1889.

Durham Account Rolls, 3 vols. Vols. i and ii [xcix, c], 1898; iii [ciii], 1900.

The Rites of Durham [cvii], 1902.

Memorials of Fountains Abbey, Vol. iii [cxxx], 1918.

(b) YORKSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY; RECORD SERIES.

The Coucher Book of Selby Abbey, 2 vols. Vol. i [x], 1891; ii [xiii], 1893.

C. OTHER WORKS.

Adamnani Vita S. Columbae, edited from Dr. Reeves' text, 1894; 2nd ed. 1920; translation, 1895.

Life and Letters of J. B. Dykes, 1898.

Durham Cathedral, 1898.

Durham University [College Histories], 1904.

Correspondence of William Fowler [privately printed], 1907.

## WILLIAM BROWN, D.LITT., F.S.A.

The Yorkshire Archæological Society owes so much to the scholarship and practical judgment of the late William Brown that the tribute due to his memory would be incomplete without a somewhat extended notice of his career. With characteristic forethought and anxiety to lighten the labours of others, he left behind him a brief account of himself and his family which has supplied the present writer with many details otherwise hard to recover. From this personal record allusions to his work are conspicuously absent: his services to the history and antiquities of his native county were given freely and without a thought of the praise which they deserved, and the difficulty of any attempt to appreciate them satisfactorily is increased by the duty of avoiding expressions of eulogy which he would have condemned as extravagant.

It is necessary to say something of his family and parentage. His father, Douglas Brown, born at Whitehaven in 1820, was descended from a family which was settled at Caldbeck in Cumberland, six and a half miles south-east of Wigton, and can be traced back for five earlier generations to Cuthbert Browne of Heights, Hatley, or Hatcliffe in that parish, who died in 1665. Jonathan Brown, the father of Douglas, had made a fortune in Jamaica: he was married three times, Douglas being the elder son of his third wife, Margaret Haffie, or McHaffie. Mrs. Brown came from Wigtownshire, and her sons were brought up in Scotland among her relations in Galloway: it may be noted that her maternal uncle was Sir William Douglas, Bart., the founder of Castle Douglas, previously called Causeway End, in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright. In Galloway also, the native district of his mother, Anne Gordon, one of her step-sons, John, found a wife and an estate; and it thus happened that in after years William Brown's closest family ties were with his father's Scottish kindred. Jonathan died in 1823, and in 1827 his widow went to live in Edinburgh, where, at 5, Shandwick Place, her next-door neighbour was Sir Walter Scott.<sup>1</sup> Her boys attended the Edinburgh Academy and University until

<sup>1</sup> Her son remembered Scott as 'a very heavy looking man'; but in 1827 Scott's health was failing, and the struggle with the heroic task of retrieving his losses by his pen was telling heavily on him: in the previous year he had given up the house in Castle Street where his best work had been done, and the loss of his wife had added to his troubles. William Brown notes two reminiscences of Scott.

'One day he saw my father and uncle looking over the wall at the apples in his garden, and at once sent word that the boys were to come and have them.' The other story is that Scott, mistaking Mrs. Brown's door for his own, once came into her hall, and, seeing the boys' caps hanging up, realised his error and called out, 'There are ower mony bonnets for me!'



in 1839 Douglas entered Trinity College, Cambridge, when she removed to London, living at 75, Harley Street. At Trinity Douglas Brown did well: he found a congenial private tutor in William Walton, afterwards a fellow of the college, and was among the Senior Optimes in the Mathematical Tripos of 1843, in which John Couch Adams was Senior Wrangler. He subsequently was called to the Bar, and at first had chambers in the Temple with Sir George Honeyman, afterwards a judge of the High Court, and James Bowen, afterwards Q.C. He was fairly successful in his profession, becoming Recorder of King's Lynn, Q.C., and Bencher of Lincoln's Inn. Unfortunately an attack of small-pox caught on circuit in 1866 left him very much out of health. After much suffering he had a seizure in the Athenæum Club in the winter of 1869, and lay for some days between life and death. He never was himself again: from 1883, when he gave up his London house, he resided altogether at Arncliffe, where he died on St. Peter's Day (29 June), 1892, in his seventy-third year.

"The chief of the apostles," writes William Brown in this connection, "might be regarded as an example for my father—the same fearless spirit and burning hatred of wrong. I never knew him say or do an unkind or unjust thing. He had an exceedingly cheerful nature and never repined at being struck down just when he was getting on at the Bar. *A man just in all his ways* might well be his epitaph. He was a good speaker and excelled in telling anecdotes . . . . He lies in the Mauleverer burying ground at Arncliffe, whence he can see the Hall he loved so well." His best qualities descended to the son, who writes thus of him with loyal affection.

In 1853 Douglas Brown married Georgina Helen, the younger daughter of William Mauleverer, of Arncliffe Hall, and his wife Helen, daughter of Sir George Abercromby, Bart., of Forglen, Banffshire. Of Arncliffe and its owners William Brown has written at length, and it is enough to say here that his maternal grandfather, the son of Colonel Gowan of the Bengal Army, on succeeding his aunt Mary Mauleverer in the Arncliffe property in 1833, had taken her name in accordance with the provisions of her will. Douglas Brown seems to have spent much of his holidays as a boy at Forglen with the Abercrombys. His wife, born in 1823, was three years younger than himself: they had four sons and three daughters, of whom all the daughters survive. Mrs. Brown had only one sister, Jane, eleven years her senior, who, in 1842, had married Thomas Meynell of the Friarage, Yarm, and Kilvington: he died without issue in 1863, survived for forty years by his widow, who died at

Hove in 1903, aged 91. On Mr. Mauleverer's death in 1857, the Arncliffe property, which he had striven greatly, though without the necessary experience, to improve,<sup>1</sup> was divided between Mrs. Meynell and her sister: Mrs. Meynell's share was eventually bought by her brother-in-law for £80,000. The two sisters, wide apart in age, were also different in temperament, and an estrangement grew up between them after their father's death.<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Brown died at York on 22 October, 1879, on her way to London, and was buried at Arncliffe.

William Brown was born at Arncliffe Hall, then occupied by his grandfather, on 15 September, 1854, and was baptised in the parish church there.<sup>3</sup> His godparents were his grandfather, William Mauleverer, Walter James Grant McGrigor, an old college friend of his father's and brother of Sir Charles McGrigor, Bart., and his grand-aunt, Mrs. Mary Cramer Roberts, of Brandfold, Goudhurst, Kent. In September, 1862, when he was eight years old, he was sent to a school at 13, Cornfield Terrace, Eastbourne, kept by Miss Anna Rason, a very efficient teacher, who, with the help of her assistant Miss Barr, imparted to about twenty boys a very sound education. She "found a slipper a very satisfactory instrument of correction." Owing to the outbreak of an epidemic, the school was transferred to a house near Polegate, facing the line from Eastbourne to Hastings and not far from Pevensey, to which the boys often walked. After two years here, he went on to the well-known preparatory school, Temple Grove, at East Sheen. The headmaster was O. C. Waterfield, formerly an under-master at Eton. To his teaching Brown owed much. "I may say that the rudiments of most of what I know were acquired at Temple Grove. Waterfield was a severe master. If you did not know your lesson, he considered you were insulting him and acted accordingly. I well remember a ruler he had, carved with fruit, which used to make a very painful impression on our palms." One of Brown's schoolfellows at Temple Grove, Cadwallader John Bates, achieved great distinction in after years by his brilliant contributions to Northumbrian archaeology and history; but, although they were subsequently at Eton together, they seem never to have become intimate friends.

<sup>1</sup> 'From what I have heard of him, he seems to have been a public-spirited man, who was willing to sacrifice his own pleasure, as well as that of others, to what he conceived would be for the public good. He was apparently of a somewhat domineering nature, but his niece, Miss Sophia Gowan, told me that he was a charming companion and an excellent conversationalist.' (W.B.)

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Meynell, in her last years, resumed friendly relations with her nephew, who was one of two residuary legatees who inherited the bulk of her fortune.

<sup>3</sup> He appears to have been entered at Eton as William Mauleverer Brown, but the second name was not given him at his baptism, and he never used it himself.



In the spring term of 1868 Brown proceeded to Eton. As the house of his tutor, Edward Compton Austen Leigh, in Keate's Lane, was small, he boarded with a dame, the Rev. Thomas Dalton, a mathematical master, who lived over the shop of Pote Williams, the bookseller, opposite the College Chapel. Here he stayed for a year until his tutor moved into a larger house. While at Mr. Austen Leigh's he always messed with W. A. Purey-Cust, son of the late Dean of York, who was afterwards rector of Belton, near Grantham, and is now a canon of Lincoln Cathedral and rector of St. Peter's-in-Eastgate with St. Margaret's, Lincoln. He left Eton at the end of the summer term of 1872, in the third division of the school. He always said that he learned little there: when he left, he writes, "I could not read an easy French book and did not understand double rule of three." At the same time, his classical education was certainly not neglected: he was well drilled in the correct pronunciation of Latin as it was then understood, and the sound working knowledge of the language which he acquired stood him in good stead in later years, when his chief concern lay with Latin documents.

Indifferent health interfered with his enjoyment of his school-days, and he probably needed a more bracing climate than that of Eton. Like many growing boys, he was troubled with swelling of the glands, which continued to be an annoyance to him for some years. His intention, on leaving Eton, was to read at home for the Indian Civil Service; but he was prevented by this weakness, and it was decided that he should follow in his father's footsteps and go to Trinity. At this time his home was chiefly in London. After his grandmother's death in 1852,<sup>1</sup> his father had rooms in Half Moon Street, but, on marrying, took a house in Hertford Street:<sup>2</sup> after 1872 the family lived at 7, Marloes Road, Kensington. In order to prepare himself for his entrance examination at Cambridge, Brown went in October, 1872, to read with the Rev. Stanley Walton, a brother of his father's former private tutor and sometime a fellow of Trinity Hall, at Fenstanton Vicarage, near St. Ives, Hunts. The place, in the meadows beside the Ouse, is damp and low-lying, and his health did not improve; but in other ways he derived much benefit from his stay here.

He entered Trinity College in October, 1873, being then in his nineteenth year. His tutor was E. W. Blore, succeeded by the late John Maxwell Image. During his first year he lodged in a

<sup>1</sup> She died at Portobello, near Edinburgh, where she had gone to nurse her younger son, David Philip Brown, in an illness.

<sup>2</sup> No. 48: later, he moved to no. 15.

house tenanted by one of the college cooks, "the first house on the right in the street which is the first turning down Jesus Lane," i.e. Park Street. At the beginning of his second year he moved into College, where he occupied ground-floor rooms in one of the corner staircases of the New Court. A return of his illness led to his temporary absence from Cambridge in the summer term of 1874, when he took a voyage to America and stayed with his uncle Francis Brown<sup>1</sup> at Tarrytown, N.Y., on the Hudson. "This," he says, "was a very enjoyable trip, and I met with much kindness." He also stayed with his cousin, Lily Paterson, in West 45th Street, New York, went up the Hudson to Albany, thence to Niagara, and so to Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal, Quebec, up the Saguenay River, through the White Mountains, and back by Boston and Newport, R.I., to New York. On a second expedition he visited Washington, Baltimore and Philadelphia. Writing in 1919, he remarks: "Now everyone whom I met in the States and from whom I experienced so much kindness is dead. The widow of Le Roy Brown, whom I never knew, and Frank Brown's widow Julia, who has stayed with us here, are the only survivors of that generation."

He returned to Cambridge for the autumn term of 1874, and took an ordinary degree in Law in the summer of 1876. All this period of his life was somewhat spoiled by his delicate health, and he had not yet fully developed those tastes which were to win him recognition. A year after leaving Cambridge, he went for a cure to Kreuznach, travelling with his uncle John Gordon Brown and his wife and family. They stayed at Cologne and Bonn, from which his uncle, aunt and cousins went on to Schwalbach, while he went to Kreuznach alone, and "was rather miserable, but benefited no doubt by following the cure." Next spring (1878) he went to the south of France and Italy for four months. His outward journey was rather dispiriting: he found Paris, Lyons and Marseilles each colder than the last, and arrived at Cannes in a snowstorm. From Cannes he proceeded to Mentone, and thence by way of Genoa and Pisa to Rome, where he stayed some six weeks, first at an hotel in the Via Voce della Verità, and afterwards at the Hôtel de Russie in the Via Babucino. "I managed to get an attack of pleurisy, and could not help remembering that most of the graves I had seen in the Protestant Cemetery were memorials to people who had died under thirty. Luckily, with the help of a German doctor, I pulled through." The tour certainly did him good, and seems to have been a turning-

<sup>1</sup> Younger son of Jonathan Brown by his second wife Anne, sister of Sir John Gordon, Bart., of Earlston in Borgue, co. Kirkcudbright. She was the widow

of a Mr. Innes, by whom she had two sons: they both grew up, but of their history nothing is known.



point in his career: his health for many years after, though never very robust, was normal, and to these visits to foreign parts was doubtless due the wide interest and curiosity in European history which were a noticeable feature of his work. On his way home he stayed at Florence, Venice, Padua, Verona, Milan and Turin, and at Paris for the exhibition.

It is significant of his desire to find some occupation for his time, and of the line in which his inclination was leading him, that in June, 1878, the Surtees Society invited him to undertake an edition of the Chartulary of Guisbrough Priory. This, however, was not begun at once, and was not completed till many years later.

He was called to the Bar in 1879, but never practised seriously. It has already been said that his mother died in 1879, and that his father left London altogether for Arncliffe Hall in 1883. In the autumn of 1878 his future wife had come to stay at Arncliffe. She was May Grace, younger daughter of Martyn Roberts, of Pendarren, Crickhowell, Co. Brecknock, and afterwards of Upper East Hayes, Bath, and his wife Annie Eliza. They were married on 19 January, 1884, by the Rev. Hilton Bothamley,<sup>1</sup> at St. Stephen's Church, Bath, from the house of his wife's sister, Mrs. Strover, who lived opposite the church. After the wedding they went to Druid's Altar, near Pendarren, crossed from Milford Haven to Waterford, and spent some days with Dr. and Mrs. Henry Melville at Knockane, Portlaw, near Carrick-on-Suir. They sailed from Dublin to Silloth, visited Brown's uncle, John Gordon Brown, at Lochanhead, near Dumfries, and after a short stay in Edinburgh with his cousins the Jamesons,<sup>2</sup> returned to Arncliffe and set about getting their house at Trenholme ready.

Trenholme, on Brown's own showing, is a house with no great attractions, but it had the merit of being inexpensive: in these days it is remarkable to read of a house which could be rented for £8 a year without rates or taxes. It remained his home for sixteen years, but within a year of his marriage he lost his wife, who died on All Saints' eve, 31 October, 1884, twelve days after the birth of their daughter. Their short married life had been very happy and was full of promise to themselves and their neighbours, who shared his grief at his loss.

It was during the years which followed that his work took

<sup>1</sup> Vicar of St. Stephen's, Bath, 1881, and Archdeacon of Bath 1896-1909.

<sup>2</sup> Christian Robison, eldest daughter of John Gordon Brown and his wife Janet, daughter of James Murray McCulloch of Ardwall, Kirkcudbright-

shire, married Andrew Jameson. She succeeded to the Ardwall property, and her husband, on becoming a Scottish judge in 1905, took the title of Lord Ardwall. He died 21 Nov., 1911.

the definite direction which he pursued with unflagging energy for the rest of his life. His antiquarian bent was partly inherited from his father, who was a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and cherished the privilege of possessing an historic estate which included one of the most interesting monastic ruins in the country. It was stimulated, however, by his intercourse with his brother-in-law, the well-known antiquary and man of letters, John Charles Atkinson, Rector of Danby-in-Cleveland and Canon of York, who, late in life, had married his eldest sister Helen Georgina. He has often said that he owed his first introduction to the value of original documents to Canon Atkinson, whose example he followed in taking a monastic chartulary as his first serious piece of work, contemplated, as we have seen, as early as 1878. He made quick progress in these studies: his familiarity with Latin, an inestimable advantage to a worker in this field, removed initial difficulties, and he quickly learned to read medieval handwriting with ease and accuracy. Some account of his work will be given at the end of this notice, but here it must be said that, as soon as he began to collect unpublished historical material, he placed his work at the services of others with a generosity which never failed. It was not in his nature to hoard his acquired knowledge as a private possession, to be used for his own ends: he regarded it as a fund of which he was the trustee, to be imparted to all who could make profitable use of it.

Local societies soon began to appreciate his labours. The date of his election to our Society unfortunately has not been recorded: he appears to have joined it before 1882, when he contributed a short article on Mount Grace Priory to the *Journal*. He was appointed a member of the Council in succession to one of its earliest members, James Fowler, at the annual meeting on 23 January, 1887. On the retirement of the late G. W. Tomlinson from the honorary secretaryship, on 30 January, 1896, Brown was elected in his place and also became honorary Editor of the *Journal*. These offices he filled for the next ten years, acting as sole secretary from 1897, when Mr. J. W. Walker resigned his post, until 1903, when Mr. John Scott became his co-secretary. In both capacities he worked with energy and success. His management of the *Journal* was admirable: not only did he keep a watchful eye upon his contributors, but contributed freely himself a number of anonymous articles, chiefly in the form of annotated transcripts.

He also formed a friendship with the group of historians and antiquaries which, under the leadership of Dr. William Greenwell, made Durham a remarkable centre of learned activity. He was



elected a member of the Surtees Society on 3 December, 1889,<sup>1</sup> and succeeded Canon Raine as honorary Secretary on 2 June, 1896, resigning in June, 1916. To work of this kind he brought a critical judgment which demanded a high standard from his associates, and the level of scholarship maintained by the publications which he and they edited was an object of his constant care. His connection with the Surtees Society brought him into contact with a wide field of historical research and with sources beyond the limits of his own county. He obtained a comprehensive knowledge of the topography and family history of the counties of Durham and Northumberland, which enabled him to provide their antiquaries with a considerable body of material from documents encountered in the course of his studies. He joined the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries in July, 1907, and was also a member of the Durham and Northumberland and Cumberland and Westmorland Archæological Societies. In Yorkshire he was a member of the Parish Register Society, the Council of which he joined in 1922, and of the Thoresby Society, of which, at his death, he was a Vice-President.

His residence at Trenholme was not wholly taken up with these pursuits. He took his part in public business, and was appointed a J.P. for the North Riding in 1887, sitting on the Bench both at Northallerton and Stokesley and bringing to his work as a magistrate the conscientious solicitude which marked all his dealings. His sound practical sense, with the advantage of a legal training, made him an excellent magistrate: absolutely straightforward in his opinions, and expressing them without fear or favour, he was respected by his colleagues, who realised in him that the character of a learned student was not inconsistent with knowledge of the world and capacity for its affairs. He eventually became Chairman of the Bench at Northallerton, holding the office for several years. Although he had little taste for the ordinary diversions of a country life, he was always interested in rural conditions and could discuss them with a knowledge fully equal to that of his neighbours. He was active in promoting the welfare of the villagers at Trenholme and Ingleby Arncliffe. Among the duties which he undertook, it was his regular habit to hold a service on Sunday evenings in the schoolroom at Ingleby. The late Sir William St. John Hope, who stayed with him while working at Mount Grace, once told the writer how he had attended one of these services, and how Brown, who had chosen a somewhat difficult theological subject for his

<sup>1</sup> By an odd coincidence, he was elected on the same day as his namesake, the Very Rev. Canon William Brown, of

Old Elvet, Durham, now a Vice-President of the Surtees Society.

address, explained it with his customary brevity and simplicity, and with a singular understanding of the mind of a rustic congregation.

The life at Trenholme he describes as monotonous, but not unpleasant. He went away from time to time on brief visits to his relations in Galloway and to various friends who shared his tastes: he mentions especially Canon Atkinson, Dr. Greenwell, T. M. Fallow, and S. J. Chadwick. His friendships were quiet and enduring, and those whom he honoured with his regard learned to value nothing more highly. He was content to enjoy them without going far afield. He was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries on 9 June, 1898, and acted for many years as one of its local secretaries for Yorkshire. His visits to London, however, for the purpose of working in the Public Record Office, were short and only occasional, and he took no active part in the affairs of the Society.<sup>1</sup> His concentration of interest in the North was very much to the advantage of the societies whose efficiency he did so much to further, if it robbed others of his assistance.

In 1899 he was reluctantly obliged to part with the Arncliffe estate, to which, burdened with a heavy mortgage, he had succeeded in 1892. His regret at resigning his birthplace, where his forefathers had lived since the twelfth century, into other hands was somewhat assuaged, as time went on, by the excellent treatment of the property by the purchaser, Sir Lowthian Bell, and his son, Sir Hugh. He acknowledges that the sale relieved him of much anxiety, and for the rest of his life he was able to pursue his literary work without distraction and in happy circumstances. On completing the sale, he removed from Trenholme to the White House, Northallerton, a house on the east side of the High Street. Here he remained in close touch with his friends and was able to carry on his public duties, while a good railway service made it possible for him to work constantly at York, where he had begun his task of transcribing the archiepiscopal registers.

Soon after settling at Northallerton, he married his second wife, Muriel Anna Charlotte, eldest daughter of the Rev. A. H. Cumming, Rector of Loftus-in-Cleveland, and his wife Alice, daughter of Dr. George Bell-Irving, of Stanmore, Middlesex and Mayfield, Sussex. The wedding took place on 1 August, 1900. They lived at Northallerton, where two daughters were born to them, until the spring of 1906, when they removed to the Old House, Sowerby, near Thirsk. This remained Brown's home for the rest of his life. Here

<sup>1</sup> He made only one contribution to its meetings. This was on 16 Dec., 1886, long before his election as a Fellow, when

he exhibited a hog-backed stone found near Arncliffe Hall.



his son, who received the names of William Mauleverer, was born in 1907, and from it his eldest daughter was married in the summer of 1913, to her cousin, William Stewart of Shambellie, Kirkcudbrightshire. The house was more convenient than the one at Northallerton, and possessed the advantage of ample accommodation for his library: it stands in pleasant surroundings, with a large garden at the back and a prospect of wide fields beyond, terminated by the beautiful ridge of the Hambleton Hills. He pursued his work in tranquillity and comfort, going several times a week to York in the summer, and to Northallerton for magistrates' business on Wednesdays. His resignation of the secretaryship of the Yorkshire Archæological Society gave him more time for editing the archiepiscopal registers, to which, with exemplary perseverance, he now devoted himself. At the same time, he found opportunity to contribute volumes to the Yorkshire Record Series and examine large numbers of deeds in private collections; while his correspondence with those who sought his help was, as ever, punctual and generous. If it made somewhat excessive demands on his leisure, it was also a source of new friendships: he was quick to appreciate and encourage zeal for knowledge in others, and freely offered them his hospitality.

For some years it was his custom to pay an annual visit to London and work up material suggested by entries in the York registers. He also visited France more than once after 1900, and on one occasion he and his wife made a long tour through Poitou, Guienne, and Languedoc, where he saw many of the places connected with the historical period covered by his York documents. Once he went to an archæological meeting in Ireland, visiting Clonmacnoise and other famous seats of Celtic Christianity. He seldom, however, went far from home: most of his holidays were spent in Kirkcudbrightshire, with his wife's relations at Whitby, or in the guest-house at Mount Grace, which was frequently lent to him by Sir Lowthian and Sir Hugh Bell. He enjoyed coming to Leeds for Council meetings of our Society and Tykes' dinners, when he usually stayed with Mr. Chadwick at Dewsbury. At home, he took his part in local and parochial business, lending effective and unobtrusive aid to his colleagues which was truly valued by them.

In May, 1914, he underwent a serious operation in a private hospital at Leeds. For some time his condition was critical, but after a slow recovery, he was gradually able to resume his work. Although he was obliged to be careful of his health and avoid the fatigue of long journeys, and although he now began to look much older, he showed no noticeable decline of vigour. He resigned, as

has been said, his secretaryship of the Surtees Society in 1916, but continued to attend its meetings regularly. His services to it were recognised with honour at the end of 1918, when, on the death of the late Duke of Northumberland, he was elected its President. The other Society to which he had devoted himself made him a Vice-President at its annual meeting in 1919, in succession to the late J. W. Clay, and for a short time he undertook the joint-secretaryship of the Record Series. The University of Durham, at the Convocation of June, 1921, conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters, a distinction which none deserved better. He was presented for his degree by his old friend Canon Fowler, in a speech which was a warm tribute to his accomplishments and merits.

During this period he completed his transcript of the fifth and longest of the registers on which for more than twenty years he had been engaged. The great register of Archbishop Melton lay before him, but to this he felt himself unequal, contenting himself with revising and perfecting what he had done, and making extracts of entries bearing on special subjects from the later volumes. He was able to work up to the end, which came suddenly. On Sunday, 20 July, while taking an afternoon class, he was seized with illness and died three hours later. He was buried in the churchyard of Ingleby Arncliffe on the following Wednesday, returning to the place where he first saw the light of this world, and to the company of those who had gone before him into the next.

The list of his printed works given below by no means exhausts the whole of his labours, and it should be mentioned that there is material for five or six volumes of the Surtees Society's publications in the transcripts which he had annotated and prepared for the printer. He belonged to the class of scholar in whom purely antiquarian tastes are subservient to the wider purposes of history. The introductions to his editions of Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers illustrate his ability to select essential points from a mass of miscellaneous documents and present a connected view of their historical meaning. With the masterpieces of Stubbs and Maitland in this type of composition before his eyes, he was somewhat too diffident of his powers as a constructive historian, and much preferred to concentrate his energy upon the elucidation of details. He delighted in collecting information about the persons mentioned in his text: the identification of unfamiliar places, the names of which were hardly recognisable in corrupt forms, was a sport in which he excelled. In such investigation he spared no pains, and it is obvious that, to obtain fruitful results from it, considerable familiarity with the history and language of a period is necessary, as well as



the insight into its customs and habits of mind which enables the student to reject improbable conclusions. Everyone who has examined the contents of an episcopal register knows that a competent editor of such a work, to cover the ground properly, must be versed not only in ecclesiastical law and custom, but in a number of important subjects which lie outside the ecclesiastical province; for in these vast collections almost every type of historical document finds a place, and the working of nearly every type of medieval institution is illustrated. Anything like narrow specialisation is impossible in such a context. Brown's work upon Yorkshire documents of various descriptions aided him greatly in mastering the contents of this wider area which, with its centre in Yorkshire, stretched far afield and brought him constantly into contact with foreign history. He had little of the temper of the mere archivist: palaeography with him was simply a means to an end, and he took little interest in the minute analysis of diplomatic forms. His object was to reproduce his documents in such a way that their essential meaning should convey itself to the reader. At the same time, while he was somewhat impatient of the repetition of common forms and verbose preambles, he had a strong appreciation of their language. He rightly held that, if the gist of an official mandate might occasionally be given in a concise English form, the attempt to render a Latin preamble into English could be made only with a sacrifice of all its unction and rhythm. He was fully alive to the ingenuity and elasticity of the medieval Latin vernacular, and saw that the resonant periods which, as he often said, "set the tune" to an entire composition, lost their force by literal translation into English, becoming merely tortuous in construction and flat in effect.

His love of Latin was part of his taste for literature. He was well read in several languages and kept himself abreast with the work of contemporary writers, while feeling no great sympathy for modern literary fashions and disliking freakishness or self-consciousness of style. He belonged to a generation which cherished the classical tradition in English literature and looked upon acquaintance with the elder writers as a necessary part of a liberal education. His own taste was for the best: for Milton and Wordsworth, among poets, he had true enthusiasm; he was never tired of discussing the great Romantic poets, and, among those of the next generation, he found great pleasure in Browning's grasp of the significance of historical periods and analysis of human motive. Scott, Thackeray and Jane Austen were his favourite novelists, and he retained the devotion which his contemporaries felt for George

Eliot: at Cambridge, he had eagerly read the parts of *Middlemarch* as they appeared, and always maintained that depreciation of her work was unintelligent and short-sighted. He found his greatest relaxation, however, in French memoirs, especially in those of the Napoleonic period, and some of his warmest admiration was given to French lyric verse and to Sainte-Beuve, whose essays were his touchstone of criticism. What he valued most highly was simplicity of manner with lucidity and dignity of style: egotism, in literature as in life, he detested, and unreserved self-expression he regarded as a form of bad manners which detracted, however interesting the personality revealed, from the merit of good literary work and clouded it with affectation.

In these tastes his own character was clearly reflected. At the end of a long friendship which the present writer counted as one of his own highest privileges, it is difficult to speak of him dispassionately. Simple, sincere, utterly free from selfishness in any form, he was always true to himself in word and action. Whatever he did or said was perfectly natural. He never thought of inviting attention or respect; these were given to him because he deserved them, and it is impossible to imagine anyone failing in courtesy towards one whose deeds were inseparable from his thoughts. In conversation he kept the just medium: his speech was brief and direct, concentrated upon the subject in hand. His sympathy with the feelings of others respected their reserve, and was free from all curiosity in their affairs or suspicion of their motives. As a natural consequence, his friends were at their best with him: the transparency of his nature communicated itself to his company, and, under its influence, men of very opposite character often found good qualities in one another which they never suspected. He knew the just value of his own work, and it was as far from him to depreciate it unduly as to magnify it; his impartial judgment, strictly applied to himself, regarded the work of others in the same field with a rare generosity of spirit, and a compliment from him came from a discerning critic too wise to waste words in empty praise. He set little store by wide reputation, and was seen so seldom outside his county that many excellent antiquaries in other parts of England knew little of what he was doing. In some respects this is to be regretted; on the other hand, his work was done for the district in which his affections lay, and to deserve its gratitude was his highest ambition. Diligent in the ordinary duties of daily life, faithful to the tasks which he laid upon himself, loyal in conduct to religious principles from which he never swerved, he walked among his fellows as one who served the good of others and not his own—"a man," to quote



words which the Archbishop of York has written of him, who "alike as scholar and as Christian was found faithful." His character is summed up in the words which he applied to his father: he was a man true and just in all his ways. *Justi autem in perpetuum vivent, et apud Dominum est merces eorum, et cogitatio illorum apud Altissimum. Ideo accipient regnum decoris, et diadema speciei de manu Domini; quoniam dextera sua teget eos, et brachio sancto suo defendet illos.*

A.H.T.

## APPENDIX.

The following list of William Brown's works, help in which the compiler is grateful to Mr. F. W. Crossley, F.S.A., includes, so far as is known, all that he wrote. It should be said, however, that a very formidable list might be made of the transcripts and annotations which, at great pains to himself, he supplied to his friends and acquaintances. A conspicuous example of this numerous class is the long series of documents from Vol. ii of Archbishop Alexander Neville's Register, detailing the stages in Neville's quarrel with the chapter of Beverley, which is printed in the second volume of the late A. F. Leach's edition of the *Beverley Chapter Act-Book* (Surtees Soc. Vol. cviii). This, the work of many days of copying, was furnished by Brown, and is only one of many benefits of the kind which he conferred on his fellow-workers.

## A. CONTRIBUTIONS TO PERIODICALS OF SOCIETIES.

## (a) ARTICLES IN THE YORKSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL JOURNAL (1882-1917).

[Those marked \* appeared without signature.]

Mount Grace Priory. Vol. vii, pp. 473-494.

Description of the Buildings of twelve small Yorkshire Priors at the Reformation. Vol. ix, pp. 197-215, 321-333.

View of the Castles of Tickhill and Conisbro', made by special Commissioners, 29 Hen. VIII (Jan. 12th, 1537-8). *Ibid.* pp. 221-222.The Nunnery of St. Stephen's of Thimbleby. *Ibid.* pp. 334-337.

\*Pedigree of the Colvilles of Arncliffe, etc. Vol. x, pp. 167-168.

Pedes Finium Ebor. tempore Ricardi primi. Vol. xi, pp. 174-188.

The Brus Cenotaph at Guisbrough [with description of plates by C. C. Hodges]. Vol. xiii, pp. 226-260.

\*Letters from the Stowe Manuscripts. Vol. xiv, pp. 422-443.

\*Journal in 1718-9 of John Warburton, F.R.S., Somerset Herald. Vol. xv, pp. 61-84.

\*Yorkshire Deodands in the Reigns of Edward II and Edward III. *Ibid.* pp. 199-210.\*Account Roll of Selby Abbey, 1397-8. *Ibid.* pp. 408-418.\*Inventory of the Goods of Archbishop Alexander Neville, 1388. *Ibid.* pp. 476-485.

- \*Yorkshire Deeds. Vol. xvi, pp. 84-107.  
Seventeenth Century Builders' Contracts [with John Lister].  
*Ibid.* pp. 108-113.
- \*Yorkshire Briefs. *Ibid.* pp. 114-120.
- \*Ingleby Arncliffe.<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 121-226.  
An Eighteenth Century Absolution. *Ibid.* p. 256.
- \*Visitations in the Diocese of York holden by Archbishop Edward Lee (A.D. 1534-5). *Ibid.* pp. 424-458.
- \*Kirklees Charters. *Ibid.* pp. 464-466.
- \*Grave Cover at Durham. *Ibid.* p. 468.
- \*The Will of Timothy Bright, M.D., Rector of Methley and Barwick-in-Elmet, 1615. Vol. xvii, pp. 50-58.
- \*Yorkshire Briefs. *Ibid.* pp. 59-71.
- \*Danby v. Sydenham: a Restoration Chancery suit. *Ibid.* pp. 72-93.
- \*The Normanby Effigy. *Ibid.* pp. 94-95.
- \*Yorkshire Deeds. *Ibid.* pp. 96-126.
- \*Humberston's Survey. *Ibid.* pp. 129-154.
- \*Early Inscription in Bilsdale Church. *Ibid.* pp. 237-240.
- \*Treason in 1685. *Ibid.* pp. 374-376.
- \*Ecclesiastical Middlesbrough in Medieval times. Vol. xviii, pp. 68-73.
- \*Confirmation of a grant of land at Huggate to Watton Priory.  
*Ibid.* pp. 105-108.  
Grants of Arms. *Ibid.* pp. 109-122, 233-240, 340-352.  
Mount Grace Priory: History of the Priory. *Ibid.* pp. 252-269.
- \*The FitzConan Slab at Liverton. *Ibid.* pp. 417-419.  
The Catterick Brass. Vol. xix, pp. 73-79.  
Grants of Chantry and Monastic Lands in 1586. Vol. xx, pp. 353-361.  
Edward Kirkby, Abbot of Rievaulx. Vol. xxi, pp. 44-51.
- \*Kirklees Charter. *Ibid.* p. 486.  
Heraldic Glass from Ingleby Arncliffe and Kirby Sigston Churches.  
Vol. xxii, pp. 137-144.  
The Institution of the Prebendal Church at Howden. *Ibid.* pp. 166-174.
- \*The Particularities of Plaite [of priories in the diocese of York].  
*Ibid.* pp. 300-301.  
Trial by Combat. Vol. xxiii, pp. 300-307.  
Robert Faucon, Rector of Bainton. Vol. xxiv, pp. 81-97.

(b) ARTICLES IN THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE EAST RIDING  
ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

- Documents from the Record Office relating to Beverley. Vol. v  
[1897], pp. 35-49.
- Holderness Wills. Vols. x [1902], 1-18; xi [1903], 1-18.
- Old Wills from Harpham. Vol. xxi [1915], pp. 70-79.

<sup>1</sup> The author's name was given in the the *Journal* in which this article  
table of contents prefixed to the part of appeared.



## (c) ARTICLES IN ARCHÆOLOGIA ÆLIANA [Newcastle Society of Antiquaries].

A Lease of Property in Corbridge dated 1517. 2nd. Ser. Vol. xx [1899], pp. 283-288.

Local Muniments [chiefly from the collection of W. Grey Robinson]. *Ibid.* Vol. xxv [1904], pp. 62-82.

Deeds from Burton Agnes relating to the Counties of Durham and Northumberland. 3rd Ser. Vol. vii [1911], pp. 29-48.

Documents relating to St. Helen's Auckland. *Ibid.* Vol. xiv [1917], pp. 157-172.

## (d) MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS PRINTED IN THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND A. &amp; N.H. SOCIETY, NEW SERIES.

Ensign Simon Bowness [Commission, 1649]. Vol. iv [1904], pp. 353-354.

Seventeenth Century Nonconformists [from the Lambeth Library]. Vol. xvi [1915-6], p. 302.

Deed of Stephen Asplon of Hepp. Vol. xix [1919], p. 169.

Ordination of the Vicarage of the Church of Dalston. Vol. xxii [1922], pp. 18-22.

## B. CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE PUBLICATIONS OF RECORD SOCIETIES.

## (a) SURTEES SOCIETY.

The Guisbrough Chartulary, 2 vols. [lxxxvi, lxxxix], 1889, 1891.

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Miscellanea [cxxvii]: North Country Deeds, 1915.

## (b) YORKSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY: RECORD SERIES.

Yorkshire Inquisitions, 4 vols. [xii, xxiii, xxxi, xxxvii], 1892, 1898, 1902, 1906.

Yorkshire Lay Subsidies, 25 and 30 Edward I, 2 vols. [xvi, xxi], 1894, 1897.

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Miscellanea [lxi]: A list of Benefices in the Diocese of York vacant between 1316 and 1319 (pp. 136-148); Subscriptions by Recusants, 1632-1639 (p. 149); Royalist Clergy in Yorkshire, 1642-1645 (pp. 150-167); Presentations to Livings in Yorkshire during the Commonwealth (pp. 168-169), 1920.

## (c) SOMERSET RECORD SOCIETY.

The Register of Walter Giffard, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1265-6 [xiii: transcribed from the MS. at York by William Brown: edited, with Bishop Bowett's Register, by Thomas Scott Holmes], 1899.

## Notes.

The Council has decided to reserve a small space in each Number for notices of Finds and other discoveries; and it is hoped that Members will assist in making this a record of all matters of archæological interest which from time to time may be brought to light in this large county.]

---

### I.

#### ULFKIL CROSS.

On the way from Settle to Littondale between Penyghent and Fountains Fell, at the first gate and near the buildings called on the 1-inch map "Dale Head" and "Peter Castle," there lies by the roadside a rough block of sandstone, approximately 3 feet by 2 feet by 1 foot 6 inches, with a rectangular hole, 2 feet by 1 foot, chiselled out of its upper surface. It has every appearance of being the base of a cross, and I suggest that it may be the base of "Ulfkil Cross," which is mentioned several times as a boundary mark in the *Fountains Chartulary*, e.g.:

"Richard de Percy whatsoever he had in Gnup (Fountains Fell) and in Dernebroc (Darnbrook), from the turbary of Erneclif (Arncliffe) as far as Senesete (? Thoragill) and thence as far as Suartecumbe (Fountains Fell Tarn), and so by the bounds of Littune, saving the common of Littune as far as Thwertgile, and from Thwertgile upwards by the stream of Eseldene (Hazelden), and from thence in a straight line to *Ulfkilcros* and thence to Bratthewithes, and from B. forward as the road which comes from Lonnesale goes." (Mr. Lancaster's edition, vol. i, p. 320.)

It may be noted that the stone lies on the boundary between the townships of Stainforth and Malham Moors.

J. J. BRIGG.

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### II.

#### ROMAN LAMPS FOUND AT MIDDLETON ST. GEORGE.

The following are photograph blocks of two Roman lamps found at Middleton St. George, County Durham. They provide some interesting material for research work into the Roman occupation of the district.







ROMAN LAMPS.

Found on the east side of the Roman Road near the Tees,  
Middleton St. George.



The lamps were found during the excavations for the cellars of a house called The Friary (see 25-inch Ordnance Sheet 55-16), in what is known as Pontey's Lane, and were found about six feet below the surface. A bridge across the Tees was constructed to carry the Roman road northward over the river from Bootham Bar, York, to Chester-le-Street and thence on to Newcastle. This road passed through Easingwold, Thirsk, Northallerton, and across the Tees at Middleton St. George, and up to Sadberge. Afterwards, where Tower Hill now stands, was erected a Norman motte, still standing. There is little doubt the Romans constructed on Tower Hill a fort to guard the passage of the river, and it was in close proximity to the site of this fort that the two lamps were found, which leads to the inference that they were part of the equipment of the commandant's quarters.

This Roman road, after it passed Sadberge, had a branch road to the Roman station at Banchester (*Vinovium*) along what is now called Catkill Lane. Catterick and Banchester were erected before the Roman forts at Greta Bridge, Piercebridge and Lanchester, and an interesting question arises whether this road from York or the Watling Street from York through Aldborough and Catterick was first made. York was erected between 70 and 75 A.D. The two lamps are well preserved, though when found they were encrusted with a deposit of lime by infiltration. Photographs of the lamps have been submitted to Dr. Davies Pryce, of Nottingham, and Mr. Walters, F.S.A., Keeper of the Roman Antiquities at the British Museum. These two authorities are both agreed and say the lamps are typical of those made in the third and fourth centuries. The stamp of the potter's name is "Anniser," and Dr. Pryce and Mr. Walters have come to the conclusion that the lamps were made by Annus Serapiodorus, whose name was usually abbreviated to "Anniser." Dr. Pryce is inclined to think that his factory was at work in the third century, and possibly at the turn of the third to the fourth century. His lamps are almost exclusively found in Italy and Gallia Narbonensis, and it is therefore very interesting to find these terra-cotta examples of his work in Britain. One authority places this potter in the second century. The lamps are to be deposited in the British Museum.

Mr. O. G. S. Crawford, of the Ordnance Survey Department, Southampton, is now tracing the whole length of the Roman road from York to Chester-le-Street.

EDW. WOOLER, F.S.A.,  
Darlington.

## III.

A ROMANESQUE RELIEF IN YORK MINSTER.<sup>1</sup>

This paper, on a mutilated figure of the Virgin and Child, forms a notable contribution to the history of the arts in early England, and the thanks of all antiquaries and students of comparative archæology are due to Mr. Maclagan for his careful description and illuminating notes on an early work of art which, if not unnoticed, has scarcely received the attention to which it is entitled. The author might, without exaggeration, have emphasised even more strongly its extreme refinement especially in the sculpture of the feet of the Child. In ascribing the relief to about the eleventh or twelfth century, the author is well on the safe side and has probably under rather than over-estimated its antiquity. Parallel examples in design in glass, which always lagged behind carving and sculpture, might be cited of twelfth century date, which would allow of this relief being ascribed to a considerably earlier date. Thus at Chartres the attitude of the Child in the "Return from Egypt" subject is very like the York relief, and the treatment of the pendant folds of drapery in "La Belle Verrière" follows the same tradition. Mr. Maclagan states that he has been unable to find in any inscription of eleventh or twelfth century date in the south of France a letter "A" with diagonal and loop similar to the final letter in the word "Maria" in the relief. Letters of very similar type, but with a tail to the loop, are, however, common in twelfth-century glass in the Rhenish provinces, where they are found, as in the York relief, side by side with an "A" of the usual shape. Mr. Maclagan's hope that the relief, which is at present more or less hidden in a hole in the wall, may be removed to a more convenient position, will be the wish also of all antiquaries. The paper is illustrated by an excellent photograph.

J. A. KNOWLES.

<sup>1</sup> By Eric Maclagan, C.B.E., F.S.A., Oxford University Press.



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BY A. M. WOODWARD, M.A.

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Photographs for the above illustrations have been contributed by: Jesse Bontoft (Ilkley), (Pl. XXI and Figs. 39, 41, 42, 48, 52, 56); P. W. Dodd (Figs. 3, 4, 5); J. Manby (Photographer to the University of Leeds), (Pl. XXXV); Messrs. Pearson & Denham (Leeds), (Figs. 36, 37, 38, 44, 45, 46, 47); F. G. Simpson (Figs. 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10); F. Villy (Figs. 17, 18, 19, 22, 25, 26); A. M. Woodward (Figs. 12, 13, 14, 15, 20, 21, 23, 24, 27, 30, 31, 32, 33, 53, 57); and for Fig. 16 I am indebted to *The Bradford Daily Telegraph* for permission to reproduce a photograph which appeared in that paper.

## INTRODUCTION.

The desirability of undertaking systematic excavations on the site of the Roman fort at Ilkley had been admitted for many years before the task was finally taken in hand. Negotiations had actually been started by the Roman Antiquities Committee of the Yorkshire Archæological Society with the owners of the two accessible portions of the site, and a local sub-committee appointed, in the autumn of 1910, but unexpected difficulties arose, and it was not found practicable to begin the work in 1911 or the following year. And the Committee, after an investigation of the site of a presumed fort at Adel in 1912, devoted its energies to a systematic exploration of the fort at Slack during 1913-15.<sup>1</sup>

The war cut short any further activities of this type, and when in 1919 it was found impossible to secure the necessary permission to excavate the small portion of that site left unexplored, the claims of the fort at Ilkley were again considered, and the Committee resolved, at a meeting held on May 31st, 1919, to take the work up forthwith. In this decision they were helped by the fact that one of their members, Mr. F. G. Simpson, had just conducted a short trial excavation on the site on his own behalf; and in view of the clear and promising results obtained, which were of the utmost value to the supervisors of the ensuing excavations, steps were at once taken to secure the permission of the owners of both parts of the site—which was readily granted—a local sub-committee was elected, and an appeal for funds drawn up and circulated. The Committee, as finally constituted, comprised the following: Col. J. H. Hastings, D.S.O., His Honour Judge A. Romer Macklin,<sup>2</sup> Professor W. Rhys Roberts, the Rev. J. Saxton, Dr. F. Villy, and Messrs. E. W. Crossley, N. L. Frazer, J. P. Hubbersty, W. A. Lupton, Percival Ross,<sup>2</sup> John Scott, F. G. Simpson, J. E. Wilson, and A. M. Woodward, with Mr. F. B. Maufe as Hon. Treasurer and Mr. P. W. Dodd as Hon. Secretary.

Work was begun on the site on July 1st, 1919, and lasted until August 29th, under the joint supervision of Mr. Dodd and the author of this report; both of us were present for most of the time, though I was absent for the first half of August, and Mr. Dodd left soon after my return. In 1920 work lasted from July 5th to August 21st under my sole supervision, except for a few days early in August when Mr. Dodd was able to relieve me, and in 1921 I was

<sup>1</sup> See *Y.A.J.*, xxvi, 1-92, for the final report on the excavation of this site.

<sup>2</sup> Since deceased.



in charge throughout from July 5th to August 22nd. The number of men employed was at the start only two, but raised after July, 1919, to four, and this, or sometimes five and occasionally six, was our usual strength.<sup>1</sup>

The main results in the first year were the clearing of the north gateway and its immediate vicinity, and the examination of the north-west angle. In the second year we cleared the southern and western parts of the Commandant's house (Site I), and most of the walls of the granary (Site II) to the south of it. In the third year we uncovered most of the rest of Site I, the north wall of the *Praetorium* (Site III) situated between the granary and the churchyard wall, the north end of some obscure buildings (Site IV) east of the north gateway, and finally cleared a small portion of the inner edge of the rampart at the north-west angle. Rain impeded or interrupted our work considerably in the second year, and occasionally in the first and third; in the latter, moreover, the unusual heat in July proved trying to all concerned.

It must be regretfully admitted that from many points of view the excavations were unsatisfactory, in spite of achieving certain definite and interesting results. In the first place, as was obvious before we began, and will appear in detail in my report below, the presence of other buildings and the destruction of part of the site in making a modern road, leave only a small part of the fort available for excavation. Within that area much destruction has taken place since Roman times. Secondly, while it may be gratefully recorded that the owners of both portions of the available area<sup>2</sup> readily granted permission for the excavations to take place, our activities had to be limited in certain directions to meet requirements of the tenants, which accounts for two portions of the site remaining unexplored altogether. We were, however, lucky in having full access to the rampart, the north gateway (the only one preserved), and the row of buildings situated west of the street running through this gate (*Via Principalis*). Moreover, the necessity of filling up our trenches at the end of each season, whilst essential as a precaution against damage by weather and human agency, prevented us from having a comprehensive view of more than one season's work at a time.

<sup>1</sup> I am glad of an opportunity of recording my own (and the Committee's) indebtedness to Mr. L. T. Learoyd, Builder and Contractor, of Ilkley, through whom we obtained our workmen, as well as tools and other requisites, for the most helpful and sympathetic way in which he

met our wishes. Several of his men proved keen, careful, and intelligent excavators.

<sup>2</sup> Bentley's Yorkshire Breweries, Ltd., owned the east, and Mr. W. Morris, of Leeds, the west portions of the site respectively.

Thirdly, we were embarrassed by the economic situation, not unnaturally. Although financial support was forthcoming to a gratifying extent, thanks to the constant and devoted efforts of the Hon. Treasurer, and the generous subsidy from the Research Funds of the University of Leeds, the high cost of labour, and in particular its fantastic rise in 1920, forced us to employ fewer workmen and for a shorter season than was desirable.

Another grave disadvantage was the inability of Mr. P. W. Dodd to assist me in the task of supervision after the first season—except for a few days in 1920—which has resulted in my having to deal single-handed with the problems that presented themselves, in plenty, on the site in his absence, and, moreover, in the laborious task of studying the finds with a view to publication I have found many occasions to regret his inability to co-operate.

Nor should I omit to point out that this report has been prepared under considerable difficulties. Much pressure of University work and other obligations made it impossible for me to complete the MS. before I left England in October, 1922, to take up fresh duties at the British School of Archæology at Athens. At that date I had only finished the report on the *Terra Sigillata* (ch. v), and my notes for the remainder have had to be put into shape amid other surroundings, mostly at a considerable distance from the finds, and without many of the necessary works of reference.

It is a pleasure, on the other hand, to express here my gratitude to many helpers, none of whom, needless to say, is to be held responsible for any of the shortcomings that this report contains.<sup>1</sup> Mr. F. G. Simpson, on his all too few and brief visits to the site, was able to take some excellent photographs of the remains at the north-west angle (Figs. 6–10), and to make several acute suggestions on points of detail; and by the loan of his instrument for drawing rim-fragments of pottery enabled me to draw the pieces figured on Plates xxix–xxxii and Fig. 34, and moreover, at great inconvenience to himself, drew for me those on Plates xx, xxxiv, and Fig. 43. He also has read the proofs of part of this report, and I am in his debt for many valuable comments. To Dr. Francis Villy, who paid numerous visits to the site during the excavations, and took several of the photographs here reproduced, I am also indebted for helpful suggestions based on his keenness of eye and quick grasp of intricate problems. To Miss Hilda Walker, of Ben Rhydding, a

<sup>1</sup> My especial thanks are due to Miss M. V. Taylor, Librarian of the Haverfield Library at Oxford, for kind assistance in replying to queries and verifying refer-

ences; and to Mr. Donald Atkinson, Dr. Felix Oswald, and Mr. James Curle for various suggestions and references in connection with ch. v (*Terra Sigillata*).



former pupil at the University of Leeds, I am indebted in no small degree for her unsparing assistance in dealing with the pottery, not only in washing and sorting the fragments as they came from the site, but in mending, classifying, and arranging them with a view to this publication, and for their temporary disposal in the Museum.

The surveying was done under my supervision by Mr. H. S. Parratt, assistant to the Borough Surveyor at Ilkley, whose accuracy both in measuring and draughtsmanship has helped materially to reduce a chaotic assemblage of wall-remains to a plan of intelligible (and I hope exact) nature. In the preparation of the working plan for publication, I have been fortunate to secure the services of Mr. Piet De Jong, who has proved his worth as an archæological architect both with Sir Arthur Evans at Knossos, and with my predecessor, Mr. A. J. B. Wace, at Mycenæ. The drawings of the decorated *Terra Sigillata* are due to Miss H. Warlow, of Preston, the quality of whose work speaks for itself, with a few additions of my own, and the photographs of some of the small objects are due to the care and skill alike of Mr. Jesse Bontoft, of Ilkley, and of Messrs. Pearson & Denham's expert, at Leeds.

It would not be fitting to let this report appear without an acknowledgment on behalf of myself and the Excavation Committee to Mr. W. Graham, Librarian of the Ilkley Public Library, of our appreciation of his help in putting all possible facilities at our disposal for dealing with our finds. It is to be hoped that the intention of arranging in the Museum there—in spite of difficulties of space—a truly representative exhibit to illustrate the history of Ilkley and neighbourhood from earliest times, giving adequate space to the Roman section, will prove as feasible as it is desirable. In this connection I must record my deep and constant indebtedness to Mr. H. B. McCall, of Ilkley, for his ready help and advice in innumerable ways alike during the excavation, and during all the stages in the preparation of this report. Last, and far from least, I should like to make special mention of the indebtedness of both the Committee and myself to Mr. F. B. Maufe, our Honorary Treasurer. Though the balance-sheet bears witness to their results, it cannot convey an adequate idea of his unwearying activity and enthusiasm in raising contributions, still less of his unfailing interest in the progress of the work. My personal indebtedness to his encouragement and hospitality cannot be measured in words. *Meminisse iuvat.*

A.M.W.

Athens, March, 1924-25.

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## CHAPTER I.

## ROMAN ILKLEY BEFORE THE EXCAVATIONS IN 1919-1921.

It would be a laborious and indeed impossible task to trace in full the history of the discovery of Roman remains at Ilkley before our excavations began. Owing to the occupation of the Site having been continuous for probably the last thousand years at least, objects of Roman date have no doubt been found throughout that period whenever the ground was turned for building or any other purpose. The proportion of such objects which has survived is no doubt a very small one when compared with those thrown away unrecorded. We may, however, notice with advantage the principal stages in the identification of Ilkley as a Roman site and the description of its remains by those writers, beginning with Camden at the end of the sixteenth century, who were concerned with such questions, whether their interests were general or simply local. The most valuable authorities will be quoted in their own words, with merely such comments as are necessary for elucidation.

(1) *Camden*. The first authority to recognise that Ilkley was a Roman site was Camden, who deserves the utmost credit for his proposed identification of it with *Olicana*, as well as for his interpretation of the two inscriptions which he discusses.<sup>1</sup> Describing the course of the "Wherf or Wharf," he says, "From thence cometh he to Ilekeley, which considering the site in respect of Yorke out of Ptolomee, and the affinity of the name together, I would judge to be OLICANA. Surely that it is an old towne (beside the columnes engraven with Roman worke lying in the Churchyard and elsewhere) and was in Severus time reedified by the means of *Virius Lupus*, Lieutenant Generall and Proprietor then of Britaine, this inscription lately digged up hard by the Church doth plainly shew." (Then follows the text of No. 3 below, *C.I.L.*, vii, 210.)<sup>2</sup> "That the Second Cohort of the *Lingones* abode heere, an altar beareth witnesse, which I saw there, upholding now the Staires of an house, and having this inscription set upon it by the Captaine of the Second Cohort of the *Lingones* to Verbeia, haply the nymph or Goddess of *Wherf*, the river running thereby, which river they called VERBEIA as I suppose, out of so neere affinity of the names." (Then follows the text of No. 1 below, *C.I.L.*, vii, 208.) "Moreover in a wall of the Church is fastened this broken and unperfect inscription." (No. 2 below, *C.I.L.*, vii, 209.) "But in the very Church itselfe,

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Philemon Holland's *Translation* (1610), p. 697; cf. 5th Edn. (1600), p. 620.

<sup>2</sup> In Appendix I.



whiles I sought diligently for monuments of Romaine antiquity, I found nothing." (Here he alludes only to the Midleton effigy.) It is certainly curious that the two altars (Nos. 7 and 8 below)<sup>1</sup> should have escaped Camden's observation, but it is not worth while speculating as to the cause of this. Nor need we wonder that he considered as Roman the well-known Anglo-Danish crosses now erected in the churchyard, for it is presumably these which he denotes as "columnes engraven with Roman worke." It is perhaps an unreasonable as well as a vain regret, but one wishes that Camden had been able to tell us something of the appearance of the fort at the time of his visit, as we may safely assert that more of the remains would have been visible then than were seen by Horsley and Whitaker in the eighteenth century.

(2) *Horsley*, in his *Britannia Romana* (1732) gives us no description of the Fort, but publishes facsimiles of the two inscriptions *C.I.L.*, vii, 208 and 209, and comments on the position of Ilkley with regard to the road system.<sup>2</sup> He accepts Camden's identification of the Site with *Olicana*, and suggests that this is the same name which appears as *Olerica* in the list of towns given by the Ravenna Geographer.<sup>3</sup>

(3) *Whitaker*, *History of Manchester* <sup>2</sup>, 1773, i, 192 ff. After discussing the roads, among which he identifies that coming from the west with the "Seventh Iter of Richard," he says (p. 195 f.): "Thus decisively is Ilkley shewn to have been a station of the Romans. And the area of the camp may be ascertained, with equal decisiveness. It is pointed out by the appellation of Castle-hill, the nature of the site, and the remains of the rampart. And the ground is admirably defended by the Wherf on the north and two brooks at the sides; looking down upon the former from a precipice of twenty or thirty yards in height. The western brook has had half its waters diverted into another channel, must therefore have been a very lively current before, and given additional strength to a brow naturally steep, and rising about ten or fifteen yards above it. But the eastern is remarkably brisk, and runs about twenty below the crest of the eminence. And both of them discharge their waters into the Wherf immediately below the station. The camp was about a hundred yards by a hundred and sixty, the northern [*sic*] barrier (I suppose), ranging along the course of the present lane, and parallel with, and about twenty yards to the north of, the Roman road from Broughton to Aldborough. And the whole

<sup>1</sup> Appendix I.

<sup>2</sup> Plate facing p. 192, Nos. XIII and

XIV, and p. 311.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 313 below.

contained about four acres of ground, encompassing a building called the Castle, and including the church and its cemetery. The wall of the station presents itself to the eye at the north-western angle, and is easily discovered under the turf along the whole length of the brows; being the rough flag-stones of the country, cemented together with indissoluble mortar. And it was this nature of the ground, which originally gave denomination to the fortress. Being seated upon an eminence, it naturally received the appellation of Al-i-can, or the fortress on the height.”<sup>1</sup>

“The town was constructed very near to the station, and along the course of the road from Broughton, in Bank’s-croft, Scarfe-croft, and some adjoining closes.<sup>2</sup> And there fragments of bricks remarkably red have been frequently dug up, and foundations of houses remain very visible at present. No new inscriptions have been lately discovered. But many of the old have in all probability been buried within the walls of the present church. A stone appears actually built up in the south-eastern corner of it, and exhibits upon the outer face an inscription, that was once copied by Camden and Horsley, but is now illegible. And on the northern side of the belfrey within is a couple of stones, one of which was plainly a Roman altar, a patera appearing embossed on the edge of it; and the other exhibits a woman wearing a large peaked bonnet on her head, and grasping a snake in either hand, which raise their heads considerably above her shoulders.”

This reads like the result of keen observation and personal enquiry, but, as will be seen below, the dimensions given for the fort must be received with caution, and his estimate of the level of the surface above the river seems too generous. In fact there is no reason to suppose that any of these figures represent actual measurements taken, though we need not suspect him of confusing feet and yards as he obviously does in giving the height of Pendle Hill as “1568 yards in perpendicular height.”<sup>3</sup>

(4) Coming now to the nineteenth century, the brief mention of the Site given by the Rev. T. D. Whitaker in his *Craven*,<sup>4</sup> though based on the descriptions of his namesake and earlier writers, seems to include the results of personal observation. His few sentences may be quoted with advantage: “The fortress itself, of which the outline on three sides is very entire, was placed on a steep and lofty

<sup>1</sup> In his note (9) on p. 197 we read, “Al for Ar, Upon . . . . Hence Alicana and Ariconium are the same in import”!

<sup>2</sup> These fields cannot now be identified; between them, as may be gathered from

the same author, p. 194 (foot), lay the lane denominated the “Town-gate.”

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 194.

<sup>4</sup> Second Edition (1812), p. 218 f.



bank, having the river Wharf on the north, and the deep channel of a brook immediately on the east and west. The southern boundary seems to have coincided with the present street, and the hall and parish church were evidently included within it . . . . . The foundations of the fortress, bedded in indissoluble mortar, are very conspicuous, and remains of Roman brick, glass, and earthenware everywhere appear on the edges of the brow." This seems to be the first allusion to the presence of pottery and other small " finds " on the site of the fort, but otherwise, adds little to the information given by his predecessors. It must, however, be added that he is the first writer on the subject to mention, as " lately discovered by the Rev. Mr. Carr in a garden-wall at Ilkley," the inscription containing the name " Pudens " (p. 315, No. 4), though he, like many subsequent writers, mis-read and naturally misinterpreted it. Of the inscriptions previously known he refers only to the Verbeia altar, and alludes to, without describing, the " sculpture in the steeple," *i.e.* the two altars (Nos. 7 and 8 below).

Throughout the nineteenth century minor discoveries followed quickly as a result of the rapid growth of building, and we cannot doubt that, in the construction of the railway-station and in building the line east and west from it, objects of Roman date must have been found in large numbers. Among the most interesting finds which have been recorded we must note the two sculptured tombstones (Nos. 5 and 6 in my list below), the former of which is now in the vestibule of the Free Library at Ilkley and the other in the Calvary in the grounds of Myddleton Lodge. It seems that at least one other sculptured tombstone was broken up by the finders to use as road metal. A considerable number of the smaller objects found in Ilkley at various times in the nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries have been fortunately preserved, and many of them have found their way into the local Museum where they still are.<sup>1</sup> The particulars of these finds, as far as they were obtainable down to the year 1884, are summarised in *Ilkley, Ancient and Modern*, by the late Dr. R. Collyer and Mr. Horsfall Turner,<sup>2</sup> though it must be noted that the texts of the inscriptions which they give are generally

<sup>1</sup> About 1890 a local committee, " The Ilkley Museum and Antiquarian Society " by name, rendered useful service in collecting and preserving objects of antiquarian interest from the district, and the contents of their original Museum (the old Wesleyan Chapel in Skipton Road) were transferred to the Free Library when the latter was built, and taken over by the local Council. A lec-

ture delivered in 1910 by Mr. Frank Hall, then Clerk to the Ilkley District Council, on " The Contents of the Ilkley Museum," and printed (Otley, 1910), gives full particulars, and some illustrations of Roman and other objects in it. It has been impossible to compile, as I should have liked, a complete list of finds from Ilkley in private hands. *Cf.* ch. vi. *ad fin.*

<sup>2</sup> Otley, 1885.

inaccurate. Of the objects in the Museum it has not been possible to make a full catalogue, but the fragments of decorated *Terra Sigillata* are illustrated and described below, as are the stamped pieces and the principal examples of undecorated *Sigillata* ware, which form a valuable supplement to the pieces found on the site of the fort. The main interest of these miscellaneous finds is the evidence which they furnish, when their find-spots are recorded, for the extent of the settlement outside the fort.

Before we come to this topic, the last and in some ways the least satisfactory episode in the rediscovery of Roman Ilkley must be briefly described. The outline of the fort, which on the north and east had remained untouched throughout the nineteenth century, was destined to suffer irreparable damage at the beginning of the twentieth, for in 1904 the plan of continuing Brook Street northwards, and of carrying it across the river by a new bridge, was put in hand and rapidly executed. This involved cutting a road with a width of 50 feet right through the fort, parallel to its east rampart, which was also removed bodily. Judging by the position of the north-east angle of the fort, as shown on Ordnance Surveys before this destruction took place,<sup>1</sup> a strip of the fort, measuring about 60 feet by 300 feet, was entirely removed, and no record was kept either of the nature of the masonry or the small objects found in the process. It is known that many coins were seen in the possession of the workmen employed, and some of these may have found their way, as did a little of the pottery, into the Museum.<sup>2</sup>

It is impossible to give exact particulars of the extent of the settlement outside the fort, but the following *data* will give some indication of it.<sup>3</sup> The majority of the finds seem to have been made within about 300 yards to the south and east, very little having to my knowledge been found due west of the fort. An isolated find of pottery, of which no particulars are available, seems to have been made north of the river about 160 yards north-north-west of the old bridge. South of the river Roman remains are reported from the neighbourhood of Tivoli Place, at a distance of about 600 yards south-east of the centre of the fort, including a "face-vase" in soft, white clay, which is now in the Museum; and in a south-westerly direction there was found east of Chapel Lane a "well-worked

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 154 and General Plan (Pl. xvi).

<sup>2</sup> Mr. H. S. Carter, then residing in Ilkley, made praiseworthy efforts to secure some of the finds for the Museum, in which he long took an active interest.

<sup>3</sup> The late Mr. Isaac Dean, J.P., most kindly supplied me with a map of Ilkley

on which he marked various spots at which he knew that *Terra Sigillata* or other definitely Roman objects had been found. This is a valuable supplement to the information derived from *Ilkley, Ancient and Modern*.



female face in pottery." As Chapel Lane and Tivoli Place are almost exactly half-a-mile apart we are entitled to assume that the settlement was at least of this extent from west to east; and along a line drawn between these two points and to the north of it we have plentiful records of finds of Roman objects. Immediately south of the fort the finds would seem to be densest, though in the area north of the railway and east of Brook Street they seem also to have been very numerous.

The following discoveries seem to deserve special mention:<sup>1</sup>

(1) In a field south-east of the railway station there was found in 1874 a stone cist which contained a Roman cinerary urn full of burnt bones and some beads.

(2) Near the gasworks (about a quarter-of-a-mile north-east of the fort) were found "worked stones surrounding a spring" associated with pottery, a coin of Vespasian, and a pin.

(3) Closer to the fort on the same side, in or near Weston Road, were found "large foundation stones of a circular building, a floor of burnt clay, millstones, floor tiles, broken pottery, and a leaden bowl."

(4) Near the Grove Fountain "probably there was a manufactory of earthenware . . . . . judging by the lumps of red and yellow clay, and the quantity of fragments, glazed and unglazed, unearthed there from time to time."

(5) In the yard behind the "Rose and Crown" inn, immediately south of the church and therefore just outside the south rampart of the fort, was found the sculptured tombstone bearing an inscription, which is reproduced on Plate xxxviii.<sup>2</sup>

(6) In digging the foundations of the Congregational Church in Green Lane (on October 11th, 1867), there was found the other sculptured tombstone, now preserved at Myddleton Lodge (Pl. xxxviii, and p. 316, No. 6). As this is situated about 200 yards due south of the spot where the previous item was found, it is not impossible that the cemetery of the town lay along a street running southwards from the south gate of the fort, which must have lain exactly opposite the north entrance to the "Rose and Crown" inn yard.

These discoveries, considered in conjunction with the *Terra Sigillata* found outside the fort, help to give us a fair idea of the extent of the civil settlement and the degree of civilisation which it had attained. How far up the hill in a southerly direction the settlement extended continuously, we have no means of telling,

<sup>1</sup> All except No. 5 are taken from *Ilkley, Ancient and Modern*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 316, No. 5.

but it is safe to assume that the "White Wells" situated at a height of more than 400 feet above the level of the fort, and nearly three-quarters of a mile distant from it, are of Roman origin, though I know of no record of any Roman objects being found there. The discovery, north of the Wharfe, of extensive heaps of *scoriae* on the lower slope of the rising ground close to the back of the "Low Hall," may possibly be an indication of Roman smelting activity in this area, but without a safe clue to their date, this must remain a conjecture.<sup>1</sup>

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## CHAPTER II.

### THE SITE AND ITS DEFENCES.

#### (I) THE SITE.

The site of the Roman fort at Ilkley is on the right (south) bank of the Wharfe, on a plateau some forty feet above the normal level of the stream, and set back about a hundred yards from the present south bank. To east and west it is flanked by watercourses, now largely carried underground, which are about 170 yards apart. That to the east, from which Brook Street takes its name, flows almost due north, while that to the west, after passing the north-west corner of the plateau on which stands the fort, until recently turned eastwards and joined the other close to its point of junction with the Wharfe. It is impossible to say whether it did so in Roman times. Whitaker, it will be remembered, described the two streams as "discharging their waters into the Wharf [*sic*] immediately below the station," but it is not clear if he means merely below the north face of the fort, or downstream from it. Owing to the total demolition of the east side of the fort in the construction of the road to the new bridge, it is impossible to give an exact measurement of its width from west to east. The dimensions as shown on the general plan are based on an indication taken from an old Ordnance Survey map (1890, 25 inches equal 1 mile),<sup>2</sup> which indicates the north-east angle of the fort at a point nearly thirty yards short of the actual edge of the stream. On the assumption, adopted in the general plan, that this corner coincides with the outer face of the wall round the fort, this gives us a length of 324 feet, measured between its inner edges. Whitaker's estimate of 160 yards is clearly wrong, for the north-west angle is set back also about thirty yards from the stream on the west, and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hall, *Contents of the Ilkley Museum*, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Sheet: *Yorks.* CLXIX.14.



was probably reached, if by more than a guess, by a rough measurement of the distance between the two streams.

For the dimensions of the fort from north to south, we have even less to guide us. Apart from the legitimate inference that its depth in this direction is less than that from east to west (in view of our identification of the north gate as the *Porta Principalis (sinistra)*, by the nature of the buildings found facing on to the *Via Principalis* which ran through it, we have only Whitaker's estimate of a hundred yards, which suggests an outside measurement, and he adds, "the northern barrier (I suppose) ranging along the course of the present lane." "Northern" must be an error for "southern," as the northern boundary was seen by himself. Arguing from the possibility of the *Praetorium* or Headquarters Building being square (*cf.* p. 193 below), as well as from the probability of its lying exactly midway along the north-south axis of the fort, we reach an internal measurement of 300 feet along this axis. The total area enclosed within the stone wall will then be about 2.23 acres—an unusually small size for a cohort fort—and the south wall would have run between the porch of All Saints' Church and the south wall of the churchyard.<sup>1</sup>

It seems clear from its situation that the fort would not need the protection afforded by a ditch on north, east, or west, though it is not unlikely to have had one, or more, on the south, as originally planned. That a civil settlement of considerable extent sprang up, soon after the fort was established, and enjoyed a long existence, is abundantly proved by the finds of pottery and other remains of Roman date at numerous points in the modern town. Its extent is discussed above (ch. I, pp. 152 ff.).

The original slope of the ground occupied by the fort is naturally enough from north to south, towards the river, but, contrary to expectation, the drainage was led, at least in part, to the north-west angle, *i.e.* in the reverse direction to the course of the river in front. It is not unlikely, however, that the eastern half of the fort drained towards the north-east angle, so that in fact the profile of the original surface from east to west was somewhat "hog-backed." The orientation is almost exactly that of the cardinal points, and as the plan (Pl. xvi) shows, the fort faced east.

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to compare the internal dimensions of Ilkley with those of some other small Cohort-forts. Brough, the nearest parallel, measures 285 by 340 feet (*V.C.H.*, Derbs., i, 203); but 276 by 336 internally, according to Codrington, *Roman Roads* (1918), p. 230; Castlesteads,

2 $\frac{3}{4}$  acres (*Cumb. Trans.*, N.S., xx, 148, xxiii, 202); Ambleside (*op. cit.*, xv, 4) was also of the same size; and several others, *e.g.* Bar Hill (Antonine fort) and Hardknott are just over 3 acres. I am indebted to Miss M. V. Taylor for these statistics. *Cf.* the list in *Elslack*, p. 116.

## (2) THE DEFENCES.

The preliminary excavation by Mr. F. G. Simpson indicated that the defences of the fort as preserved belonged to two periods, and our subsequent work proved this fact, and, moreover, gave indications of the presence of a third and later stage in their history. To the first period belonged a stout bank of clay, *not* piled sods, resting on a bed or bottoming of rounded cobbles, no doubt fetched from the adjacent river-bed (*cf.* Fig. 1). On its inner face, which he followed for some yards until it terminated on approaching the north gateway, the layer of cobbles was edged with a row of roughly-dressed flat stones, usually about three inches thick, and varying in size (*cf.* Fig. 2); at the north-west angle where found they seemed larger than at the other place. For a similar edging on the outer face, the evidence was less clear. There were indications, moreover, that this clay bank was strengthened with occasional courses of rough stones for bonding purposes, set along its axis at various heights. This type of clay rampart on a stone bed closely resembles the structure of the early Fort at Elslack, where, however, no stone bonding courses were found.<sup>1</sup> As we could nowhere ascertain the exact outer line of this bank with absolute certainty, it is impossible to speak definitely about its width. On the north side the cobble-bed measured 18 feet 8 inches from the back line to the point where the inner edge of the later stone wall was built, but on the west the corresponding width was 23 feet. It is to be noted also that the length of a drain found running through the clay rampart at the north-west angle, slightly south of a line drawn to bisect the angle, indicated an approximate width at this point of 18 feet. This difference is not easy to explain. It would appear that either the stone wall on the north side was built on the bed of the earlier rampart, which was therefore cut back for the purpose to a depth of 4 feet 4 inches, whereas that on the west was built clear outside it (assuming in each case that the original width was 23 feet), or else that on the west, for at any rate a part of its length, it was wider by that amount. In the latter event the widening began well to the south of the exact angle, as clearly it had not begun to grow wider at the point where the drain is cut through it. It is not at all likely that just where this drain comes the rampart would have been narrowed, and returned to its original width on each side of it, for one would have expected that the angle would be marked, if at all, by a widening

<sup>1</sup> *Elslack*, pp. 117 ff.





FIG. 1.—TRIAL-TRENCH, SHOWING COBBLE-BASE OF NORTH  
RAMPART; DRAIN ALONG INTRA-VALLUM ROAD  
IN FOREGROUND



FIG. 2.—INNER EDGE OF RAMPART-BASE LOOKING WEST  
(AT RIGHT-ANGLES TO FIG. 1)







of the bank. It seems then simpler to suppose that for some reason the builders of the fort deliberately added a width of at least 4 feet 4 inches to the rampart (or at least the northern end of it) on the west. It is instructive to note that Mr. Thomas May records a similar feature at Templebrough,<sup>1</sup> where his statistics show an early rampart-bed 6-8 feet wide on the west, 18 feet on the north, 23 feet on the east, and 16-18 feet on the south.

The clay bank of this rampart is still preserved wherever we tested its presence, and rises to an average height of nearly 3 feet. In Mr. Simpson's cross-section, west of the north gate, the *maximum* thickness observed was 2 feet 9 inches, and in a section east of the gate it was just 3 feet, while south of the north-west angle it approached 3 feet 6 inches. In certain places examined it has very clearly spread inwards, reaching to the edge of the *intra-vallum* road, where this could be defined. In the buildings grouped below as Site IV, to the east of the north gate, an actual encroachment on to the rampart seems to have taken place, and again, the late layer of paving found between this point and the north gate was all resting on the rampart-clay at a height of about 3 feet above its cobble-bed.

Contemporary with this clay rampart was a wooden gateway, of which we could only locate two post-holes, one on each side of the entrance, to be described more fully below. At the north-west angle there was also found a single post-hole close to the inner edge of the rampart-bed, which by its position indicated the presence of a tower or platform at the angle, similarly situated to that at the north-east angle of the fort at Slack.<sup>2</sup> (See below, p. 167 f.)

*The Second Period.* To this belonged a wall of masonry, of which the outer face is nowhere preserved *in situ*. East of the north gate none of it had survived at all, owing to the presumed line of it having been cut away in making the scarp leading down to the road below. West of the gate, however, the inner face was found, where tested, to be fairly well preserved, and at the north-west angle, and thence along the west side, there were considerable remains of it. It was built of rubble, faced on both sides with dressed blocks about 4½ inches high, and a foot or slightly less in length, the whole being set solidly in mortar. At this corner could also be traced the footing of cobbles, which seemed to be larger and less closely packed than those under the clay rampart. Two fallen lumps of the wall at

<sup>1</sup> *Report*, p. 16 f. The description does not make it clear if the peculiarly narrow rampart-bed on the west had been origin-

ally wider and partly destroyed. This seems likely.

<sup>2</sup> *Report*, *Y.A.J.*, xxvi, p. 13, and Fig. 7.

this corner preserve in one case four courses of the inner face, and in the other three of the outer, but neither gives us the exact thickness of the wall as it stood, the former piece being about 3 feet thick, the latter 4 feet 8 inches. The original thickness may well have been about 6 feet, and this figure has been adopted for the plan. Even this estimate may, however, be too low, for at Elslack the stone wall belonging to the second period of the Fort's defences—which shows certain analogies to that at Ilkley—had an average width of not less than 8 feet 6 inches, and even more, at its foundation-course, owing to projections on the outer face (*op. cit.*, pp. 125 ff.).

With the construction of this wall we must presumably associate that of the towers or guard-chambers flanking the north gate. What is left of their masonry agrees well enough to make them contemporary, though rather larger stones seem to be used in them; and though the north wall has totally disappeared in the case of the east tower, and very scanty remains alone survive from that of the west tower, there is no reason to doubt the connection, as the implied line of the inner face of their north walls agrees exactly with that of the rampart wall. Presumably of the same date also is the substantial drain, running westward along the *intra-vallum* road, and flowing out at the north-west angle, level with the footings of this wall. There was clearly no stone tower here contemporary with this wall, though, as described below, it had some unusual features at the angle. We may note that Elslack had no stone towers at the angles, and only at the south gate had it definite guard-chambers, in the second period.

An important question which now arises, but seems to permit of no very easy answer, is whether the clay rampart was still standing, and if so to what height, when the stone wall was built, and while it was in use. That it was not all levelled away is obvious, for some three feet of its height are still preserved. But that it had to some extent become ruinous is implied, if not made certain, by the building of the stone wall to strengthen, if not supersede it. The fact that a substantial encroachment of other buildings on to the clay of the north rampart took place at some uncertain date, after the wall was built, is no proof that elsewhere at the time that the wall was built the clay bank did not stand considerably higher. And finally, the fact that the clay bank would continue to serve a useful purpose as a backing to the stone wall, especially if it stood high enough to furnish additional width to the rampart-walk, and a means of access to it, is abundantly proved by analogies from other sites, including Elslack (*op. cit.*, p. 127 f.). It will suffice to



refer to Mr. Miller's careful weighing of the evidence at Balmuildy, and to the parallels there quoted, and to note his important conclusion that, "neither in Britain nor elsewhere would there appear to be any certain example of a second-century stone fort in which the wall has not been supplemented with an earth backing."<sup>1</sup> That our stone wall belongs to the second century is, I think, incontestable, and the evidence for this view is discussed below. We need not seriously hesitate, then, to apply Mr. Miller's *dictum* to our fort, and to suppose accordingly that the clay bank was left standing to a considerable height, and served as a backing to the stone wall.

*The Third Period.* For this our evidence is scanty, and chronologically indefinite. To the south of the west guard-tower, at a distance of barely three feet from its south wall, were the remains of a short length of wall, with the inner face better preserved than the outer—which had perhaps been stripped away—and built of larger blocks than the second period wall. It was, moreover, at a distinctly higher level, and rested on a considerable accumulation of debris beneath its footings. This was seen to run eastward as far as roughly the centre of the roadway through the gate, and then appeared to make a turn to the north, but shortly afterwards came to an end. If we assume, as we reasonably may, that it left an opening for a narrower gateway than that of the second period, and then turned east again, we may connect it with a small row of stones of similar type found lying on the north edge of the flagging which overlay the east guard-tower, at a higher level. This late wall, partly blocking up the earlier gateway, has obvious analogies with the conditions observed in the later stages of several military structures on Hadrian's Wall.<sup>2</sup> This parallel, when considered together with the evidence for a late occupation found inside the fort, suggests that this third period rampart—if we may dignify such a meagre fragment with the name—belongs to a sudden re-occupation and re-fortification after the middle of the fourth century. It is instructive to note that at Templebrough also there seems to have been a very similar development.<sup>3</sup>

Having thus distinguished the three periods in the history of the defences, let us turn to a detailed description of the remains belonging to each.

*The North Gate (Porta Principalis Sinistra).* The gateway of the first period was represented merely by a pair of post-holes, approxi-

<sup>1</sup> *Report*, pp. 9 ff.; quotation from p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Simpson, *R.W.*, p. 322, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 16 and 19 ff.

mately 12 feet 4 inches apart, on centres, and rather more than a foot in diameter, which were sunk some 13 inches below the level of the road-foundation. Their position, set forward 7 feet 6 inches from the inner kerb of the rampart-bed, makes it almost certain that there was a corresponding pair nearer to the front of the rampart. The gateway was presumably single, with an opening of rather more than 11 feet between the edges of the posts. It is interesting, if only as a coincidence, that at Slack, the north (strictly north-west) gate, which was likewise the *Porta Principalis Sinistra*, was only single, and had an opening of 11 feet.<sup>1</sup> The road contemporary with the wooden gate was narrower than the aperture, for the post-hole on the west was set back two feet from the edge, and that on the east rather less. The bedding of the road was of cobbles, larger at the edges than towards the centre, and on them rested a thick layer of mixed gravel. There is no evidence to show how the ends of the rampart were finished off where they abutted on the gateway, but it was noticed that the inner kerb stopped short of the road edge by about 7 feet, and that the typical cobble-bed of the rampart seemed to terminate about 5 feet short of it, coming roughly midway across the interior of the western guard-chamber of the second period. On the east the exact edge remained vague owing to greater destruction having taken place. There were practically no finds, certainly no dateable pottery, on the early road-level here.

The gateway of the second period showed a considerable transformation.<sup>2</sup> In connection, presumably, with the rampart of stone, which thus formed their north walls, two guard-towers of masonry were built, with internal dimensions from north to south of about 10 feet, and from east to west of 6 feet 6 inches for the west chamber and 7 feet 3 inches for the east, leaving a passage 12 feet wide. The entrance again seems to have been single, for no trace of a *spina* was found. Of these chambers nothing is preserved above floor level, but of the western one enough survived to show that its walls on the west, south, and east were built of rubble, faced on each side with dressed blocks of moderately hard yellow sandstone. Their size varies, but the westernmost surviving stone of the south wall measured 19 by 9 by 6 inches, and one of similar dimensions was found re-used not far away. Most of the east wall is preserved up to floor level, and the west half of the south wall; from the north

<sup>1</sup> *Slack*, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> For the relations of the gateways of the first and second periods at Elslack,

which cannot be summarised adequately here, *cf.* *Elslack*, pp. 121ff., 129ff., and Pls. xxii-xxiv.





FIG. 3.—WEST GUARD-CHAMBER OF NORTH GATE:  
SHOWING EAST AND SOUTH WALLS ('A,' 'B') AND FLOOR-LEVEL ('C')



FIG. 4.—REMAINS OF EAST GUARD-CHAMBER, *ibid.*  
('B'), AND OF LATER PAVING ('A'), LOOKING EAST-NORTH-EAST







wall (*i.e.* the rampart-wall) two probable stones of the inner face, and from the west wall one possible stone of the outer face (*cf.* Fig. 3). The east chamber has fared worse, for only three rather small stones have survived in all, but their distinctive type, and their position as found enable us to restore a similar chamber, apparently 9 inches wider internally than that on the west (*cf.* Fig. 4). No trace of the north wall appeared at all. In the west chamber we found an occupation-level of blackened earth, about 4–5 inches thick, which contained many charcoal fragments, and rested on dry, almost powdery, clay (Fig. 3, “c”). The bottom of the burnt level was on an average 1 foot 2 inches above the cobbles of the rampart-bed, which, as is indicated above, underlay the west half of the tower only. The west post-hole of the earlier gateway was within the chamber, but partly covered by its east wall. The only objects found in this burnt level were a fragment of plain *Terra Sigillata* (Form 31), and an even less dateable piece of a coarse vessel (*olla*?). It was not surprising that the east chamber, which had suffered almost total destruction, had no corresponding floor level.

The road-level had been raised, simultaneously with the building of the stone wall, by the spreading of about 10–12 inches of fresh gravel over the old surface. On this later level, and near the present brow of the slope, west of the east guard-chamber, was found a *Sestertius* of Antoninus Pius (p. 296, No. 9) in good preservation. Its date of issue lies in the period 140–142, and it did not seem to have had a long circulation, but it cannot be used as a close indication for the date when the new road-surface was laid. It is interesting to note that the chambers flanking the second period gate are so placed as to bring the centre of the opening 2 feet 9 inches to the east of its position in the first period, for not only is the west post-hole covered up by the floor and east wall of the west chamber, but the east chamber is set back well to the east of the other.

Two other pieces of walling shown on the plan must be considered before we turn to the gateway of the third period. (a) Slightly to the west of the west chamber are the remains of a wall of rough stones, two courses high, running north–south and making a short return on the west, perhaps further than we were able to follow it; it definitely stopped short on the south, abreast of the south wall of the west chamber, thus nearly 7 feet short of the inner kerb of the rampart-bed. These stones, moreover, did not rest on the rampart-bed, but were laid in the clay a few inches above it. Whether we should interpret them as the remains of a bonding-course laid in the clay bank as originally built, or as a later structure,

to serve as a "cheek" to retain the end of the clay bank when the stone wall was built, or again, whether they may not be later still, it seems impossible to decide; they were very characterless, and there seemed no traces of an occupation level west of them, as might have been the case if they represented a still later guard-chamber. It is even possible that they might have served in turn for the first and second of these uses. But the fact that they did not run the whole width of the rampart from front to back tells somewhat against the first explanation, and tends to favour the second. (b) East of the gateway and about on a line with the inner kerb of the rampart, was a short single course of stones, not unlike the type of those forming the kerb further to the west, but clearly laid at a height of nearly 2 feet above the cobble level (Fig. 5, 'B'). They, I think, can be explained only as the remains of a longitudinal bonding-course, which must be contemporary with the original erection of the clay bank. An analogy is supplied by Castleshaw, where a similar course was found in the turf-rampart at one angle.<sup>1</sup>

The other remains in this region must be classed together as belonging to the third period, though we must recognise two stages in them. There are no traces of a gateway, but the road-level was again raised, and some rather large foot-worn stones, packed with gravel and rubble, in which were many pieces of pottery, bone, etc., represent the new level. The remains of the wall, mentioned above (p. 159) as running across the roadway here seem to have a good face on the south side, but the north face and some of the core must have perished. It rested on rough footings, projecting about a foot from its present outer face, and it was noticed that these footings were not sunk so deep as the occupation level of the guard-tower to the north of them. The wall was in places three courses high, built of blocks about 8-9 inches thick, set in poor mortar. Near the middle of the older gateway it seemed to swing rather than return towards the north, but soon disappeared altogether. Similar blocks, however, extending for a length of only 5 feet, were found *in situ* on the north edge of a flagged area situated south-east of, and partly overlapping, the remains of the east guard-chamber, and it seems probable that they formed part of the same system. In this case the wall had in the interval continued further north, towards the gate opening, and leaving, we may assume, a reduced opening, turned east again so as to enclose this patch of flagging, perhaps as a bastion or guard-chamber projecting in front

<sup>1</sup> *Castleshaw* II, p. 24 and Pls. 16, 17. Nothing corresponding to this was observed at Elslack.





FIG. 5.—LATE PAVING, EAST OF NORTH GATE (' A '), AND  
BONDING-COURSE IN CLAY RAMPART (' B ')



FIG. 6.—NORTH-WEST ANGLE, GENERAL VIEW, LOOKING NORTH-WEST







of the wall. This flagged area (Fig. 5, 'A') had a maximum length from east to west of 14 feet, and from north to south measured 9 feet, and was paved with thin slabs of free-stone laid on a shallow layer of rubble, beneath which was the clay of the original rampart; this unstable foundation had caused the flags to settle unevenly, but the average level of their upper surface was 3 feet above that of the cobbles of the rampart. The only find made on them was a bow-fibula (*cf.* p. 281 and Fig. 44), the solitary example that the site yielded. South of this paving, and also between the western end of this late wall and the centre of the west guard-chamber in front of it, were traces of a deliberate raising of the level, as a layer of sand and fine gravel extended from the wall-footings northward over the remains of the south wall of the chamber, and a similar sandy layer was noted overlying the site of the east chamber. In excavating beneath this sand, just south of the south-east angle of the west chamber, we found very many fragments of an *olla*, which was subsequently completed in plaster and is reproduced below (Fig. 42, No. 2), with raised barbotine decoration in the form of groups of dots. It came from a deep level, close to the point of termination of the rampart-kerb of the first period, and is probably contemporary with that period, if not with the actual building of the clay bank. On the top of this gravel filling the only finds observed were small fragments of clay roof-tiles.

Behind the late wall at this point, and slightly to the west of it, was a much disturbed area, which cannot be fully elucidated. To the west, and shown on the plan as running south at a higher level than the end of the rampart-kerb, was found a short length of tumbled boulders, which proved not to be set as deep as the floor-level of the guard-chamber. It seems that they were thrown together to help to raise the level, for adjacent to them on the east was a small area roughly paved. One of the blocks used for this paving was unusually large and flat, and looked hopefully like the back of a tombstone, but to our disappointment proved plain. On it, however, was lying, burnt and worn beyond hope of decipherment, a coin, which seems to be a minim of Constantinian date (p. 301, No. 54). An adjoining block was clearly a re-used architectural fragment, roughly square in section, with a moulding near one edge. Another similar block, perhaps a companion to it, was found two years later in the "Flue" in Site IV, near the extreme edge of the site.<sup>1</sup> Close to this and giving further proof of a wholesale destruction in this region before this paving

<sup>1</sup> *Cf.* p. 292 below, and Fig. 31, 'E.'

was laid down, was a worked stone identical in dimensions with one *in situ* in the south wall of the guard-chamber, and presumably removed from it before the sand-layer was laid down. This was one of three stones arranged roughly in a circle so as to suggest to us that they had supported a wooden post in a vertical position. The general level of this paving was 27 inches above that of the cobbles of the first period rampart, and thus about 12 inches above that of the occupation level of the west guard-chamber. It was, however, in its turn partly covered with debris, on which rested the paving of the latest period, with which we must clearly connect the wall belonging to the final period of the defences. We may thus allot to the first stage of the third period the flagging on which was the Constantinian coin, and to the second stage of it the wall as found on each side of the gateway, and the desolate waste of late paving which lay behind it and stretched southwards, covering much of Site I, as shown on the plan. The evidence points in fact to two separate episodes of destruction before the Roman occupation of the site terminated, and we need feel no surprise at finding worked blocks re-used out of their original positions. The moulded block above mentioned may well have formed part of the second period gateway, and several other worked blocks, found at various more remote parts of the site, look as if they might have belonged to the same structure, or, of course, to one of the other gates (*cf.* p.292).

We may sum up the history of the gateway as follows: (1) A wooden structure with an opening just over 11 feet wide, contemporary with the original clay rampart. If, as is more than likely, this was flanked with wooden towers, no traces of them could be found. (2) The building of the two stone guard-chambers, simultaneously, we must assume, with the stone rampart, and accompanied certainly by a raising of the road-level. (3) Following on a general destruction (which may have ensued fairly soon after the completion of (2), in view of the single and rather shallow occupation level in the west guard-chamber), and in which the architectural members of the gateway, and perhaps the towers themselves were overthrown, we have a period of rebuilding, perhaps not affecting the gateway—or, if it did, one of which no traces were found there; and subsequently the building of the wall which seems to reduce the width of the earlier gateway and to comprise a flagged guard-chamber, or bastion(?), east of the entrance, which we may ascribe to the latest stage in the Roman occupation of the site. This falls, as we shall see when we consider the other evidence, late in the fourth century.



## (3) THE STREETS.

The *Via Principalis*. So far we have been considering this only where it passes through the gateways of the different periods. Further south two sectional trenches were cut across it, one at 28 feet and the other at 60 feet south of the position of the post-holes at the gateway. Neither of these cuts showed the successive levels which we found near the gate, and there was nothing to note beyond a few foot-worn stones, apparently of the third period level, resting on a thick bed of gravel. On the west side, at the lowest level, the cobbles forming the road-bed were partly cleared, and some large foot-worn stones, forming part of a much-destroyed kerb, appeared, opposite to the (subsequently recognised) entrance to Site I. Our southern cross-section revealed the gravel of the road as spreading beyond the line of the kerb, almost up to the east wall of Site I, at a deep level, which suggested that as originally laid out there was a gravelled approach from the road to the entrance, and extending along the whole façade. The presence of a carefully-laid group of stones surrounding a single post-hole, also of the early period, just west of the line of the kerb, indicates that possibly a verandah faced on to the road here as well.

Down the east side of the road ran a gutter, which we followed for upwards of 15 yards, in fact from our southern cross-section northwards to the presumed point of intersection of the *Via Principalis* with the *intra-vallum* road. This gutter was found to be very uneven in construction: its sides are formed of a mixture of occasional squared stones with mostly large cobbles, but the sides had at times vanished altogether, and here the continuous narrow strip of finely-washed soil was easy to follow. The finds in the drain included a few pieces of pottery, notably a bit of decorated *Sigillata* of typical Lezoux ware, suggesting an Antonine date, a coin of Carausius (No. 49 on p. 300), and numerous animal bones. This gutter was not carried on as far as the gate, and it terminated in a much-destroyed area midway across the line of the *intra-vallum* road, but there are good grounds for the belief that it joined a drain carried eastward along this road. Of this drain we only found a short length, subsequently used as a flue, at the extreme east edge of the site (*cf.* p. 197). The average width of the *Via Principalis*, from the outer edge of the west kerb to the far side of the gutter, was 17 feet 6 inches; deducting the width of these two features we have a width very closely corresponding to the 12 feet forming its width between the chambers flanking the gate of the second period.

The *Intra-vallum Road*. This road, as uncovered in Mr. Simpson's preliminary trench, proved to be about 16 feet wide, with a kerb formed of a single row of rough stones, marking its inner edge; the outer edge was less distinctly marked. East of the north gate we could not locate either edge exactly owing to the encroachment of later buildings. As will be seen on the General Plan a drain runs along this road, west of the gate, and discharges through the rampart at the north-west angle, and the north wall of Site I is laid along the road also. The circumstances of this intrusion on to the road are dealt with below. The drain, by its position, belongs to a period when the road level had been raised, for its walls rise to a height of nearly 18 inches above the bed, which is flush with the earliest road-level. Section 'C-D-E,' Fig. 29, shows the second period of the road-surface, flush with the top of the drain; though the gravel layer was not so thick or firm as on the earlier surface, there was enough to confirm the evidence afforded by the position of the drain, for the presence of the later level. There was no indication of a third (later) road-surface.

Further west the extreme north-west corner of Site I reaches right on to the line of the drain, which no doubt carried off the water from the bath built in this area. Near here the roadway seemed to have had its level raised considerably more than in the section cut further east, for by cutting through it down to undisturbed soil, I found that on the layer of cobbles and boulders, about 6 inches thick, which formed its bed, was a mass of gravel not less than 30 inches deep, in which no intermediate levels could be recognised. The bed of the drain was found, by surveying with the "dumpy level," to have a drop of just over 6 feet between Mr. Simpson's cross-trench and the slab close to its mouth at the outer edge of the rampart corner. Within this distance it was observed that in the first 27 yards the drop was barely  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches, whereas in the next 15 yards it was a shade more than 37 inches, and in the last 23 feet of its course the drop was 27 inches. It is interesting to compare this with the slope indicated by the difference in level of the rampart-cobbles at the corresponding extremities of this line, for it is approximately only 4 feet. This gives a safer indication, we may assume, for the original slope of the ground between these points.

The other streets need no detailed description because the encroachment of buildings on to them prevented us from estimating their original width. We found remains of gravel between Sites I and II, and likewise between II and III, and a stretch of cobbles



indicating the probable line of the street under the western extension of Site I. To the east of the gate it was not even easy to locate the original edges of the *intra-vallum* road owing to the presence of buildings upon its line, and there was no certain indication of any street running into it at right angles in the area which we were able to examine.

(4) REMAINS AT THE NORTH-WEST ANGLE.

(Figs. 6-10.)

The curve of the rampart at the north-west angle was clearly visible in the field to the north of the Castle before excavations started, and two patches of fallen rubble masonry projected slightly from the surface of the slope. The main excavation of this area was carried out in 1919, and a small supplementary examination was made in 1921.

The cobble-bed of the first period rampart was uncovered at the angle itself and to a small extent along each side. Its outer line is indicated by the position of the mouth of a stone-built drain which discharges through it ('A,' in Figs. 7 and 10), the rounded masonry of the mouth indicating to some extent the actual curve of the rampart-face. The position of the inner edge of the rampart-bed as located in a trench south of the angle indicated a width of 23 feet; but we cannot be quite sure if this was its total width, as the stone wall of the second period rampart is built at this distance from the inner edge and may have been founded partly on the cobbles of the earlier rampart. It is, however, unlikely that the original width can have much exceeded 23 feet for, as indicated already, the original width close to the corner itself, as proved by the length of the drain, was scarcely more than 18 feet. This variation of the width of the rampart-bed has been dealt with already (p. 156 f.).

The inner edge of the rampart-bed was uncovered at two points sufficiently to enable us to determine the curve which it made at the angle. The radius of the inner curve was 15 feet 6 inches, of the outer *ca.* 33 feet 6 inches. The edge was marked by a row of rather larger stones and at a point about 2 feet 6 inches (on centre) from the inner edge, and 4 feet 4 inches to the north of a line bisecting the angle, was a post-hole 1 foot 4 inches in diameter and sunk nearly 3 feet below the level of the top of the cobble-bed. Time did not permit us to locate any other post-holes related to it, but from its position we may presume the presence of a wooden turret of which this marks the inner post of the northern side; and

we may presume that at any rate at this corner, as at Slack,<sup>1</sup> there was an approximately square turret strengthening the defences of the original fort.

It should also be noticed that near the inner edge of the rampart-bed on the south side was found a small post-hole edged with stone slabs which we may suppose held a strut about 4 or 5 inches in diameter and serving (probably as one of a group) to brace the inner face of the clay bank. At the point where our trench uncovered the inner edge of the rampart-bed a roughly-laid layer of stones was found in the clay at about a foot above the level of the cobbles, and is to be regarded as having served as a bonding-course similar to that found east of the gateway (*cf.* p. 162). At this point a few small pieces of pottery were found actually in the clay of the rampart, including part of the rim of an *amphora* and fragments of a white-coated jug.

The drain above mentioned has a width of about 2 feet at its mouth and a *minimum* width of 1 foot 3 inches. Close to the mouth, as is clearly visible on the photograph (Fig. 7, 'B'), two large blocks of stone have been inserted for the purpose of blocking it up, the masonry on the south side of the drain being cut back to receive the upper block, which is more than 2 feet long. This was probably done at the time that the later rampart-wall was built.

The stone rampart of the second period had all been destroyed down to foundation-level to the north of this drain, but to the south of it considerable remains existed; none, however, preserve for us its whole thickness. The following remains clearly belong to it: (1) A narrow patch of cobbles on the extreme north-west edge of the brow of the slope; (2) a piece of fallen masonry lying close to the mouth of the early drain, which is about 6 feet in length and preserves four courses: it is notable that the inner face seems straight and not, as we might have expected, curved (Fig. 6, 'D'); (3) a fallen mass with a *maximum* length of about 3 feet and about 4 feet 8 inches thick, which preserves some of the outer face only; (4) a small patch of cobbles marking the foundation of the wall just to the south of the blocks of fallen masonry; (5) the main drain, which we must regard as contemporary with the wall of the second period (*cf.* Figs. 8 and 10); (6) a long stretch of the wall itself, of which we followed the inner face for more than 20 feet southward without finding its outer face anywhere preserved (Fig. 9, 'F-F').

<sup>1</sup> *Cf.* p. 157; and Slack, page 13 and Fig. 7.





FIG. 7.—NORTH-WEST ANGLE, LOOKING EAST:  
'A': MOUTH OF EARLY DRAIN; 'B': STONES BLOCKING IT;  
'C': MEDIÆVAL BUILDING



FIG. 8.—THE SAME, SHOWING MOUTH OF LATER DRAIN ('D') AND  
PART OF STONE RAMPART-WALL ('F')







The destruction in this region has been so complete that we cannot restore the exact curve or the thickness of our stone wall. It seemed clear, however, that no stone tower had been built at this angle. The course of the wall at the corner as shown on the General Plan is only an approximation, but shows that the mouth of the early drain seems to coincide with the *inner* face of the later wall, which leaves no doubt that they cannot be contemporary. It is possible, but incapable of proof, that the corner was thickened and perhaps had its inner face at this point straight and not curved, which would account for the appearance of the straight face of the masonry referred to in No. (2) above. Such variations in the treatment of angles of forts are not rare.<sup>1</sup> With regard to the drain (No. 5), it will be noted that the large slab which forms its bed and on which the "spot-level" 269.27 is shown on the plan, did not mark the outer edge of the drain, but the stone or stones which continued the drain bed to the outer edge of the wall must have disappeared. As the photograph (Fig. 8) shows, the north side of the drain has disappeared along the whole length of this flag. Certain other features of this drain call for comment: it is fully 2 feet wide near the mouth and in places has four courses of its sides preserved; its bed is not flagged except with the large slab already mentioned. At a point 32 feet from the mouth three cover-slabs were found in position with their upper surface at a level of practically 2 feet above the bed of the drain. On and adjacent to them were found the fragments of the fine bowl of decorated *Terra Sigillata* signed by the potter *Severus* (Pl. xviii). These slabs mark the level of the *intra-vallum* road contemporary with the building of the stone wall and drain. At the point where this drain runs over the inner edge of the early rampart-bed the bottom of the drain is about 2 feet 6 inches above the level of the cobbles, which must indicate that the level of the original road had been very considerably raised by the time the drain was made along the later level; of this process we have already seen indications further east.

It remains to notice two small branch drains: the former, which was much destroyed, ran approximately along the inner (east) edge of the *intra-vallum* road northwards to join the main drain a few feet east of where we found the cover-slabs, and was no doubt contemporary with it. A few of the cover-slabs of this branch drain were also preserved, but we found them tilted up on edge in

<sup>1</sup> At Mainhardt and Zugmantel in Germany we have such thickened angles, suggestive of platforms for engines of war, as distinct from angle-towers. (I

am indebted to Mr. F. A. Bruton for calling my attention to these and other parallels.)

the drain itself. The remains of a short length of wall south of this drain defy explanation,<sup>1</sup> but the pottery found close to it seemed not later than the second century and included an almost complete jug of red clay found in fragments but lacking its neck (Fig. 41, 1). Close to it also was an incomplete brick stamp with the letters COH only. The other branch drain discharged into the main drain close to its mouth. Its purpose is not easy to explain unless possibly it had descended at a steep slope to carry off water from the rampart walk of the first period; for its style of construction resembled rather that of the early drain. On the other hand it obviously discharges into the later drain, though this may have destroyed its further course.

It should be noted that one of the larger stones (visible in the centre of Fig. 6) in the lowest course of the main drain on its north side near the mouth is tooled with "diamond broaching," a feature seldom found elsewhere on the site; and that some large rough stones found on the right-hand side of the drain suggest that they may have belonged to flagging to carry a rampart walk across the drain.

The general appearance of the remains at this angle makes it clear that the clay bank of the first rampart was not existing to anything like its full height at the time that the drain, and therefore the stone rampart, were built. If the large blocks just referred to indicate the level of the rampart walk on the reduced bank behind the stone wall, the clay bank can only have been standing to a height of 5 feet or less.

A few stones loosely laid at a point west and south-west of the mouth of the main drain seem to be of inferior construction, although approximately on the line where we should expect the outer face of the stone rampart (*cf.* Fig. 8, lower right-hand corner). They may belong to a period when this wall was repaired after injury, but they might even be mediæval.

*Mediæval Building.* Immediately to the north of the earlier drain and projecting slightly in front of it was a small rectangular structure with its walls standing to a height of about 2 feet 6 inches and its west wall much destroyed (Fig. 7, 'c'). The masonry is rough and irregular, some of the dressed stones being obviously Roman stones re-used; more than one shows remains of mortar on the face. Saw-marks were visible on the face of two others; and again, two other stones of fine-grained sandstone appeared to be slightly convex, possibly having been cut down from millstones of large

<sup>1</sup> Possibly remains of a latrine (?).



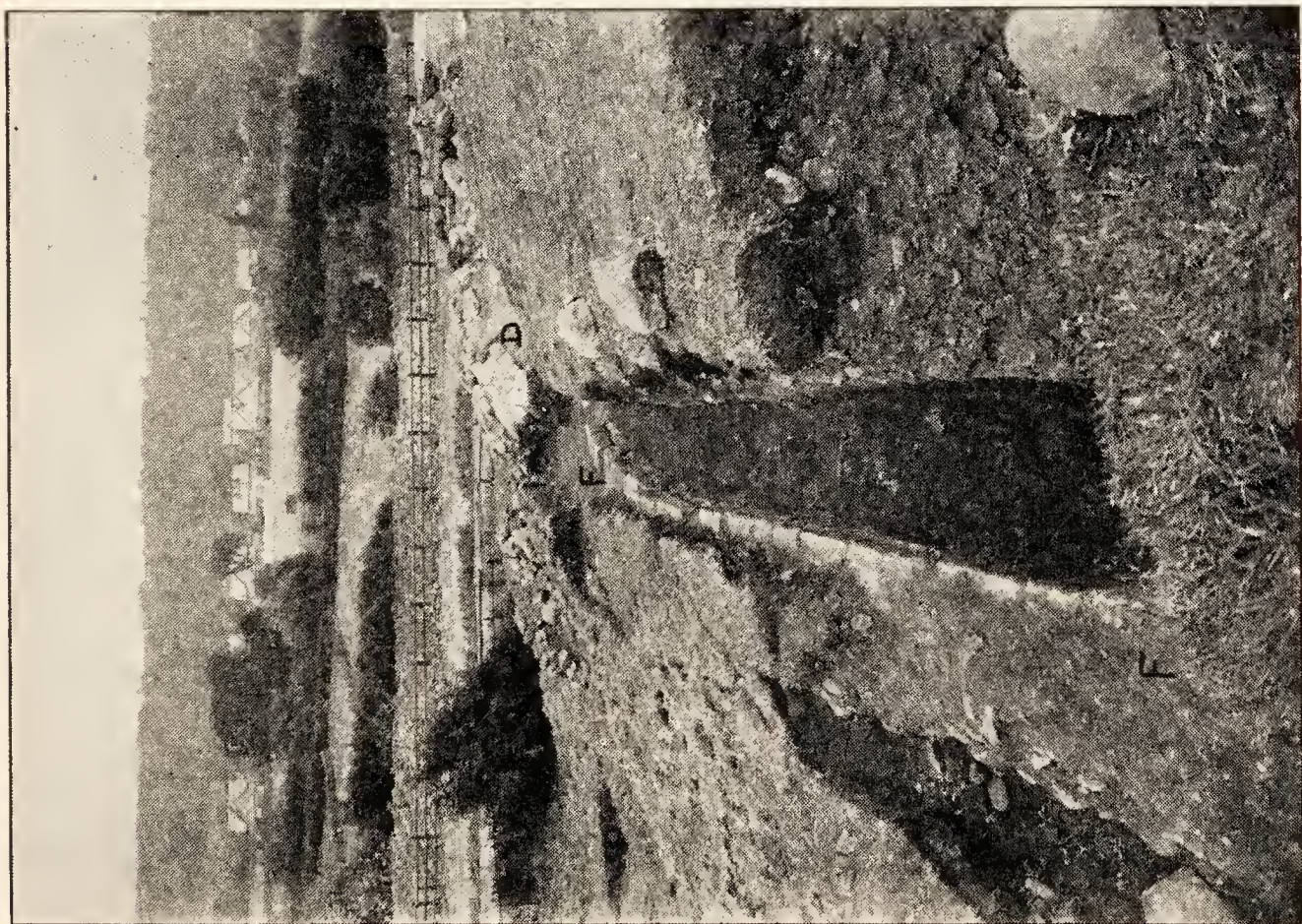


FIG. 9.—NORTH-WEST ANGLE: INNER FACE OF STONE  
RAMPART-WALL (' F-F '), LOOKING NORTH



FIG. 10.—THE SAME: EARLIER (' A ') AND LATER  
(' E ') DRAINS, LOOKING WEST







diameter.<sup>1</sup> In this building, of which the purpose and date are hard to determine, it was noted by Mr. Dodd, who excavated it, that a high proportion of the pottery found in it was not Roman but mediæval. It seems to be built on the cobble-bed of the early rampart, though its north wall projects to the west in front of the edge of the cobbles. In the eastern part of this small building and over a space of several square feet to the north of it was found a thick layer of burnt earth containing fragments of burnt wood, and pottery which seemed exclusively mediæval. This burnt level rested practically on the bed of the early rampart and on the cobble-foundations of the stone rampart-wall outside it: underneath it, in fact almost on the cobbles, were found an iron spur and a hasp and socket of the same material. The presence of the burnt floor-level both inside and outside this structure show it to be earlier than the latter, and the iron objects, which seem also mediæval, found under this floor show that the mediæval occupation at this corner was preceded by a complete removal of all Roman masonry to the north of the early drain. This mediæval pottery, which is our only clue to the dating of these remains, resembles that found in large quantities near the north gate. It is described in more detail below, but it seems impossible to date it more closely than to the thirteenth or fourteenth century.

*Finds from the north-west angle.* It is worthy of note that among the pottery found in large quantities in this region, particularly in and close to the mouth of the big drain, there seemed a total absence of the coarse gritted ware of the fourth century type found elsewhere on the site. Apart from the bowl signed by *Severus, Terra Sigillata* was not plentiful, fragments of about six other decorated bowls, and of perhaps twenty vessels of plain shapes alone being found. Coarse pottery, particularly fragments of open bowls, with flat rims suggestive of a second-century date, was very plentiful. Some of the fragments found may no doubt have come from vessels of third-century types, but the absence of typical fourth-century wares suggests that in the later stages of the history of the fort this corner was not regularly occupied. A possible alternative explanation must not be ignored, namely, that at some later date the levels containing the pottery of the later period were removed bodily, possibly by the mediæval occupants. On the whole, however, the former explanation is not inconsistent with indications found in the other regions of the site.

<sup>1</sup> A suggestion due to Mr. Simpson.

## CHAPTER III.

## THE BUILDINGS IN THE FORT.

## (I) SITE I.—THE COMMANDANT'S HOUSE (Figs. 11-21).

In 1919 a portion of the east end of this building was uncovered; in 1920 we cleared most of the southern portion, and in 1921 the north and north-west areas. A portion in the centre, where we presumed that there had been a courtyard only, was never cleared. It is an elaborate building with extensive traces of remodelling and enlargement, but it has suffered considerable destruction since Roman times, and several details in the plan as reproduced are conjectural; and many other features, even where we had the remains to guide us, remain obscure. Although it was possible to distinguish four periods of construction, it is possible that the history of the building actually comprised even more stages than this. In summarised form, the first period of its construction is represented by a narrow rectangular building, 66 feet long and apparently 26 feet wide; in the second period the width was extended to about 47 feet by bringing forward the north and south walls on to the roadways which flank the building; and the third stage is marked by the building of an elaborate system of heated rooms and baths at the west end, giving an additional length of about 24 feet. To the fourth period we must attribute a mass of coarse paving, not associated with any remaining walls.

It is, however, quite possible that the earliest stone structure was preceded by a structure of wood and wattle-and-daub construction, as in the first place a solitary post-hole outside the east end was not otherwise easy to account for, and secondly, the style of masonry in the walls of the first period is distinctly reminiscent of that used in the guard-chambers of the gate. Moreover, the scanty finds of pottery and other objects distinctly associated with the levels belonging to the first period walls were not such as to prove beyond doubt that these walls dated back to the presumed original occupation of the site in the first century; and it is far from unlikely that a wooden structure would represent the original Commandant's house in a first-century fort. It must also be taken into account that the numerous alterations in Roman times, as well as mediæval and modern disturbances, have caused not only a confusion of stratification but probably the disappearance alike of masonry and of many of the small objects of Roman date both early and later. Nevertheless the finds, particularly in pottery,



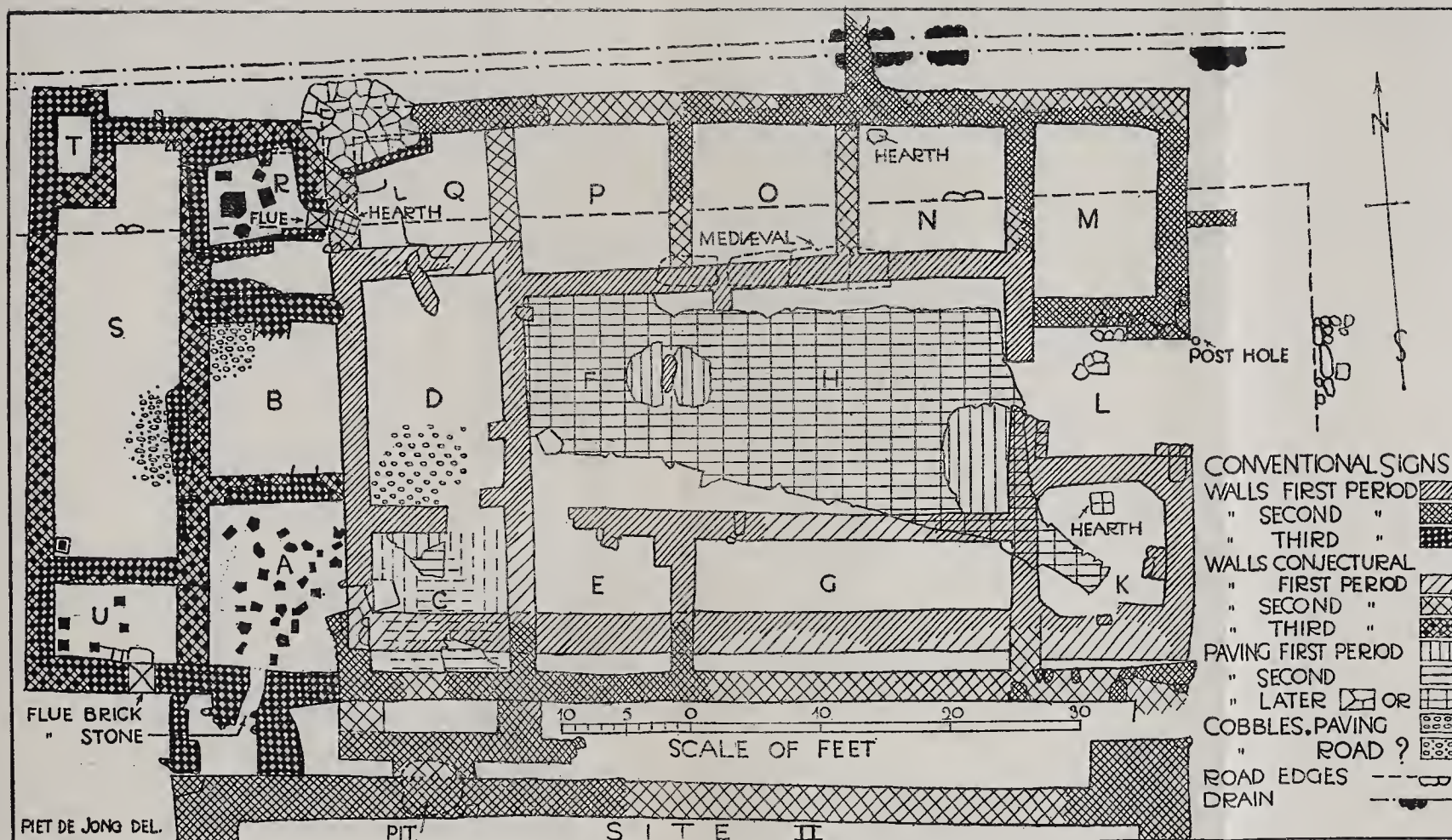


FIG. 11.—PLAN OF SITE I (THE COMMANDANT'S HOUSE)

(Scale: 12 ft. = 1 inch)





were extensive and interesting, even if their stratification, except at a few points, was clearly disturbed.

(a) *The House in the First Period.*

The original shape of this building, as shown on the plan, is not without difficulties, for the presumed north wall of the original period, which is only 2 feet wide, is appreciably narrower than the undoubted south wall; though this is not a fatal objection, for the west wall is only 2 feet wide. On the other hand there was no room between this wall and the edge of the road for another wall to have run, even at a distance to admit of a corridor only, and of such a wall certainly no trace was found. The south wall has an average width of 3 feet, rising in places to 3 feet 4 inches, and is built with cobble foundations bedded in clay and dressed stones at ground-level on each face. Except for each end, where it was disturbed or destroyed, this was found throughout in good preservation up to its original floor-level, buried beneath a floor of tough yellow clay belonging to the second period. The west wall, which is also only 2 feet wide, rests like it on cobble foundations, but is standing in places to a height of 3 feet 3 inches. It is built of good squared blocks, but different in style from those of the south wall, and they belong, I suspect, to a rebuilding in the second period.

The extent of the house in its first period, as is shown on the plan (Fig. 11), comprises the rooms lettered as follows: C, D, E, F, G, H, and K. The entrance at all periods seems to have been at L. Of these Rooms C and D alike had a paving of rough cobbles; the wall separating them possibly belonged to the second period only. In E and G the floor was only of beaten earth, as was the case also in K. In F and H, the latter of which perhaps was an open court throughout the history of the building, we found carefully-laid flagging at the two points where this is shown on the plan, but we did not remove the later levels so as to verify its presence all over. Close along by the north wall, however, we noted that this flagging did not exist, but that there was a layer of sandy gravel at the lowest level, particularly south of Room O (of the second period). It is not worth while describing in detail the features of each individual room, as they may be seen on the plan. We may, however, call special attention to the structure of Room K, which had a small square hearth of small flat stones near the north wall, a short buttress-like projection coming inwards from the east wall, and a deliberate strengthening of the inner angles. At the outer north-east angle of this room it was noted that a few larger blocks had been used, some of which may be connected with a probable re-

construction in the second period; the large, carefully-dressed block found *in situ* on the wall at the corner is shown in Fig. 12. None of the walls of this room were preserved above floor level, but on the footing-course of the north wall we found the remains of a clearly-marked layer of charred wood not less than an inch thick. It was observed that this charred wood did not extend any distance into the room, but that a similar feature occurred just outside the south face of Room M, though not continuously recognisable across the whole width of the entrance L. Here, then, we seem to have the remains of a wooden floor, but as it seems to be external to the house in its first stage we must attribute it to the second period. The buttress-like projection northward from the west end of the north wall was another puzzling feature; in the first place it had not the cobble foundation of the wall itself, but rested on beaten clay which suggested a floor. Moreover, from its construction it seemed only 22 inches wide when first built, and to have been subsequently strengthened with a further row of stones on its east side giving it a total width of 3 feet. Its northern extremity was damaged, and I could not be certain if it had originally run on to join the corresponding "buttress" projecting southwards towards it. The latter, however, seemed definitely to belong to the first period, and to end with a good face.

From the above indications it would seem that the entrance in the first period was about 7 feet 6 inches wide, measured from the north wall of Room K to the end of this northern "buttress"; and that subsequently, perhaps, when Room M and the other extensions were added, this buttress-like projection from Room K was built towards, if not actually to join, the earlier one, and that the whole entrance was raised and given a wooden floor, and roofed over, for obviously a wooden floor would not be exposed to the open air. Probably at the same time the north-east angle of Room K was strengthened and an arched entrance made with the northern support of the arch resting on the opposite corner of Room M, which has obviously been strengthened for some such purpose (Fig. 13, 'B'). The small patch of flagging 'c-c' shown as isolated in the entrance was at a higher level than the burnt wooden floor, and presumably belongs to a later period of the second phase. The curious piece of masonry shown as projecting into Room K obliquely to the west wall, is in no way connected either with the first or second period in the history of the room, but belongs to the paving typical of the last stage of the occupation.<sup>1</sup> This room yielded very few finds

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 183 below.





FIG. 12.—SITE I (COMMANDANT'S HOUSE): NORTH WALL OF ROOM K, SHOWING STRENGTHENED CORNER, LOOKING WEST



FIG. 13.—SITE I: SOUTH WALL OF ROOM M, WITH STRENGTHENED CORNER (' B '), AND PAVING OF LATER ENTRANCE (' C-C '), LOOKING EAST







except for an interesting group of fragments of pottery found on both sides of the walls at the north-east corner. This included three adjoining fragments of a bowl of *Terra Sigillata*, probably to be dated to the second quarter of the second century (Plate xviii, No. 2); also a platter of Form 31, of which numerous fragments could be reconstructed, and bearing the stamp [COB]NERTUS (*cf.* Pl. xxi). Among the coarse pottery we noted part of the rim and side of an early *olla* with rustic decoration, a fragment of a screw-necked flagon and several fragments of a large grey jar with a heavy rolled rim. From the lowest level in the middle of the room came a small fragment of a vessel with green glaze and a fragment of the stamped rim of a *mortarium* (No. 1 below).

Before turning to the reconstruction of the house in the second period we may note the following features. The partition-wall that separates Rooms C–D from E–F, with an average width of 2 feet, was preserved in some places to a height of two courses above the floor-level. The wall forming the north of Room E seemed definitely to stop short on the west, leaving an entrance about 2 feet 6 inches wide. The partition between Rooms F and H, which was less than 2 feet wide, was only cleared at its junction with their north walls, but there was no trace of its joining the south walls as we might have expected. To the west of this partition, and in the middle of the small patch of early flagging shown on the plan, were the remains of a narrow wall only one stone wide, which seemed much destroyed and defies explanation. The entrance between Rooms C and D was clearly recognisable, but the partition between them seemed later than their cobble-pavings, and thus belongs to the second period; the two small buttresses in the east wall of the latter room are another puzzle which must remain unsolved. Nor can I explain the small patch of masonry, apparently of later date, which intrudes into Room D from the north. Its foundation-course appeared not to be cobbles but thin slabs resembling those used in the south partition of Site II, and it was orientated obliquely to the other walls. The finds from the early levels in Rooms C, D, E, and F were not on the whole numerous, and comprised very few pieces of pottery suggestive of a first-century date. From the lowest level of Room F came a fragment of a bowl of *Terra Sigillata* of Form 30, and the fragmentary base of a colour-coated unguent pot with an incised inscription (Fig. 40, No. 7 below). The latter at any rate would again belong more probably to the second period occupation-level.

It was only close to the north wall that a distinct *stratum* of

early finds was recognised; these included the piece of a shallow bowl of *Terra Sigillata* with *barbotine* ornament on the rim (Pl. xx, 4), two or three fragments of *ollae* of grey ware with rustic ornament, and a piece of a bowl with flat reeded rim. Not a single piece of decorated *Terra Sigillata* of a date earlier than the reign of Hadrian came from any of our deep levels in this building, but the other pottery fragments just mentioned are consistent with—and the *barbotine*-decorated piece seems to necessitate—a first-century occupation. At this period, as suggested above, we should perhaps admit that the building was a wooden one, all traces of which, except for a possible post-hole at the east end, have totally vanished.

(b) *The House in the Second Period.*

As has been indicated above, the re-modelling of this house in the second period consisted of building a new south wall at a higher level, to join which the east and west external walls were prolonged as well as the partition-walls between Rooms C and E, E and G, and G and K. On the north the new north wall was built approximately down the middle of the *intra-vallum* road and a new range of rooms (M, N, O, P, and Q) added. The building thus became approximately symmetrical, with Rooms K and M flanking the entrance. These new north and south walls were built at an appreciably higher level, which is not everywhere identical, and varies from about 9 inches to 15 inches above the earlier floor-level. The new walls are a trifle over 2 feet thick and, like the earlier ones, rest on foundations set in stiff clay, but these consist of a mixture of rough stones and cobbles on the whole rather larger and less closely set. It appears that the previous partition-walls were in all cases retained in use, but may have required rebuilding above the floor-level. The presumed re-modelling of the entrance has been dealt with above. We must also note the way in which the flagging of the new period in Room C overlies both the earlier flagging and the west end of the south wall of the first period (*cf.* Fig. 14). Of the new rooms M was the only one on which the floor had any stone paving. Across the middle of this room traces were found of the kerb of the *intra-vallum* road, and the road-gravel was still preserved in the north part of the room. We noted that above this gravel was a conspicuously black deposit of earth containing many fragments of iron, including nails and broken tools, suggesting that it had served as a forge. The southern half of the room was paved with large boulders, which seemed, however, to lie deeper than the normal floor-level of the second period, and may be survivors from a flagged area existing in the first period outside the house. Some of these





FIG. 14.—SITE I: SOUTH WALLS OF PERIODS I (' A ') AND II (' B '),  
LOOKING WEST TOWARDS HYPOCAUST (' F ')



FIG. 15.—SITE I: NORTH WALL OF PERIOD I (' A ') BENEATH LATER  
ROMAN WALL (' B '), AND MEDIÆVAL (' C '); WEST WALL OF  
ROOM M (' D-D ') IN FOREGROUND, LOOKING WEST







cobbles were pulled up but revealed no definite floor-level beneath them, and the only object found was a small fragment of the *Terra Sigillata* platter, Form 18. The post-hole found outside the south-east corner is hard to explain. It might be, as suggested above, the solitary remains of an original wooden structure, or possibly indicate the position of a scaffold-pole employed in construction in the second period, or even later. Several coins were found close to the walls of this room on the south and east. An *as* of Hadrian and a *denarius* of Severus were found low down outside the south wall, but not at the lowest level; a coin of Gallienus was found inside the room deep down beside the east wall; one of Claudius Gothicus was close against the north wall, and one of Tetricus in the surface earth above the north-east angle. Close to the latter we found the bronze finger of a statue (p. 286 and Pl. xxx, Fig. 44, No. 12).

Rooms N, O, and P call for little comment. A patch of burnt clay and a burnt hearthstone near the north-west corner prove the presence of a fireplace in N. The finds in this room included a *denarius* of Julia Mamaea from alongside the foundations of the east wall, and two uncertain coins of the third century from outside the north wall. The pottery was plentiful but unimportant, though mention must be made of the base of a cup of *Terra Sigillata* (Form 33) stamped with the name *Paullus*. The partition between Rooms N and O was mostly destroyed except at the north end. The foundation of the south wall appeared in good preservation after we had removed the large slabs belonging to the mediæval wall which was built on top of it (Figs. 15 and 16), but separated from it by a thick layer of debris which yielded few finds apart from a coin of Gallienus, two small fragments of decorated *Terra Sigillata* of second-century types, and a fragment of a "Castor" cup showing the remains of the figure of a dog. Room P yielded nothing worthy of mention. Its north wall had been almost entirely removed and very little survived of the partition-wall separating it from Room Q. Room Q had been very much disturbed, and the whole of its north-west corner had apparently been destroyed to make room for the buildings connected with the third period. In it, however, we found more than one stamped base of *Terra Sigillata* cups and a much-worn *sestertius* of Hadrian.

Three features of the house in this period call for more detailed description. (1) From the south wall near its west end there is a curious buttress-like projection 3 feet 6 inches wide, continuing the line of the wall between Rooms C and E (Fig. 17, 'G'). At a distance

of about 2 feet 6 inches from the outer face of the south wall this makes a return east and west about 18 feet in length (*ibid.*, 'H'), and perhaps originally longer, as it seems to be broken off short on the east. It has been assumed, as is shown on the plan, that this was connected with a second buttress at the extreme corner of the building, though we found no traces of one. It was further noted that from this return-wall there was a projection joining it, but not bonded in, to the wall of the adjacent building (Site II). Moreover, at the point where it touched this wall a pit had been dug under the latter (*cf.* Fig. 23, 'B'), and it seems possible that this whole extension is in reality to be regarded as a buttress to support the weakened wall of Site II, and not as a structural element of Site I. (2) Another puzzling feature is a mysterious piece of wall which runs out from the north wall across the drain with a width varying between 18 inches and 2 feet. This is carefully bonded into the north wall and is carried over the drain by a large block which seemed partly to rest in but yet not to choke the drain itself. There was an uncertain indication of a possible return to the east, but it must be noted that Mr. Simpson's original trench, which was cut just to the east of this wall, found no traces of this return. This wall is perhaps to be explained as belonging not to an actual room but to an external lean-to shed, of which the remainder may have been built in timber. Such a utilisation of the space between the main building and the rampart would not be surprising. The third feature is the short length of wall running eastward from about the middle of the east wall of Room M in the direction of the *Via Principalis*. This likewise seemed to have no return, and like the wall last mentioned may have belonged to some sort of outhouse. It seemed to be bonded into the east wall of M but was of poorish construction and barely 2 feet wide.

(c) *The House in the Third Period.*

The extensive addition at the west end of the building comprising Rooms A, B, R, S, T, and U, may be treated as a whole, though it is not quite certain whether all the elements of it are in fact contemporary. It is probable that here again the building was extended on to a roadway, namely the street running from north to south between the central block of buildings and the *Retentura*, for a patch of cobbles with some gravel above them was found in the eastern side of Room S. Whether the patch of cobbles found in the north-west corner of Room B also belonged to this road is less certain, as they lie to the east of the presumed line of





FIG. 16.—SITE I: NORTH WALL OF PERIOD I ('A') BENEATH LATER WALLS ('B' AND 'C'), LOOKING EAST



FIG. 17.—SITE I: SOUTH WALLS OF PERIODS I ('A') AND II ('B'), WITH BUTTRESS-WALLS 'G-H,' LOOKING WEST  
(Cf. FIG. 14)

*Facing p. 178]*







the edge of the road, which line if continued southward would pass along the west face of Site II. It was impossible to follow the west wall of Room S throughout, owing to the presence of the hedge and wire fence separating the two properties which comprise the site. But the alignment of the west wall of Room T with that of Room U exactly coincided, and justifies us in restoring it as a continuous straight line. The interpretation of this area was made still more difficult by destruction, especially at the north, where the walls reached to within a few inches of the modern surface, and beyond Room T modern excavation had destroyed all trace both of the drain and even of the back edge of the rampart. Nor is it surprising that the stratification was much confused. A coin of Carausius was found in removing the surface turf in Room B and a penny of George III a few inches deeper close to it.

That this extension is not contemporary with the second period of our site was easily seen. In general the style of masonry used was rougher and more irregular, and cobbled foundations were lacking. Moreover, the destruction of the north-west portion of Room Q to make space for a patch of flagging, and the poor wall bounding it on the south, furnish clear proof that these features are later. At the south end, moreover, the evidence is equally plain, for the south wall of Room A, though continuing the south wall of the main building, is not bonded into it. Of this extension, Rooms A, R, U, and apparently S (or at least the southern part of it) seem clearly to have been heated with hypocausts. To consider these hypocausts first: Room A, which measures internally 14 feet by 10 feet, has a very poor wall on the north, naturally not bonded into the east wall, which is the original outer wall of the buildings of the first and second periods; and on the west, except for a few rough stones near the north-west corner, the wall had been destroyed entirely. The floor had also disappeared, but we found upwards of two dozen rough stone pillars which had originally supported it. A few of these were still standing upright, but they did not seem to be arranged in their original rows. Their positions are shown accurately on the plan (and *cf.* Fig. 18). These are roughly-hewn pillars of hard sandstone, approximately square in section and thicker above than below; and it was noted that they ranged in height from 14 inches to 20 inches. Some of the shorter ones which did not seem to have broken, must have rested on smaller stones; one of these was a moulded stone of exceptional type which appears to have been re-used, and is described below along with other architectural fragments (p. 292). Between these pillars and at their foot was

a mass of rubbish full of crumbled pink plaster, no doubt from the walls and perhaps from the floor of the room, and small fragments of flagging about  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch thick. At the base of the pillars in the northern half of the room were several pieces of pottery indicating a second-century date, including some nice fragments of *Terra Sigillata* platters of Form 31; and two or three bases of bowls of coarse grey ware.

We found two flues which had conveyed the hot air into the room, one in the east wall and one in the south (Fig. 18, 'C' and 'B'); they were presumably not contemporary, as the former was found blocked up outside, that is to say in Room C, with a large stone. No clear traces remain of the presumed arch over it. The flue on the south was presumably the later of the two and the wall had been carried over it by means of a carefully-built arch. This was built of blocks of sandstone about 2 inches thick, bedded in thick layers of pink mortar. Five stones were in position on the east, four on the west, but the voussoirs of the arch were missing from the crown (Fig. 24). The opening was about a foot wide and about 4 feet 6 inches long, for the wall was thickened here to that extent. The furnace was a small irregular-shaped space reaching to the north wall of Site II, against which its east and west sides were built. Adjoining this on the west was a small room (U), measuring 9 feet 6 inches by 6 feet, with its south wall continuing that of Room A, and a very rough wall on the north of irregular width averaging only 21 inches and containing no dressed stones. The west wall, of which the outer face could not be reached, was only two courses high of dressed stones laid without any foundations on a layer of clay and burnt debris fully a foot deep. The same type of construction characterised the south wall in which was the flue. This flue, unlike the other, was carefully built of bricks of the common Roman size, 11½ inches square, and measured 22 inches from the base to the crown of the arch and 24 inches across the base. It had partly collapsed, but still had traces of the wall running over it. Its furnace lay alongside that which heated Room A, but we did not find its west or south walls. The floor of this room had been supported on built-up brick pillars, some of which were standing to a height of four bricks, and they seemed to have run in rows of three from north to south, making perhaps twelve pillars in all: we found six of these in position. Among the rubbish were some fallen pieces of larger bricks, and one complete one bearing the stamp COH II LING (*cf.* p. 292, and Fig. 51). In the rubble at the base of these pillars were some fragments of plain *Terra Sigillata*, two or three of which were found





FIG. 18.—SITE I: HYPOCAUST ('A'), LOOKING NORTH.  
(FLUES AT 'A,' 'B,' AND 'C': LAST-NAMED BLOCKED UP)



FIG. 19.—SITE I: SMALL HYPOCAUST (R), SHOWING HEARTH ('A'),  
FLUE ('B'), AND LARGE STONE PILLARS ('C-C-C-C'),  
LOOKING WEST







to join fragments from deep down in Room A, and a small decorated piece of Form 37 (see Pl. xvii, No. 9); also a metal clasp-plate from a belt (Fig. 45, No. 5) was found at a deep level, and an illegible third-century coin in the surface earth.

Immediately beyond the north wall was a solitary brick pillar in the south-west corner of Room S, indicating that here also had been a hypocaust. It consisted of a complete brick of large size, bearing the same stamp as the others, with a smaller brick resting on it; as it was not possible to clear this room fully we cannot say where the furnace and flue lay. The other heated room of this series was R, which is smaller than either of the others and its walls were all rough and irregular. The floor had been supported on six stone pillars (2 feet 8 inches high), larger and more closely set than those in Room A, one of them being actually recessed into the face of the north wall. The base of the pillars seemed to rest on rough flagging, which in turn lay on the gravel of the *intra-vallum* road. Practically no pottery came from the level of these flags, but the debris above them, which again contained a lot of crumbled pink plaster, yielded a few fragments of very various dates. The flue was at the south-east corner and was of poor construction, with a stone flag in place of an arch (Fig. 19). A small patch of flat bricks outside it bearing clear traces of burning, seemed to occupy the line of the destroyed west wall of Room Q.

The other rooms belonging to this extension may be briefly dismissed: B, in the north-west corner of which was found a paving of cobbles, perhaps marking an extension eastward of the original road, had a very thick and irregular wall on the north; and close to the point where its north wall joined the east wall was a good deal of burnt matter, and the appearance of the wall suggested that it might have run over a disused flue. In this case the space between Rooms B and R, which is otherwise hard to explain, might have been a furnace. In clearing the wall between Rooms B and D, a considerable quantity of pottery was found, but unstratified, including a nice fragment of a decorated *Terra Sigillata* bowl (Form 37) in the style of the potter Satto (Pl. xix, No. 7), as well as the coin of Carausius already mentioned (p. 179). North of Rooms R and Q, and overlying the original north wall of each, was a patch of irregular flagging bounded on the south by a poor wall only one course wide. The composition of the *intra-vallum* road was here tested and found to be of gravel more than 30 inches thick. The north wall of Room R continues, very poorly built, a short distance to the west and then makes a return both to north and south to form the east

wall of Room T. More than one of the stones in this wall have cuttings indicating their previous use elsewhere, notably a section of a half-round pilaster and a piece of a door-jamb (*cf.* Fig. 20, and p. 290 f.). The south and east walls of Room T were fragmentary and obscure, but from the size indicated on the plan this small room may have been the *Frigidarium* of this bath building. The west wall, however, was a trifle over 2 feet thick and of a rather better style. It has a footing-course of irregular flat flags laid on a cobble-foundation with some dressed blocks above, which are well preserved on the east face. The plan shows this as continuing to form ultimately the west wall of Room U, but at some point in its course its structure must have altered, for we have seen that the latter wall was devoid of foundations of any sort. As to Room S, there is little to note. The patch of cobbles and the gravel near its east wall are presumably the remains of a road, but further south much of the east wall is missing. In view of its shape it is not impossible that it was divided into two with an east-west partition which we were unable to find. In this case perhaps only the southern half served as a hypocaust.

In the northern area of this bath building not much of interest turned up in the way of finds. Three third-century coins, of which one of Carausius was alone decipherable, were found close to the surface north of Room R, and two stamped bases of *Terra Sigillata* cups with the names of ALBILLUS . . and DO(M)IT (*cf.* pp. 224-5, Nos. 1 and 5). There was no pottery typical of the first or early second century at all, but a few pieces of flanged bowls of grey ware found near the south of Room R seem to indicate a third-century date, and there was a little of the typical fourth-century gritted ware as well.

It is not easy to account for the different types of construction used in the hypocausts, but the use of brick in Room U may possibly indicate that this is in turn a later extension westward. Though the south wall seems continuous with that of Room A, it seemed in Room U to be of inferior construction, particularly by its absence of foundations. There seems no way of deciding whether the stamped bricks are in their original position or not. In the former event we should have to infer that the hypocaust Room U was built while the garrison of which the name is stamped on the bricks was still in occupation of the fort. On the other hand it is not at all unlikely that the bricks were transferred from some other structure, possibly after the garrison had withdrawn. A general consideration of the history and evolution of this building suggests



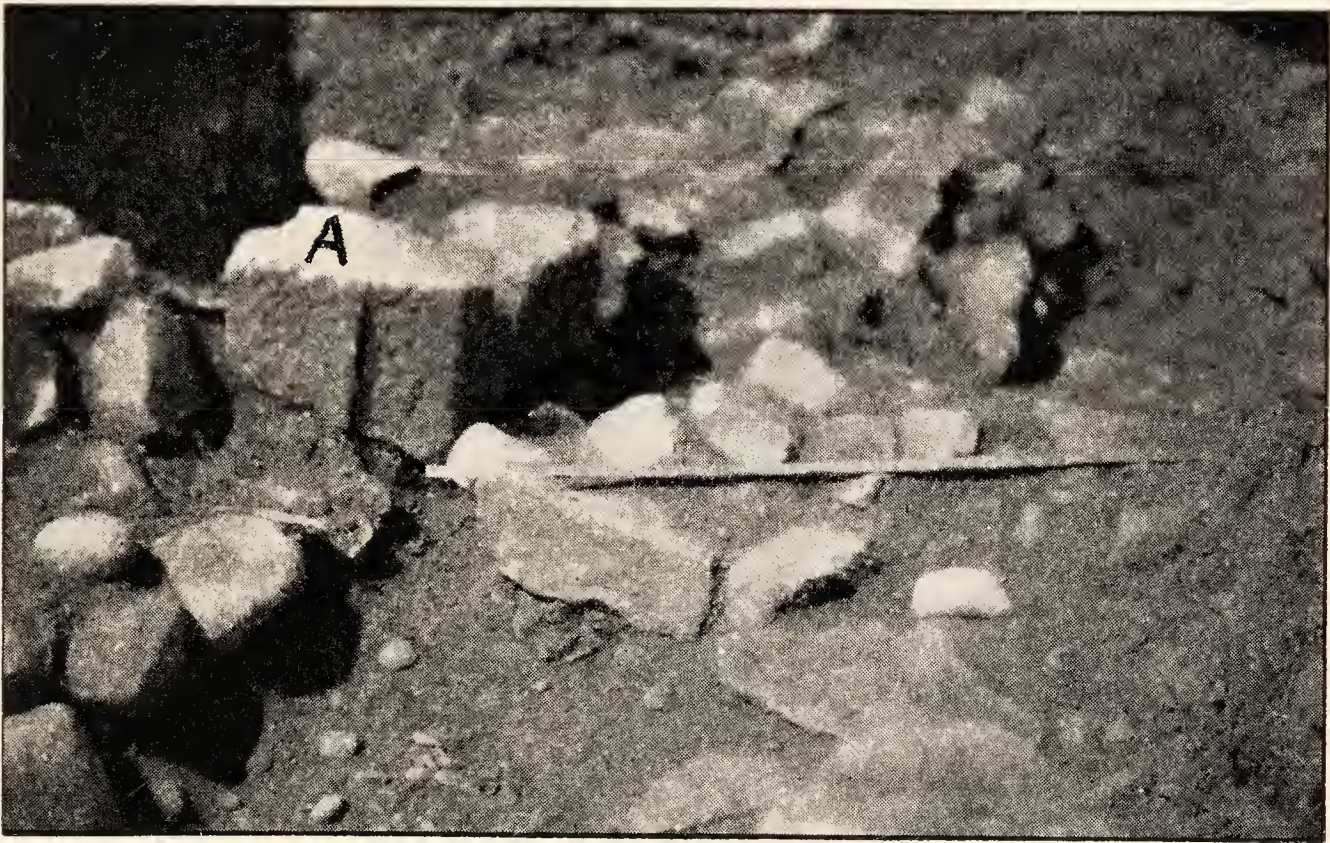


FIG. 20.—SITE I: JUNCTION OF NORTH WALL OF ROOM R  
WITH EAST WALL OF ROOM T, SHOWING RE-USED  
JAMB-BLOCK ('A')

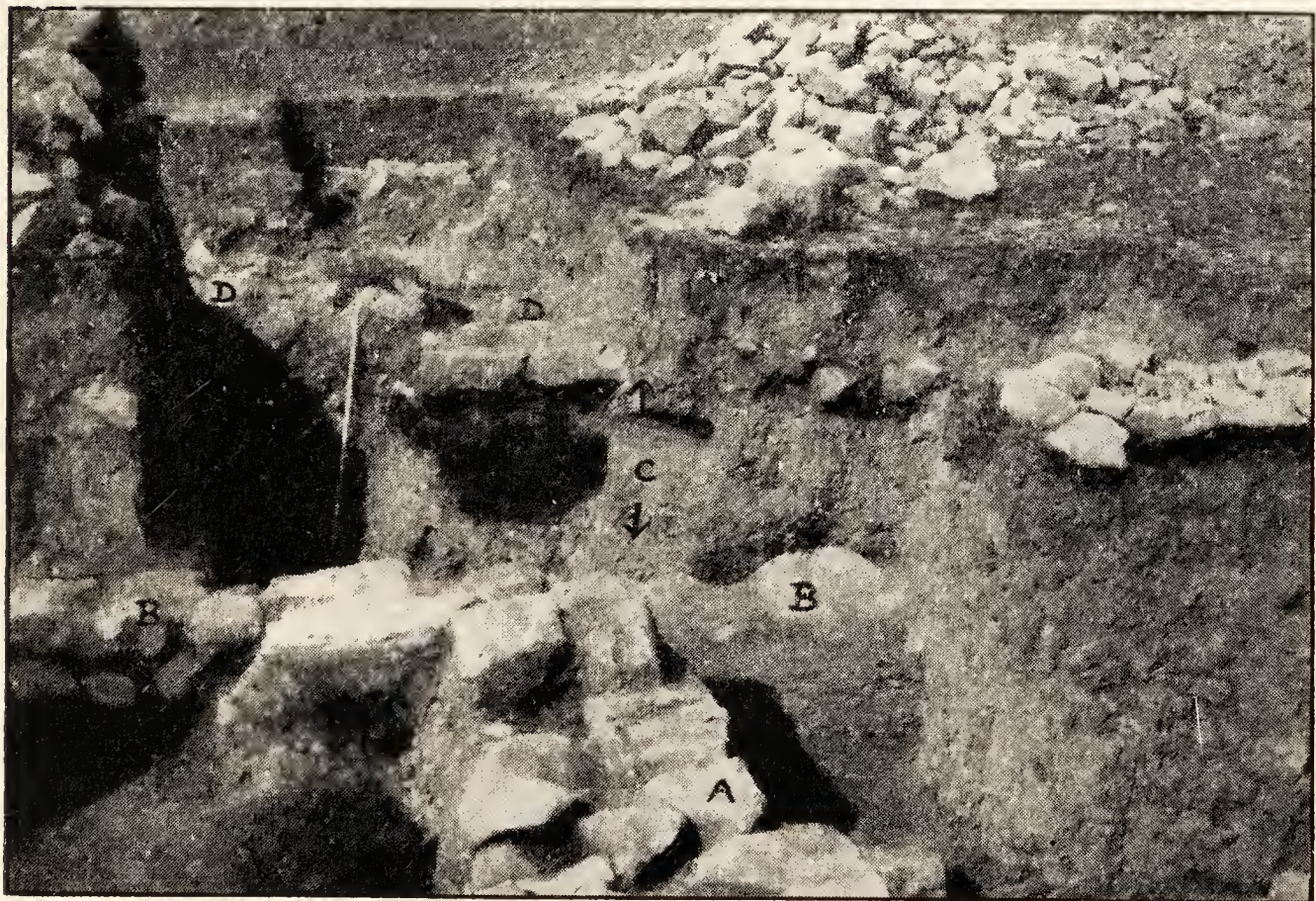


FIG. 21.—SITE I: LATE PAVING ('D-D') LYING ON LAYER OF BURNT  
CLAY ('C'); 'B-B' IS SOUTH WALL OF PERIOD I.  
(LOOKING NORTH FROM SOUTH-EAST CORNER OF ROOM E)







that this extension with the elaborate system of heated rooms is disproportionately large for a commandant's house in a fort. If we assume on the contrary that the house in its extended form had become the villa of a civilian occupant, this would mean that these bricks had been removed from the position originally occupied by them in the time of the garrison, and that the shoddy nature of this extension and of the construction of Room U in particular represents the efforts of the civilian jerry-builder. The question of the garrison is discussed more fully below in Chapter VIII (3). In any case it is hard to believe that this hypocaust, whether or no it is later than that of Room A, is of earlier date than the third century.

(d) *Remains of the latest Roman Period.*

The final stage in the Roman occupation of this area is marked by a very considerable rise in the level. To this level we cannot attribute with certainty anything more than a large and irregular extent of solid paving which covered the central portion of the building, with its northern and southern edges pretty clearly marked. It seemed continuous on the south from the north-west corner of Room F to the middle of Room K, and on the north it reached nearly, on a straight line from east to west, as far as the north walls of Rooms F and H. The occupation level extended still further north, practically as far as the drain, but was not flagged beyond the line mentioned.<sup>1</sup> On the east the same level continued on to and across the *Via Principalis*, and, as mentioned already (p. 162), towards the north gate. The flagging consists partly of thick blocks and partly of re-used building stones, often of considerable size, and in places, especially near the centre of Room H, seemed to be two courses deep. Between it and the floor-level of Rooms F and H we noticed a thick deposit of burnt clay, which is only to be explained as the fallen remains of burnt mud-brick walls and probably roof-clay. At one point in Room H (*cf.* Fig. 21) this clay deposit had a thickness of 29 inches, and we noted that it extended practically as far as the drain on the north, though its thickness here was not more than 12 inches. In this level was a certain amount of pottery, unstratified, but containing nothing suggesting a first-century or early second-century origin. Roman pottery occurred also on the occupation-level on, and adjacent to, these flags, and some mediæval

<sup>1</sup> A possible northward limit of the area occupied was indicated by a poor wall 18 inches wide running east and west at a level of about 18 inches above the top of the drain. This was not found

in Mr. Simpson's trench, however, but only at one point further to the west. The burnt clay, described below, reached at this point up to this wall.

fragments occasionally were associated with it. There is nothing to show what form of building stood here at the time this paving was laid down or whether any of the walls of the second period were still standing to a height permitting them to continue in use; but certainly the partition-wall south of Rooms F and H was buried under the burnt clay, as was their north wall (the original north wall of the house in the first period).

It is impossible to date this period of occupation in the light of the pottery alone owing to the lack of stratification, but a coin of Valentinian I found close to the surface-level above Room D suggests a likely enough date. Nor was there any lack of the late type of coarse cooking pot of dark ware with particles of white grit such as we might expect in an occupation of this date. It is noticeable that of the numerous coins found in, and adjacent to, this building there is not one which belongs to the period of nearly seventy years between Carausius and Valentinian I.<sup>1</sup> Taking into account, moreover, that of the five coins of Carausius which were certain, three were found associated with this building, and two other possible specimens came also from it; and, remembering that the three certain ones were in very good preservation, we have strong grounds for attributing to a date in or immediately after his reign, the destruction by fire of the greater part at least of this house. Nor is it very rash to assume that the site of the house remained abandoned for some years, though it may have had a partial reoccupation even earlier than the date indicated by the presence of the coin of Valentinian.

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#### CHAPTER IV.

##### THE BUILDINGS IN THE FORT (*continued*).

##### (2) SITE II.—THE GRANARY. (Figs. 22–27.)

To the south of the Commandant's House lay the granary, at a distance of 6 feet from the outer edge of the south wall of the second period, and therefore about 10 feet from the outer edge of that of the first period. The intervening space was clearly paved with gravel in the second period, and perhaps also earlier. Exclusive of its buttresses, its external dimensions are 78 feet by about 30 feet; it seems, in fact, to have been rather less than 30 feet wide at the east end and a few inches more than 30 feet at the west end. The

<sup>1</sup> The solitary Constantinian coin 10 feet away from the north-east corner (Emperor uncertain) was found some of the house (*cf.* p. 163).





FIG. 22.—SITE II: SOUTH WALL, WITH BUTTRESSES, LOOKING WEST



FIG. 23.—SITE II: PART OF NORTH WALL ('A-A'), WITH PIT ('B')  
BENEATH IT: 'D-D' IS BUTTRESS-WALL, 'E' IS SOUTH  
WALL (PERIOD II) OF SITE I.







walls were nowhere preserved above the floor-level, and vary in width between 3 and 4 feet, the west wall being fully 4 feet wide, but none of the others more than about 3 feet 6 inches. None of them showed any traces of the vents frequently found in buildings of this class. We did not fully clear the outer face of the west wall, especially at the south-west corner, and also left unexcavated the eastern half of the north wall, though we fully uncovered the north-east corner. Our exploration of the interior was also limited on grounds of economy, but it revealed the presence of two partition-walls running from east to west, *i.e.* along the main axis of the building. Both of these were found at the east end (Fig. 25, 'B' and 'C'); an oblique trench across the centre found the northern wall of these two much collapsed but no trace of the southern one; whereas in clearing the west end of the site we found remains of the southern wall but no trace of the northern. We need not, however, doubt that originally they extended the whole length of the building. They exhibit also a striking difference in construction, for that to the north has a cobble and rough stone foundation, like the outer walls of Site I in the second period, and is only 2 feet wide, whereas the southern partition-wall was represented only by a slightly wider footing-course of rough flags with little or no foundation. The latter ran practically along the middle of the building; the former, at about 2 feet 6 inches to the north of it, should perhaps be regarded as of later construction. It is possible that a mass of fallen stones which we found outside the middle of the east end, rammed very tight together and lacking any regular outline, may be the remains of a rough loading-platform, which in this case would have probably extended up to the edge of the road in front.

An interesting and puzzling feature was the nature and position of the buttresses. There seem to have been none at the narrow ends but along the sides they are arranged in a curious and unsymmetrical way. On the south side (*cf.* Fig. 22) there is an approximately square buttress measuring 3 feet 6 inches in each direction at the same distance from the south-east corner; while the corresponding buttress at the east end of the north wall has been extended from its original width eastwards so as to run flush with the edge of the east wall. At the south-west corner there was a similar buttress, only 3 feet wide, at a distance of about 7 feet 6 inches from the corner. It is noticeable that the inner angle at the same point is thickened with a rectangular insertion, of which the purpose is obscure. It is not clear whether there was a corresponding buttress near the corner on the north, or whether the projection here found,

which extended up to and bonded into the south wall of Site I, was entirely built as part of the furnace for the hypocaust Room A (*cf.* Fig. 24). Perhaps the correct explanation is that it was originally a buttress, which it was found convenient to extend northward to enclose this furnace on the east.

In addition to these four more or less normal buttresses attention must be drawn to the curious projections associated with lateral walls on the north and south. The former, which we have noticed already in connection with the second period of Site I, seems to have been designed to strengthen a weak point in the north wall due to the presence of a pit sunk beneath the wall; just east of the pit traces had survived of a junction of this buttress with our granary wall, but most of the buttress had disappeared. On the plan of Site I (Fig. 11) we have indicated that the lateral wall from which the buttress projects was in turn buttressed at two points against the south wall of Site I. The buttress at the easternmost of these two points was clearly visible, but no trace was found of a western one, though its existence is not unlikely at the point where its thrust would have been supported by the west wall of Site I. The system would thus gain alike in symmetry and stability.

There was no trace of symmetry, however, in the curious system of intermediate lateral walls separating the granary from Site III (Figs. 26 and 27). There are two of these, of which the northernmost ('B'), a poor wall barely 2 feet wide, with no dressed stones, and running within a few inches of the south wall of the granary, appeared to have a total length of about 48 feet. It was bonded into the granary wall at one point to the west of its centre, and at its eastern extremity made a short return southward, but stopped short 18 inches north of the north wall of Site III. In level and style this seemed contemporary with the walls of Site II, and it can only be explained as having continued upwards and carried buttresses above the ground level to strengthen the central portion of the south wall. The second of these intermediate walls ('C') is a rather better and wider structure, and has remains of squared blocks at its floor-level, its style of construction suggesting that of the guard-chambers at the gateway. It could not be traced east of a point 32 feet from the east end of the building, and the remains of it that we found showed a considerable bulge in a northerly direction, indicating a collapse. It gives indications of having been built for some other purpose than merely to act as a supporting wall to carry raised buttresses, and, as is shown in the plan of Site III (Fig. 28), some remains of its foun-





FIG. 24.—FLUE OF HYPOCAUST A, with FURNACE (' B ') and NORTH-WEST CORNER OF SITE II (' C '), LOOKING SOUTH



FIG. 25.—SITE II: EAST WALL (' A-A ') and PARTITION-WALLS (' B ' AND ' C '), LOOKING SOUTH







dations seem to extend as far as the extreme west end of Site II. No explanation of this wall is free from difficulties, but perhaps the least unsatisfactory way of accounting for it is to regard it as having belonged to an earlier version of Site III. This hypothesis is adopted in the suggested reconstruction of that building given below. This does not exclude the possibility of it having subsequently, like the intermediate wall to the north, carried buttresses, which would in this case have merely reinforced the intermediate wall. The thickness of the north wall of Site III in its rebuilt form would have made any such buttresses unnecessary, so the two projections from this wall northward which appear west of the centre, must be regarded as reinforcing the second intermediate wall and not the north wall of Site III.

We cannot doubt that the remains of Site II, as at present preserved, are contemporary with the second period of Site I. No trace could be found of walls or foundations definitely to be attributed to the first period of this building, so we must assume that it occupied exactly the site of its predecessor. Further proof, if any were needed, of the fact that it is not one of the original buildings is afforded by the discovery on the north wall, where it had been re-used for a building stone, of a block with chamfered edges which had perhaps belonged to one of the structures at the gateway. This stone was found just at the edge of the pit mentioned already as existing beneath the north wall (*cf.* p. 178, and Fig. 23). This pit, which is not easy to explain, was roughly circular, with a diameter of 3 feet. Undisturbed soil was reached in it at a depth of 3 feet 2 inches below the level of the wall-top. The soil contained in it was noticeably finer and blacker than that in the neighbourhood, and contained a few fragments of pottery—among the soil and not lying on the bottom—to which, unfortunately, an exact date cannot be assigned, though they were not of so early a date as the first century. What was its purpose or its relation to the site as it existed in the first period it is impossible to say, but it seems to have been earlier than, and roughly filled up before, the building of the second period wall, in which the weakness thus caused was compensated by the buttress system which we have already described.

The identification of this building as a granary did not rest upon its type of construction alone, for we found some of its original contents in position. At an average level of about 18 inches below the modern surface, as is shown in the section F–G (Fig. 29), we found a layer of blackened earth, 2 or 3 inches thick, which contained amid numerous fragments of burnt wood and many nails a quantity of

charred grains of wheat. The exact extent of this deposit was not determined, but we only found it between the north wall and the northernmost of the two partitions, and none of it was found at the extreme ends of the building. The presence of grain in these buildings is, of course, by no means a rare event, and there is little doubt that the fragments of wood found with it represent an original wooden floor carried over at least the northern half of the building supported on the partition-walls. The bottom of the burnt layer was a trifle below the level of the top of the north partition-wall. It was fairly clear that this was not the earliest occupation-level of the building, for at a few points we found indications of an earlier floor, but without any traces of wood. From this earlier level, just inside the south wall close to the section line C-D-E, and at a depth of nearly 3 feet below the ground-surface, we found close together an *as* of Trajan, a much-broken portion of a bowl of *Terra Sigillata* of South Gaulish type (Pl. xvii, No. 1), and the lip of an early-looking *olla*. Several other finds suggestive of an early date were, however, found at a higher level, especially outside the south wall near its east end, including an *as* of Domitian, two small fragments of a *Terra Sigillata* platter (Form 15), and a fragment of Form 18, bearing the name of the potter IVCVNDVS. As these were associated with a good deal of pottery which cannot be earlier than the third century, it is obvious that the stratification has been disturbed, perhaps in the process of building the granary as we now have it. It is worth recording that the only other coin of Domitian which the site yielded was found deep down outside the north wall.<sup>1</sup>

The other finds from this building may be briefly dealt with. The iron spearhead (Fig. 46, No. 1) came out below the burnt layer containing the grain, but apart from the nails the granary yielded no other metal objects. Immediately outside the north wall near its west end were a large number of fragments of *amphorae*, but none of them could be effectively pieced together and there were no stamped handles among them; further east alongside this wall were many fragments of a grey *olla*, probably not earlier than the third century, some of which we have been able to piece together (Fig. 42, No. 3), and several fragments of *mortaria*.

It seems permissible to conclude that the earlier granary was destroyed, or at least abandoned, early in the second century, but we cannot confidently date the later building from the finds alone.

<sup>1</sup> During Mr. Simpson's preliminary excavation.





FIG. 26.—SITE II: SOUTH WALL (' A-A '), AND LATERAL WALLS (' B AND ' C ') BETWEEN IT AND NORTH WALL OF PRAETORIUM (' D-D '), LOOKING EAST



FIG. 27.—SITE II: THE SAME WALLS, LOOKING WEST

*Facing p. 188]*







Its level and style of construction alike resemble those of the second period of Site I, but if we regard them as contemporary we are confronted with certain difficulties, which may be reserved more appropriately for discussion along with the other chronological evidence in Chapter VIII below. It should be noted, however, that we found no trace over this building of the presence of the flagging characteristic of the final occupation of Site I in Roman times, and hardly a single piece of the fourth-century gritted ware; and in the upper levels, especially outside the south wall, Roman and mediæval potsherds occurred together, whereas near the north wall hardly any mediæval pottery was found. The site appeared to have remained unoccupied since the time when a fire destroyed the floor and left only charred remains of grain in the building.

(3) SITE III.—THE HEADQUARTERS BUILDING. (Fig. 28.)

To the south of Site II excavation was strictly limited by the presence of the churchyard-wall, with the result that of Site III we were only able to locate the north wall and its returns on the east and west for a little more than 10 feet. The remains found, between which and Site II were clear traces of a gravelled roadway, seem by their position in the fort to belong to the Headquarters Building, but their interpretation is beset with difficulties. Before describing the remains which we found, it is desirable to state the grounds for the belief that this is in fact the Headquarters Building. We saw above (p. 154) that the length of the fort from east to west, in the light of the Ordnance Survey plan, made before the eastern end of the fort was removed, seems to have been approximately 324 feet, as measured between the inner faces of the stone rampart wall. It also seemed legitimate to infer that the length from north to south would be less, rather than more, than this figure; and on the assumption that the central building was almost square and that it is to be identified with Site III, we obtained the not unlikely figure of approximately 300 feet for the corresponding length from north to south. On the other hand, if we tried to restore the internal plan of the fort on the theory that the Headquarters Building was not Site III but was situated still further south, we should reach the highly improbable conclusion that its dimensions from north to south considerably exceeded those from east to west. Not only would this conflict with Whitaker's estimate mentioned above, that the length from north to south was 100 yards, but it would also imply the presence of an unusually large number of buildings

in the central block, for our *Praetorium*<sup>1</sup> would then be flanked by three buildings on each side. There can, in fact, be little if any room for doubt that Site III is the *Praetorium*.

The remains actually found were as follows: in a line with the east front of Site I and Site II is the east wall of Site III; the angle is well preserved, and the return on the north is easy to follow. There is a surprising difference in width between them for that of the north wall is 5 feet 9 inches, while that of the east is only 2 feet 9 inches. They rest on cobble-foundations, the depth to the bottom of these from the floor-level being barely 18 inches. Neither wall was preserved above floor-level, but their general style with facing stones at the edges and a rubble core without mortar resembled that of the granary. The facing stones were mostly in position on the outer face of both walls, but nearly all had disappeared from their inner face. Postponing for the moment the various features of the interior of the building, we must note certain peculiarities which appeared as we followed the north wall westwards. The projections shown on the plan at distances of 44 and 51 feet respectively from the east end, have been already described in connection with the so-called second intermediate wall associated with Site II. Beyond them, where we might have expected the return of the west wall to come, there was a small room projecting northwards, reaching within a foot of the south wall of Site II. Its walls were of rather poor construction and very various widths.<sup>2</sup> It seemed that this and a southward continuation of its east wall must be independent in origin of the north wall of Site III, of which the true return on the west lay close alongside and seemed indeed united with the east wall of this small room, so as to give a total width of 6 feet 2 inches. Eliminating this projection we get a normal-looking return for the west wall of the building, with a width of about 3 feet as opposed to the 2 feet 9 inches of the east wall.

In clearing this projecting room the following facts were noted: (1) that the buttress projecting from Site II is at a higher level than the north wall of this room; (2) that the first intermediate wall seems to stop short just outside the north-east corner; (3) that the second intermediate wall, though apparently stopping short of the east wall of this room, perhaps originally ran further west, at a rather deeper level, as some rough cobbles and fallen dressed blocks found inside the room and cobbles found again outside its

<sup>1</sup> I follow Mr. Thomas May in his contention (*Templebrough*, pp. 29 ff.) that *Praetorium* is the safer term than *Prin-*

*cipia* for the Headquarters Building.

<sup>2</sup> The north wall was only 2 feet wide, the south about 3 feet 6 inches.



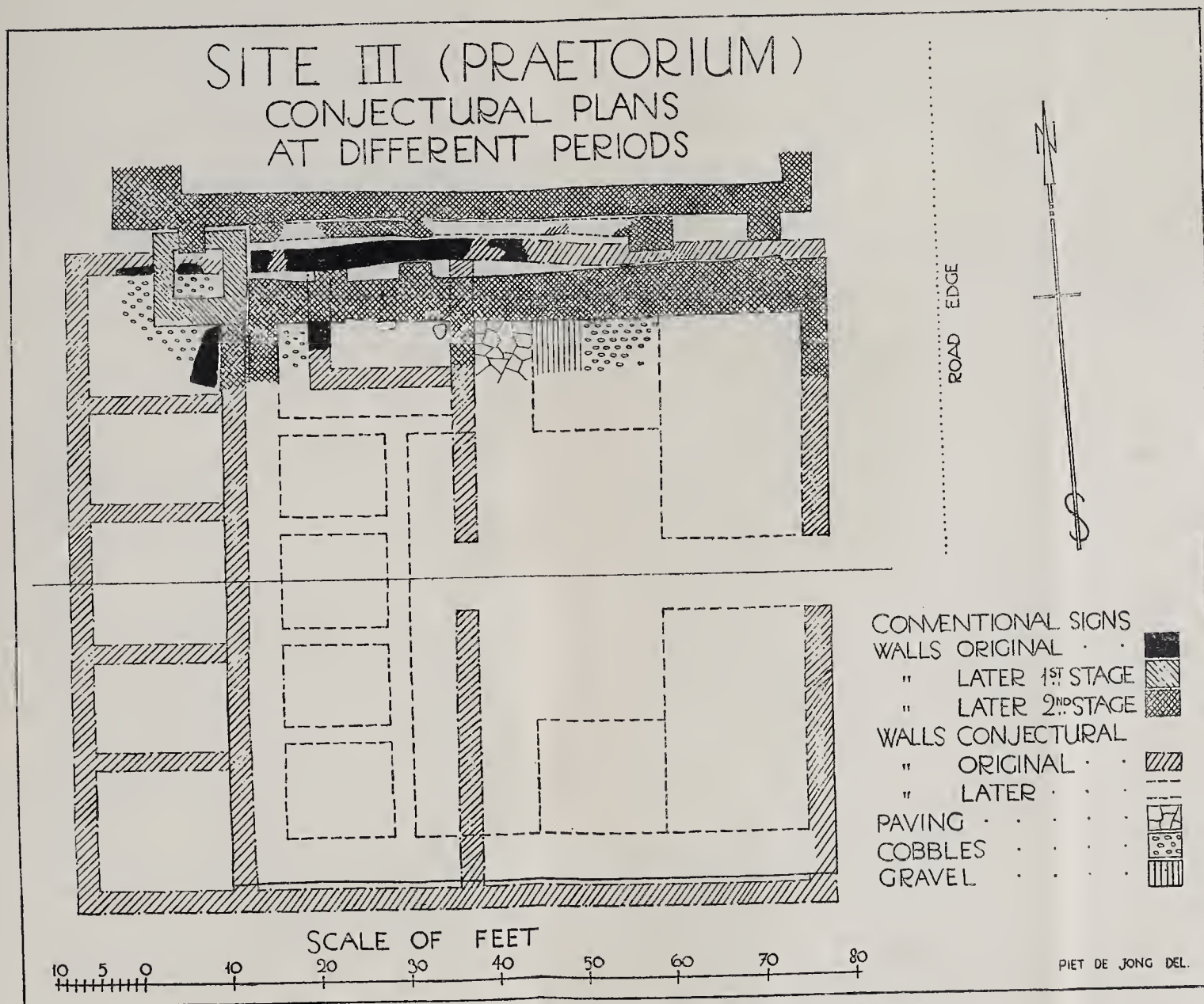


FIG. 28.—SITE III, THE PRAETORIUM AND THE SOUTH WALL OF SITE II (THE GRANARY)





west wall seem to continue this line. This wall, as we suggested above, seems only intelligible if we regard it as the original north wall of the *Praetorium*; (4) in the southern part of this room, and extending both to south and west of it outside, were some cobbles at deep level which, from their position, seemed to mark the floor of the original north-west room.

To the south of this room we found a short length of fallen masonry, of which even the original orientation was not preserved, lying on a level with the bottom of the cobble foundation of the later wall to the east of it. Associated with this fallen masonry was a burnt layer of earth with some fragments of charcoal, indicating a destruction of this area at an early date, for in and below the blackened level were exclusively early objects. The most interesting find here was a *sestertius* of Trajan in perfect condition (p. 295, No. 3), and the pottery included fragments of a *Terra Sigillata* platter (Form 18), fragments of *ollae* with rustic ornament, and a few other pieces suggesting a date not later than the early second century. It was noted that this burnt layer, like the cobbles below it, ran right under the walls on the south and west of the small projecting room. Further west we did not succeed in locating the west wall of our presumed *Praetorium* of the first period, but it is restored on the plan so as to give an internal length of 17 feet to the back range of rooms, based on the supposition that the fallen piece of masonry was not far from its original place and that it had formed part of the east wall of the north-west room. On this admittedly slender evidence, and assuming that the original east wall coincides with the later one, it is suggested that the original *Praetorium* measured externally 85 feet from east to west and 92 feet from north to south.

Of the features of the interior of the main building which we must now consider, it is difficult to be certain which represented elements belonging exclusively to the earlier form of the structure. Starting from the north-west corner we have first a space 3 feet 7 inches wide paved with cobbles at a deep level, which justifies us in connecting them with the early period. Next comes a cross wall, 2 feet 9 inches wide, also deeply set, and by its position impossible to connect with the rebuilt structure. This has been interpreted as forming the west wall of an isolated room abutting on the north wall, in a position corresponding to similar features at Slack and Melandra.<sup>1</sup> The apparent east wall of this presumed room was found nearly 13 feet further east and consisted of a wall 2 feet 7 inches

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Slack, p. 21.

wide, which, however, undoubtedly bonded into the north wall of the later building. This difficulty can be got over if we suppose that the earlier wall exactly occupies the position of the later one, which may have been rebuilt on its foundation, for there was certainly no trace of any other early wall here. If this view is correct this wall serves alike to divide the inner from the outer courtyard and as the east wall of this isolated room. Proceeding further east we come to a patch of flagging 6 feet 10 inches wide, beyond which was a patch of fine gravel 5 feet 4 inches wide with no trace of wall intervening, and east of this again was a patch of cobbles, with a slightly cambered surface, 8 feet 10 inches wide. This again ended abruptly, and from here to the east wall of the building was a plain floor of beaten clay. In spite of their differences in material the three patches floored respectively with flags, gravel, and cobbles appeared contemporary, and none of them so deep as to suggest connection with the earlier building. But it should be observed that the difference in level between the earlier and later buildings tended to increase towards the west.<sup>1</sup>

Our conjectural plan of the early *Praetorium* has accordingly been drawn with an isolated room, measuring internally about 13 feet by 11 feet, and with the forecourt divided from the inner one by a wall prolonged from the east wall of this room and dividing the whole building into two nearly equal parts. Flanking the outer court, the rooms whose shapes are indicated by a dotted line, are conjectural wooden structures of the first period. To which period of the building we should attribute the ornate moulded column-base found in the churchyard, and now in the local Museum, we have no means of deciding; but it presumably belonged to a colonnade in the outer court (*cf.* below, p. 292).<sup>2</sup>

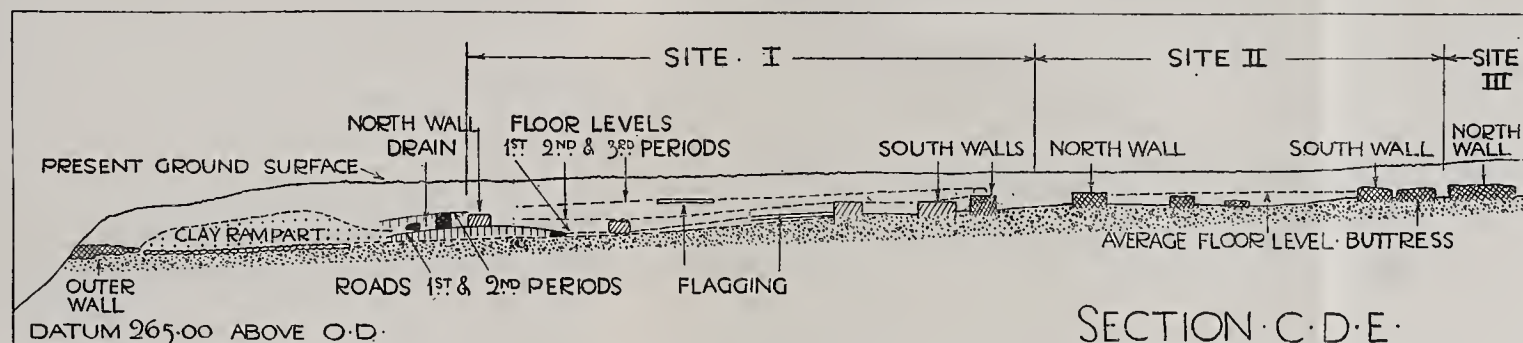
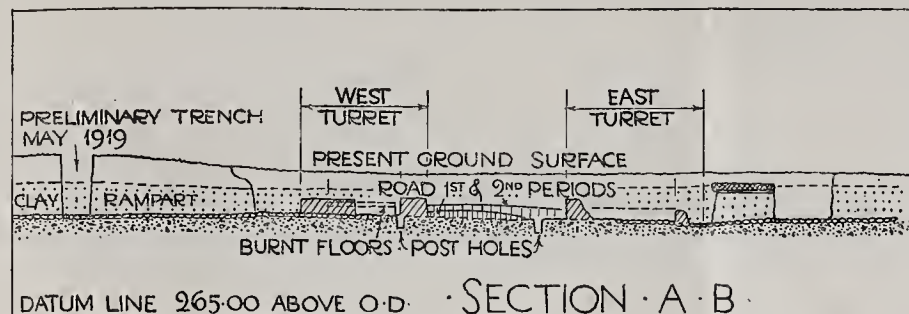
The projecting room already described outside the north-west corner, which is, as we have seen, later than our *Praetorium* of the first period, seemed on the whole more likely to be of earlier date than the rest of the later building. It is true that its level seems the same, and that where its east wall adjoins the main west wall there is no visible difference in level or construction. Its general appearance, however, suggests that the main building as laid out took its existence into account; and it seems unlikely that, if a small additional room had been needed for the main

<sup>1</sup> Similarly the later level of the *intra-vallum* road showed a greater depth of gravel above the original surface as it neared the west end of Site I, than further east.

<sup>2</sup> On the whole it seems too massive to have belonged to the presumed original plan: its style does not, to my knowledge, imply a definite date.

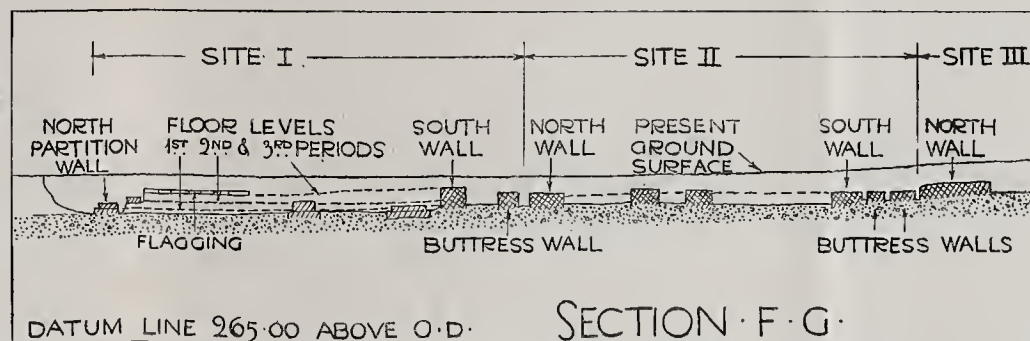


# SECTIONS THROUGH EXCAVATIONS



## CONVENTIONAL SIGNS

- WALLS ORIGINAL
- WALLS LATER
- COBBLES, BASE OF RAMPART
- CLAY RAMPART
- ROADS
- CLAY



## SCALE OF FEET



FIG. 29.—SECTIONS THROUGH EXCAVATIONS

(Cf. General Plan, Pl. XVI.)





building, they would have tacked it on at an outside corner with no visible means of connection between the two. However, the fact already noted that a buttress of Site II projects partly over this wall, and is obviously later than it, gives further confirmation, for, as we have seen, there is good reason to believe that Sites II and III in their latest form are contemporary. What was the purpose of this room, and what connections it may have had further south, where we could not dig owing to the presence of the churchyard wall, must remain an insoluble problem.

Turning now to the later *Praetorium* itself, and ascribing to it only the eastern half of this reduplicated wall, we find that its external length is only 65 feet; and, on the natural assumption that the centre line of the earlier building would be identical with that of the later, we get a width of about 67 feet over all from north to south. Its internal arrangements are, if possible, even more obscure than those of the original building. It is shown on the plan as again having a row of five rooms at the west end, which are naturally smaller than those of the earlier building. It is impossible, therefore, to regard as having belonged to the east wall of the northern room of this range the wall which in the first period divided the inner from the outer court as well as served as the east wall of the isolated room. To account for the use of this wall in the later *Praetorium* the plan shows the north room of the back range as projecting 8 feet beyond the frontage of the other ones, but this feature is admittedly unusual. There was, moreover, no other partition-wall which could have served to divide the inner from the outer court, and if the wall already described served a double purpose, our inner court reduces itself to a passage-way only about 5 feet wide. Alternative solutions to the difficulty are equally unsatisfactory, for we should have to suppose either that such a dividing wall had existed further east and had totally disappeared, or that it did not extend as far as the north wall. We are equally in the dark about the structural arrangements of the eastern half of the building. Beyond the assumption that the areas floored with flagging, gravel, and cobbles respectively, were probably not roofed over, and that the area further east, with a clay floor only, certainly was roofed over, we must confess our ignorance. As a matter of fact we found a considerable quantity of fragments of fallen white roofing slabs of ragstone a little over half-an-inch in thickness on this clay floor, and almost nowhere else in the building. There was a conspicuous absence of clay roofing-tiles from Site III, as also from Site II.

It should also be recorded that, about 7 feet beyond the west wall of the projecting room, and so close to the modern hedge that it could not be conveniently cleared, we found the edge of some rough paving at a level which suggested that it could be hardly earlier than the reconstruction of the *Praetorium*, and therefore cannot have belonged to its original form. Another wall shown on the General Plan between the north wall and the churchyard wall, which was located as running over both the east and west walls at a high level, was of poor construction and presumably mediæval. It should also be recorded that there was no sign of the late Roman paved level like that which we found in Site I.

The finds from this building, as far as examined, were not numerous. Pottery was on the whole surprisingly scarce, but among the *Terra Sigillata* we must note two fragments of a bowl of Form 30, with the name of the potter DOVEC[CUS] among the ornament, which came from the west end but were clearly above the burnt level; and part of a platter (Form 18) of a first-century type, stamped with a name ending in LIS [? VIRILIS], which came from a deep level outside the north wall near its east end; inside the building at this end were two pieces of a red clay cup, with frilled ornament, and some pieces of an early-looking *olla*. The few pieces found on about the floor level here included fragments of two *mortaria*, probably dating from the latter half of the third century. In the surface soil at this end we found a coin of Carausius, one of an uncertain late third century emperor, and one of Valens; and the presence of mediæval pottery at the same level bore witness to considerable disturbance.

The most interesting find from the site was a small piece of a bone object resembling a paper-knife, with an inscription scratched on it, which is described and illustrated below<sup>1</sup>; this was found deep down, outside the north wall, about halfway along, and close to it the bronze clasp with two loops illustrated on Fig. 44, No. 3. Except for the coin of Valens there was no object necessarily attributable to the fourth century, which tends to confirm the impression gained in respect of Site II and the north-west angle of the fort, that the occupation in the fourth century did not extend over the whole of the site.

#### (4) SITE IV. (Figs. 30-33.)

To the east of the *Via Principalis* we found the remains of various stone structures of which the original plan could not be established. In this region our excavation was limited to an area measuring

<sup>1</sup> P. 289, Fig. 49.



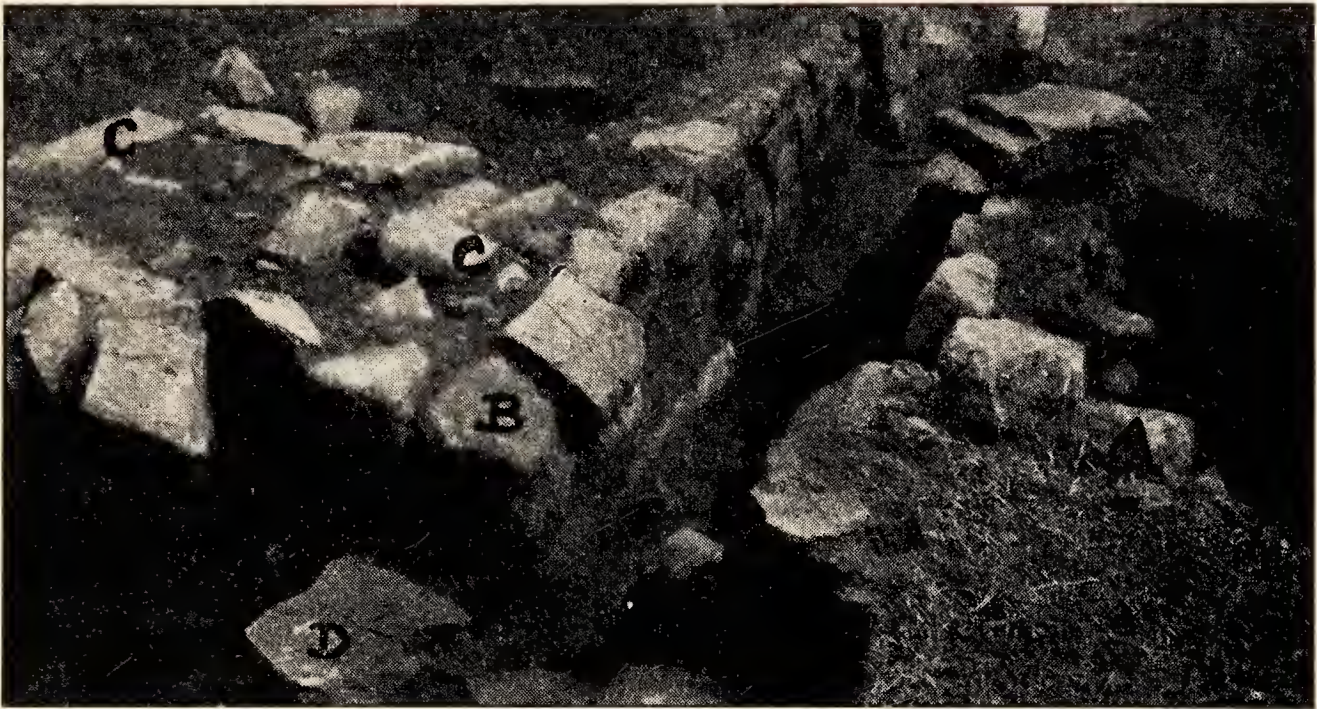


FIG. 30.—SITE IV: LOOKING EAST ALONG FLUE (' F-F '); PAVED PLATFORM (' C-C ') ON LEFT, AND BURNT SLAB OF FURNACE AT ' D '



FIG. 31.—SITE IV: WEST END OF FLUE, LOOKING WEST. MOULDED BLOCK (' E ') FROM GATEWAY (?)







70 feet by about 25 feet, for on the east the modern cutting made for New Brook Street, which leads to the bridge, begins at a distance of 70 feet from the east edge of the *Via Principalis*, and on the south our progress was strictly limited by the requirements of the tenant. The result is that in the latter direction we could uncover nothing south of the *intra-vallum* road, but the fact that the walls which we found were built right on to this road proves conclusively that none of them can belong to the first period of the fort. We noted further that these walls varied considerably in their style of construction, and that those running north and south were not all exactly parallel to each other.

It will be simplest to describe these walls and the finds associated with them proceeding from west to east. The first wall (A) which averaged 2 feet in width, resembled in style the outer walls of Site I in the second period; we only followed it for 8 feet, but it seemed to run on a line slightly east of due north. Close to it and similar in style and level was (B), which ran east and west with two short returns on the south about 3 feet apart. The northern face was irregular, and perhaps had lost its original facing-stones, and, though its west end was destroyed, it does not seem to have bonded into (A). In the small space left between these two walls we noticed a soft spot and, digging down through the road-gravel alongside the foundations of (A), we found that this soft spot was the filling of a rough pit which did not, however, go down more than about 2 feet 8 inches below the foundations. In the filling, but not resting on the bottom, were some fragments of pottery of about mid-second century date, including nearly all the pieces of a grey bowl with a plain flat rim, which has been reconstructed (Fig. 39, No. 5). On the top of wall (A) was a late third-century coin (Emperor uncertain), and just north of wall (B) near its east end, opposite the foundations, were two *denarii*, of Antoninus Pius and Julia Domna.

About 10 feet further east was wall (C), which extended towards the north as far as the inner face of the original clay rampart and was of similar style to walls (A) and (B), but had a width of about 3 feet 9 inches. It seemed to be an outer wall of a building with a return towards the east near its north end; the north face of this return had, however, been completely destroyed, nor did it seem related to any other wall further east. Enclosed between these two walls and built into the footings of (C) was a patch of well-preserved paving made of large thin flags carefully fitted. On this flagging was a layer of red clay from decomposed mud-bricks,

but this burnt level yielded no dateable finds, except that at its extreme east edge was a nicely preserved *sestertius* of Antoninus Pius (COS. IIII = A.D. 145, or later). This flagging measured about 7 feet from east to west by 10 feet from north to south, but no contemporary wall enclosed it on the east, and, probably owing to destruction, it stopped short of the north wall. In this space between the flagging and the wall, and approximately on the floor level, we found four more *denarii* (Nos. 8, 14, 15, and 16 in my list below), and a fifth (No. 17), which was recovered subsequently from the adjacent tip-heap, undoubtedly belonged to the same deposit. The first of these was certainly a coin of Antoninus Pius, but the others were too burnt to be decipherable, except that No. 14 should perhaps be attributed to Trajan, and none of the others were necessarily later than the second century.

At about 11 feet east of wall (c) and at a distinctly higher level is wall (D), a poor rough structure of large irregular slabs, some of which must have been brought from elsewhere and re-used, as they seemed wrongly bonded. This wall has no footing-course and dies away completely at its north end. As it is at a higher level than the burnt deposit on the flags to the west, it has had perhaps no connection with wall (c). We noticed that opposite its north end the road-gravel indicated a higher level than elsewhere, and on it, within a few inches of the modern surface, we found standing the remains of a jar of typical fourth-century coarse ware, but lacking its rim and foot; at the bottom of the blackened earth which it contained were three tiny pieces of bone. Just to the east again of this was a short length of wall, about 2 feet 6 inches wide, at a high level, with a footing of cobbles and a rubble core, and faced with small dressed blocks, one course high (visible in the centre of Fig. 32). A possible continuation further south seemed slightly off the line, but perhaps nevertheless belonged, and in any case it seems impossible to bring this wall (E) into any connection with wall (c). Adjacent to it were two coins, one certainly and one probably of Claudius Gothicus.

Beyond wall (E) is a better-preserved but no less puzzling structure. Little more than a foot to the east of (E) are two superposed layers of flagging, of which the upper consisted of small pieces, much reddened and cracked by fire, resting on a bed of sandy clay about 4 inches deep, which in turn rested on a larger flag about 3 feet square (Fig. 30, 'D'). On this flag, and extending north and north-west from it, were clear traces of burning, the adjacent clay belonging to the inner face of the rampart being burnt a bright red. In the





FIG. 32.—SITE IV: MOUTH OF FLUE, SHOWING VOUSSOIR (' B ') AND BURNT SLAB (' D ')



FIG. 33.—SITE IV: WALL WITH PROJECTING FOOTINGS (' A-A '), TERMINATING AT ' B ' IN MOUTH OF FLUE, LOOKING NORTH

*Facing p. 196]*







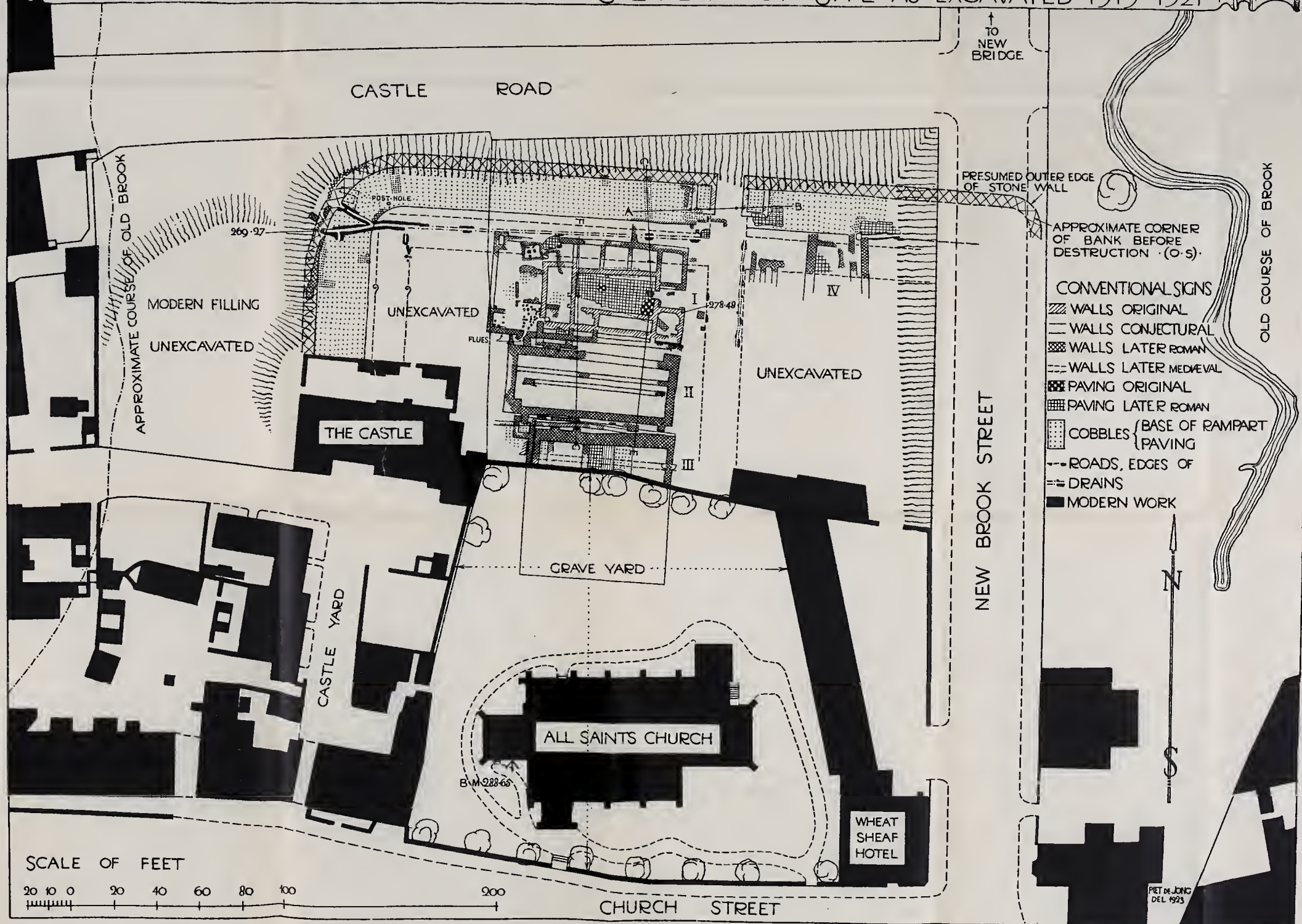
loose clay on the north edge of the big slab were a few fragments of a cooking-pot which hardly admit of dating. This burnt area clearly marks the furnace feeding a long and well-built flue, which runs eastwards for almost 20 feet to the extreme edge of the modern bank, and may have run still further (Fig. 30, 'F'). Its sides are much burnt and many of the stones have split with the heat, especially towards the west end. The mouth of this flue was originally vaulted over with a stone arch exactly in the style of Room A in Site I, but the crown of the arch was again missing. The width of the flue diminished from 2 feet near the west to barely 1 foot towards the east end, and the last 7 feet of its length proceeding eastwards had a flagged bottom not found elsewhere in it. The following features, shown in the photograph (Fig. 30), deserve special attention. At a point 7 feet from the mouth we found standing on the bed of the flue a stone pillar exactly like those which had supported the hypocaust floor in Room A of Site I, and on top of it were two squared blocks bedded in mortar. Standing on edge in the flue opposite this was a carefully-dressed slab of sandstone with a moulded edge, which has been replaced on the south edge of the flue ('E' in the illustration). We noticed that it showed no sign of burning, and that the upper surface was much worn by treading. Its place of finding and size suggest that it had been used as a footbridge across the flue, and the moulding shows that it had been brought from elsewhere for the purpose, possibly from one of the gateways. At a point 4 feet 6 inches further east the flue has been intentionally narrowed by the north wall being set forward about 3 inches, as appears in the same view and on the plan. The eastward inclination of this flue and its style of construction led me at first to regard it as a drain, but the signs of burning and the furnace at its west end leave no room for doubt that its final purpose was a flue, even if, as I feel convinced, it had originally been built for a drain. There certainly seemed no trace of its existence further west, *i.e.* in the direction of the gateway. It should be noticed also that if it was a drain it must have run along the extreme north edge of the *intra-vallum* road and, indeed, have encroached slightly on the clay of the rampart as it went east; this would not be surprising if we attribute its construction to a date contemporary with the substitution of a stone wall for the original clay rampart. This would bring it into connection with the drainage system represented by the drain which flows out at the north-west angle, and would allow us to regard the conversion of this part of it into a flue as contemporary with the building of Room A and its associated rooms at the west end of Site I.

The north side of the flue is formed by a wall which supports the southedge of a mass of paving level with the top of the flue (Fig. 30, 'C-C'). This paving narrows in width from about 6 feet at the west end to 4 feet at the east, and has its outer face preserved on the north and west, the latter exactly in a line with the mouth of the flue. The surface consists of a loosely-set mass of small pieces of thin ragstone mixed with rubble. The south wall of the flue agrees in style with the north face, but has had no paving behind it, being merely set at the back into the earth. The arched entrance of the flue ('B,' in Figs. 30, 31 and 32) is a continuation of a line of good walling which we followed southward for nearly 20 feet. This wall is a trifle over 3 feet wide, and was laid on good cobble-foundations, which are sunk through the road level apparently into the undisturbed clay. On these cobbles rests a thin footing-course of flagging, which projects slightly on the east beyond both the cobbles and the masonry above, and in turn supports a wall, of which two courses were preserved, with a rubble core and carefully-dressed blocks at its edges (Fig. 33, 'A-A'). As has been noticed above, the only other piece of walling on the site which shows the same type of construction was the north end of the outer west wall of Site I in its third period, so we need not, probably, hesitate to allot to this wall (F) a correspondingly late date. This wall in the length which we followed showed no sign of return in either direction, but to the east of it, and therefore presumably inside the building to which it belonged, we noticed a considerable quantity of the thin, white roofing-stone exactly like that found inside the east end of Site III, several pieces exhibiting nail-holes. At a deeper level, practically on the gravel of the road, were some pieces of clay tile with flanged edges, which was nowhere found in large quantities on the site, and usually seemed to come from deeper levels. South of midway along the wall on its west side, close against the foundations, and below the road-level, was found the bronze mask of Silenus or Pan, which has been already published in the *Journal of Roman Studies*, and is again described below.<sup>1</sup> The pottery found alongside this wall was associated with the floor level only, and was neither plentiful nor important, being mostly fragments of cooking-pots of indeterminate date, and associated with them at the top of the occupation-level were several fragments of mediæval pottery. The pottery found in the flue was more plentiful and interesting, and included pieces of a good many wares with colour-coated surface, both "Castor" and apparently imported German ware with

<sup>1</sup> P. 280 f., and Pl. xxxv.



# ROMAN FORT ILKLEY GENERAL PLAN OF SITE AS EXCAVATED 1919-1921



GENERAL PLAN.

— Scale 1 inch = 30 feet. —





roulette notching and sometimes a fine metallic glaze; there was, curiously, little *Terra Sigillata*.

Owing to the unfortunate restrictions of the extent of our excavations in this region, it is impossible to offer any explanation of the purpose of these buildings. We should normally have expected to find long barrack buildings running presumably north and south between the *Via Principalis* and the *intra-vallum* road on the east. Beyond the suggestion that walls (c) and (f) may represent northward continuations of such barrack walls, it does not seem worth while speculating on the exact arrangement of the buildings south of the *intra-vallum* road. The coins found in connection with the building represented by wall (c) suggest that this extension had been made and in its turn destroyed not later than the end of the second century. Wall (f), which, as we saw, suggests a still later date in its present form, though it may be rebuilt on earlier foundations,<sup>1</sup> cannot be considered as related to any other existing structure except the flue; and the patch of paving north of the flue cannot be earlier than either. The purpose of the flue itself must remain enigmatic, but its length makes it impossible for it to have served for any hypocaust system. Whether it might have been used for drying grain on a large scale, or for merely heating a large oven or kiln, there seems no means of deciding. Had it been for a potter's kiln we should have surely found "wasters" in the neighbourhood. We must content ourselves accordingly with the unsatisfactory conclusion that its exact purpose is unknown, and that its probable date is later than the military occupation of the site.

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## CHAPTER V.

### TERRA SIGILLATA.

#### (A) FROM THE EXCAVATIONS OF THE FORT (1919-21).

Pls. xvii-xxi.

The yield of fragments of decorated *Terra Sigillata* from the excavated portions of the site was on the whole disappointing. Fragments of fully a hundred bowls were found,<sup>2</sup> of which the great majority are quite small, and more than half of them would not

<sup>1</sup> The position of the footing-course suggests that this is not unlikely. On the other hand, walls with footings projecting on one side or both may be of early date, as e.g. in the *Praetorium* at Slack (*Report*, p. 19, and Fig. 13).

<sup>2</sup> Only an approximate figure can be given, as some of the smaller fragments may not all be from separate bowls; but all possible joins have been looked for and made. ('Inv. 15,' etc. after the serial number indicates the number given in the Excavation Inventory.)

repay the trouble of reproduction. A welcome exception is the group of fragments (Pl. xviii, No. 1) from a fine bowl of Form 37, which represents a hunting scene, and bears the stamp of the maker *Severus* among the decoration. A small proportion only are of South-Gaulish origin, the greater number being from potteries in Central Gaul, but several East-Gaulish centres are also represented.<sup>1</sup> The period covered by this pottery seems to be the last two decades of the first century, and practically the whole of the second, and this impression is confirmed by the evidence of the undecorated *Sigillata*.

Except for small pieces from four or five bowls of Form 30, all are of Form 37, as far as identification of the smaller fragments permits any conclusion as to shape. Though no certain or even likely-looking piece of Form 29 was found in our excavations, it is to be noted that one of the fragments of this shape now in the museum at Ilkley (Pl. xxii, No. 1) was found on the bank of the cutting where the road to the New Bridge was driven through the east portion of the Fort.

Two potters' names, *Doecus* and *Severus*, are preserved on pieces of decorated bowls, and several other important fragments can be confidently assigned to individual potters, or at least to their immediate circles, notably Pl. xviii, No. 2, to *Divixtus*, and Pl. xix, No. 7, to *Satto*. Moreover, thanks to the good preservation of the surface of very nearly all our pieces—in welcome contrast to the state of the pottery from Slack—the task of identifying even the most minute remains of designs on small fragments has usually been successful.

#### (1) *Inventory of Decorated Fragments* (Plate xvii).

##### (a) *South-Gaulish Ware*. Form 37.

1 (Inv. 15). Fragment of rim and side, made up of nine small pieces (repaired), and a small piece from the ovolo, which does not join them. Rather worn mould; bright red glaze, somewhat cracked and brittle. Ovolo with tongue ending in triple prong, which is bent to the right; thin wavy line below. In panels separated by plain lines with knob at junction, on left, remains of apple-tree of the Hesperides (Déch., 468), from which Hercules and the dragon are missing; in the centre, three vertical leaves with long sword-like points; on right, a corner-curl ending in a long bud pointing upwards, and remains of uncertain object (possibly head and shoulders of a figure to right?).

<sup>1</sup> These are put together, with some Lezoux pieces, on Pl. xix. None seem to be of actual German fabric (*i.e.* from potteries east of the Rhine).



The ovolo with its bent tassel seems characteristic of *Biracillus*, cf. *Rottweil* (1907), Pl. xv, No. 5; on *Rottweil* (1912), Pl. xxvii, No. 1, the same ovolo is found together with the same figure of Hercules as here. The pointed leaf is not, however, one of his designs, though found on bowls of the earlier potter *Ingenuus*, cf. Knorr, *Töpfer und Fabriken*, Pl. 40, No. 1, and p. 15, Fig. 7; and in a coarser form on those of *Vitalis*, *op. cit.*, Pl. 83, No. 12; and cf. *Wroxeter*, ii (1913), Pl. xiii, No. 7. A somewhat similar corner-curl appears likewise on the latter Rottweil bowl, but the terminal leaf is different, and I cannot exactly identify ours elsewhere.

2 (Inv. 43). Tiny fragment with looped stalk and remains of corner-curl, too incomplete to identify. Light red glaze, good mould.

3 (Inv. 55). Small fragment of thick fabric with surface damaged. On left, remains of two rosettes, then a corner-curl ending in a long bud, and a long pointed leaf on right. Attribution doubtful: the long serrated leaf is not quite the same as that found on bowls by *Germanus* and his circle (cf. *Rottweil* (1912), Pl. xxi *passim*), and the rosettes do not seem typical of South-Gaulish wares.

(b) *Lezoux Ware*. Form 30.

4 (Inv. 49a, b). Two adjoining fragments from this straight-sided shape of bowl. In panels framed with vertical and horizontal bead-rows, on left, above, the stamp DOVIIC[CUS]; below, small quadruped to left with head turned back and spots on skin indicated by tiny circles, repeated in panel on right. Neither is complete, and an additional object, impossible to identify, fills the rest of the left panel. This animal seems to resemble the couchant hind (Déch., 879), but has the muzzle of a horse (as Déch., 909). A flaw in the clay has twisted the surface, bending the letter II (e) and imparting folds to the body of the creature, so that it accidentally resembles a sea-horse.

The Lezoux potter *Do[v]eccus* belongs, apparently, to the second quarter of the second century, cf. Oswald-Pryce, pp. 64, 112 f.; this form of his signature is rarer than *Doeccus*, though represented in Britain at the Guildhall and South Shields museums. *Doveccus* with this form II for E occurs also at Silchester, and twice at Carlisle on plain forms of Sigillata; his stamped bowls have been found also at Housesteads and Chesters on Hadrian's Wall, and at Rough Castle on that of Pius.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the fuller list given by D. Atkinson, *The Romano-British Site on Lowbury Hill, Berkshire*, pp. 57 f., and the evi-

dence adduced there both for the Lezoux *Doeccus* and for his earlier namesake at Blickweiler in the Palatinate.

5 (Inv. 3). Fragment from upper part of the side below the rim. Above, squat ovolo with plain tongues placed close to the *ova* which are on their left; bead-row below. Vertical bead-row, and demi-medallions of two plain lines; in that to right is an acanthus leaf (?), apparently Déch., 1158, inverted. Dull dark-red glaze.

6 (Inv. 56). Small fragment from low down on the side of a large and thick bowl of this type. Very little of the decoration is preserved, except a mask to right, apparently Déch., 695, variant (?).

6a (Inv. 67). Similar fragment, rather larger (not illustrated). Nothing is left of the decoration except a rosette into which are tied two oblique bead-rows and one vertical one, and uncertain traces (of a cruciform ornament?). Profile and glaze very like the last piece, so perhaps they belong to the same bowl.

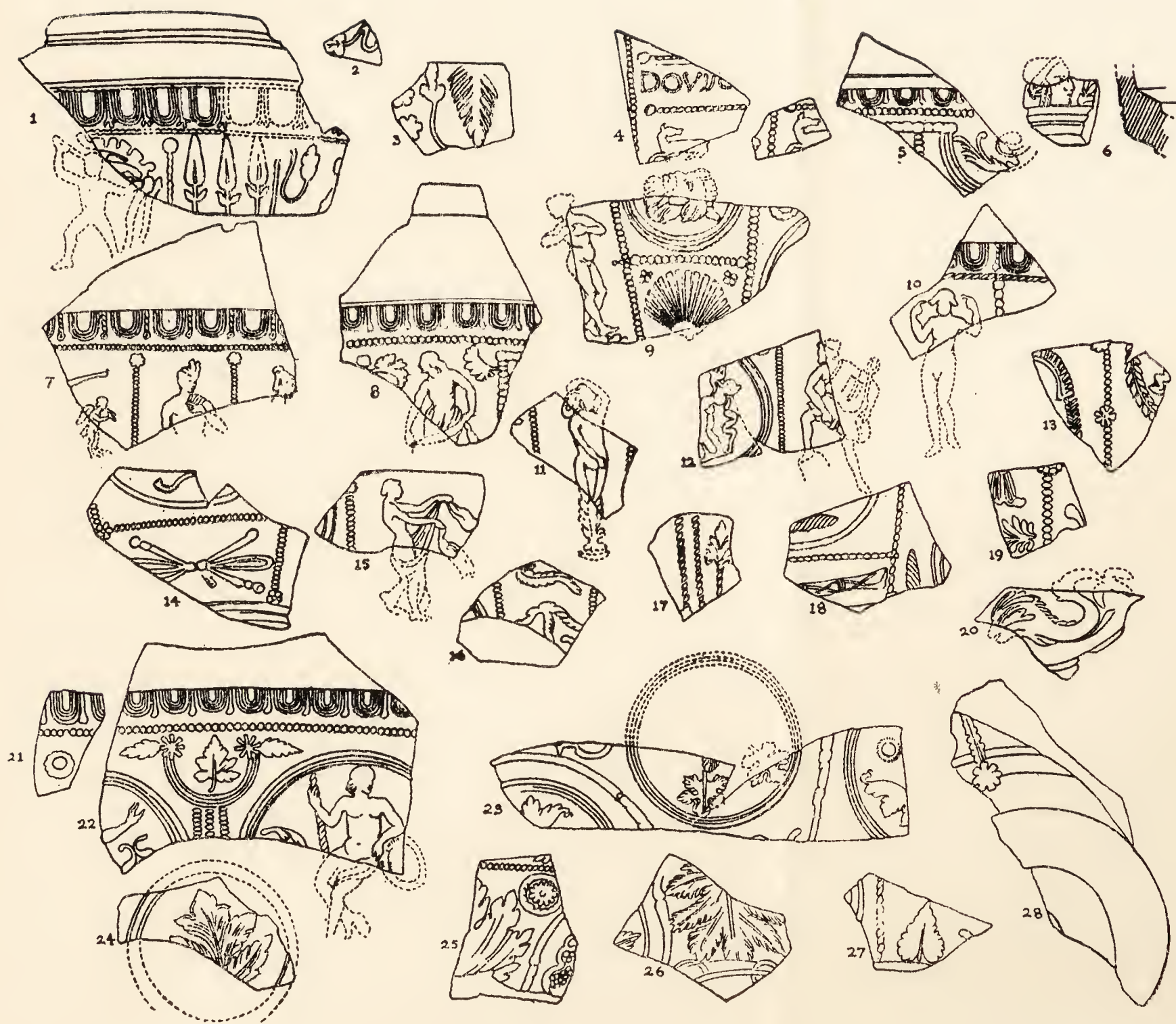
### Form 37.

7 (Inv. 14). Fragment from below rim, with ancient rivet-hole in line of fracture above. Ovolo with corded tongues, placed sometimes to left of centre, and ending below in tiny loops, somewhat as that typical of *Justus*, cf. Oswald-Pryce, Pl. xxx, No. 86; bead-row below. Decoration in panels, framed with bead-rows ending above in small rosettes; on left, siren to right, piping, as Déch., 499, and vol. i, Pl. ix, No. 4; above her, uncertain pointed object; in centre, Pan piping, as Déch., 411; on right, head of female figure to right with hair done in *Krobyle*, possibly Diana, as Déch., 64. Light-red glaze, not very lustrous.

8 (Inv. 28). Fragment of rim and side. Ovolo with plain tongues, placed close to the *ova* on their left, with coarse bead-row below. Decoration in panels framed with bead-rows ending above in small rosettes, perhaps alternative with demi-medallions. The only figure preserved is the dancing figure, in a sleeveless tunic, holding a scarf across the loins, as Déch., 223, apparently not a very common type; in upper angles of the panel, small acanthus leaves, of which that to right is the same as that to left, but inverted. For a similar use of acanthus leaves, cf. *Wroxeter*, i (1912), p. 39, Fig. 13 (time of Trajan?). Bright lustrous glaze, but worn mould.

9 (Inv. 57). Fragment from side. On left, Venus fastening *fascia pectoralis*, Déch., 185; in centre, above, in plain demi-medallion, remains of mask of Pan, Déch., 675, placed face upwards; below, a shell, Déch., 1106; on right, remains of double-framed medallion, with small ring in field above on left. Small diameter and thinnish fabric; good light-red glaze and sharp impressions. This might possibly belong to the same bowl as No. 8; both exhibit





DECORATED TERRA SIGILLATA (I)  
(Scale 2:5)

Facing p. 202]





the same coarse bead-rows, and are of about the same thickness, and similar glaze. In any case they belong to the same circle of potters (*Butrio*, *Cinnamus*, etc.).

10 (Inv. 58). Fragment from near rim. Ovolo with corded tongues, ending in blunt triple prong, placed close to *ova* on their right; corded line below. Remains of panel-decoration: to left, Venus doing her hair, Déch., 175.

11 (Inv. 23). Small fragment from side. In panel framed with bead-rows, remains of Caryatid emerging from an acanthus plant, holding small roll of drapery in left hand on right shoulder; the right hand is held downwards and across the body, Déch., 655. Light-red glaze, surface damaged.

12 (Inv. 6). (Found by F. G. Simpson in one of his trial trenches, May, 1919.) Fragment broken through and mended. On left, in small double-framed medallion, figure apparently from erotic group (not in Déch., but probably the same as that from Camelon, *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, xxxv, 380, Fig. 13; cf. *Newstead*, p. 217, No. 14); remains of a ring (?) in field above; on right, separated by a vertical bead-row, Vulcan standing, with right foot raised on a stone, right arm on knee, looking to left, Déch., 39 (a type used by *Advocisus* and *Cinnamus*). Good light-red glaze, sharp impressions.

13 (Inv. 34). Small fragment, composed of four pieces, mended. On left, remains of archway; in centre, bead-row with rosettes-of-seven at intervals; on right, remains of demi-medallion of chevrons, containing uncertain object. Light-red, rather dull, glaze; thin fabric, from bowl of small diameter.

14 (Inv. 4). Fragment, broken through and mended, from low down on the side of a bowl. Decoration in divided panels, framed with bead-rows with small rosettes at lower ends and junctions. Above, in medallion framed by single plain line, the curved end of a tendril, unidentifiable; below, cruciform device ('thunderbolt'), somewhat as Déch., 1153, repeated with stems meeting in centre. Lustreless deep-red glaze, thickish fabric.

15 (Inv. 24). Small fragment; decoration in panels. On left, remains of double-framed medallion, then a vertical bead-row ending above in a rosette or knob; then a dancing figure, to right, holding in front of her with outstretched arms the ends of a light robe which envelops her legs. As Déch., 216, used by *Advocisus*, *Doecus*, etc., but this example is on a slightly smaller scale, and with more carefully finished detail.

16 (Inv. 59). Small fragment, from which part of the surface

has flaked off. On left, remains of double medallion; on right, between two vertical bead-rows, remains of two acanthus leaves.

17 (Inv. 5). Small fragment with two vertical bead-rows placed close together, and a shorter one on right ending above in a small leaf, nearly Déch., 1173. Dull deep-red glaze (not the same vase as No. 13).

18 (Inv. 16). Small fragment, from low down on the side of a bowl. Decoration in divided panels, framed with bead-rows (the beads rather long). On left, above, in medallion framed by single plain line, remains of elongated oval object with oblique hatchings, nearly Déch., 1109a; below, quiver (?), as on Oswald-Pryce, Pl. xiv, No. 8, and an unpublished fragment of 37 signed by *Albucius*, at York, where it is placed vertically; on right, remains of double-framed medallion, and outside it to left, object as Déch., 1109a. Light-red lustrous glaze, in fine condition.

19 (Inv. 60). Small fragment from side. On left, remains of a small leaf, with an uncertain object like a trumpet-shaped flower above it; in centre, a vertical bead-row ending above in a small ring; on right, small shoot, perhaps part of an acanthus leaf. None of these floral motives can be identified in Déchelette.

20 (Inv. 22). Small fragment, with dolphin to left, as Déch., 1052, in single-framed medallion. Incomplete, and surface damaged. A type associated with *Paternus*.

21 (Inv. 26). Small fragment with remains of ovolo, with plain tongues thickened below, and placed close to *ova* on the left; coarse bead-row below. Below, plain ring; the furred appearance results from damage to the surface, which has lost much of its glaze. May belong to the same bowl as the next piece; though the ovolo seems a shade higher, it may merely be due to faulty turning of the rim.

22 (Inv. 8). Large fragment from a fine bowl with decoration in large medallions. Ovolo and tongues spaced exactly as the last. To left, in large medallion with double frame, outstretched left hand and bare arm of uncertain figure (possibly Déch., 407, though the space scarcely permits of it), and remains of basket surmounted by two dolphins below, as Déch., 1069a, but slightly smaller. In the centre, three vertical bead-rows with a small double-framed demi-medallion above, in which is a small plane-leaf. The frame ends above in a spiky rosette at each end, from which projects a small pointed leaf. In corresponding medallion on right, Mars seated, holding sceptre, as Déch., 94, with his left arm resting on a shield. In front, an acanthus leaf, as Déch., 1158, *cf.* No. 5 above. Thickish fabric; crisp clay with light-red lustrous glaze, rather damaged.



23 (Inv. 9*a*, *b*). Two adjoining fragments with remains of decoration combining double-framed medallions and large scroll scheme. Remains of three medallions containing small leaves, as on the last piece, arranged irregularly, and a small hatched ring in that on right; and traces of tendrils branching off from the main stalk. Clay and glaze resemble those of the last piece, which like these should perhaps be attributed to *Cinnamus*, or one of his circle. They can scarcely all belong to the same bowl.

24 (Inv. 45). Small fragment, with plane-leaf in double-framed medallion: type not in Déchelette. Clay burnt grey and glaze black, presumably by a subsequent accident.

25 (Inv. 31). Small fragment with remains of large-scroll decoration; plane (or sycamore?) leaf on left, above it a horizontal bead-row, and in field to right a spiky rosette within a hatched wreath, as on Pl. xviii, No. 2, below. On right, separated by a tendril, remains of a large flower (?), not in Déchelette.

26 (Inv. 7). Small fragment from low down on the side, with remains of leaf, apparently on small branch from the main stem, and of larger leaf (plane or sycamore?) in space below the main stem of the *rinseau*; two rings, intersected by groove marking lower edge of design. Deep-red glaze, somewhat rubbed.

27 (Inv. 25). Small fragment from low down on the side. To left, remains of medallion-frame; then a vertical bead-row, and on right a small pointed leaf resting on the lower frame of the design; to right, uncertain object. Perhaps East-Gaulish (?). Light-red glaze, much damaged.

28 (Inv. 61). Fragment of a base, of coarse fabric. Of the decoration nothing remains but a blundered bead-row ending below in a rosette-of-eight. Curiously few fragments of bases, considering the total number of bowls of this shape represented by fragments, were found in the excavations—not more than twelve at most.

#### Plate xviii.

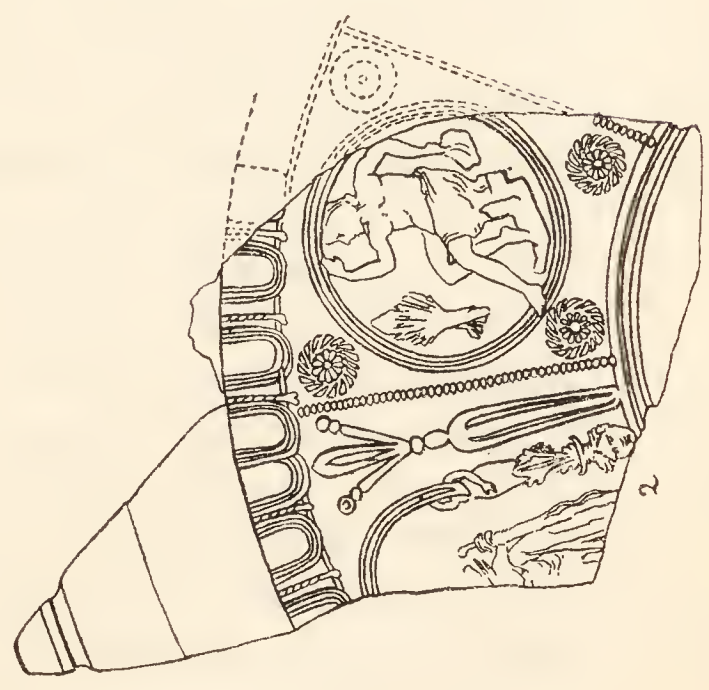
1 (Inv. 2). Eleven fragments of a fine bowl in the “free” style, comprising more than half the vessel; the base is lacking, but it is possible to reconstruct the design of the decoration. The original circumference was *ca.* 26 inches, and the main design, namely a hunter or *bestiarius* attacked on one side by a large lion, on the other by a small bear, was repeated four times. In the lower zone is a small man running to right pursued by a small lion, and subsidiary animals; the oval filling ornament noticed above on Pl. xviii, No. 18, is scattered about in the field. Fragments *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*, *f* join together,

as shown in the drawing; *g* and *h* join together, but not to the rest, and *i*, *j*, *k*, which are omitted from the drawing, are small pieces, of which *i* shows part of the ovolo only, *j* the muzzle of the fourth lion, and *k* a tiny bit of the rod held by the fourth hunter, and an oval object, as above. A few more small chips, subsequently identified, do not help to complete the design. The ovolo with its corded tongue is not exactly identical with any known to me,<sup>1</sup> but most of the other figures can be identified elsewhere:—(1) the hunter or *bestiarius* is Déch., 400, with a rod formed of a fragment of a bead-row put into his right hand. In Déchelette's drawing the left hand is shown as raised, as if in surprise; on the mould here used this is not recognizable and the hand is apparently hidden in the top folds of the cloak. (2) Small running man in lower zone, Déch., 403. (3) Large lion to right, not in Déch., nor can I find it elsewhere. (4) Small lion to right, Déch., 789. (5) Bear to left, not in Déch., but not unlike No. 807, reversed and provided with a second hind-leg. (6) Hare to left, Déch., 950*a*. (7) Uncertain oval object, in two sizes, as Déch., 1109*a*. (8) Uncertain animal represented behind the bear, but unfortunately only fore-paws (and muzzle?) are visible. Rich reddish-brown glaze and well-baked clay. Except for that of the hunter the impression of each type is sharp. The edges are chipped at the join (which is above suspicion), of *e-f*.

The signature SEVERI in the field adds to the interest of this fine bowl. I cannot trace another example of this stamp on a decorated bowl of Lezoux (or any other second-century fabric); but at York is exhibited a fragment which may well be contemporary, with SEVERI in raised letters, running vertically downwards, on a small fragment with arcaded decoration. In this is a Caryatid supporting the junction of two arches, and a stooping Venus, Déch., 181 (used by *Libertus* and *Paternus*). It is to this same circle that our Ilkley bowl must be ascribed. Of the figures tabulated above, (1) and (2) are found on bowls by *Libertus*, the former also on those of *Butrio*, *Doecus*, etc., the latter also on those of *Cinnamus*, etc. (4) is a favourite type with *Paternus*, (6) is used by *Cinnamus* and *Doecus* among others. It seems then that we may confidently add *Severus* as a maker of decorated bowls of Form 37 to the list of Lezoux potters. His exact date is not fixable, but if he overlaps with *Libertus*, who was presumably his senior, and *Paternus*, who was presumably his junior, the reign of Hadrian will not be far from the mark. In this case he must be identified with a maker of plain wares, distinct from the early South-Gaulish potter and presumably dif-

<sup>1</sup> There is nothing very like it in Oswald-Pryce, Pl. xxx.





DECORATED TERRA SIGILLATA (II)  
(Scale 2:5)





ferent from the one attributed to Rheinzabern who subsequently migrated to Westerndorf.

2 (Inv. 1). Large fragment, from rim nearly to base, of a bowl of thinnish fabric; broken through and mended in two places. Decoration in large panels. Moulds somewhat worn, and lustreless red glaze, in good condition. Irregularly stamped ovolo with long tongues; some of the *ova* and tongues come below the plain line framing the decoration above. On left uncertain figure, not in Déch., holding a staff in left hand, with folds of drapery hanging from left arm and across trunk; head and legs, as well as right arm and part of body, are lost; this figure is in an archway, consisting of a plain double-line, supported on right, and presumably on left, by a Caryatid figure, as Déch., 656; the archway does not rest on the head but continues downwards, obliterating it. In the centre is a triple-leaf springing from a tall narrow support consisting of two parallel lines with a raised rib between; the leaf-ornament is not unlike Déch., 1153, and is reminiscent of a South-Gaulish motive. On right, separated from this by a bead-row, in plain double-framed medallion, male figure to left, seated on rock, holding wine-cup in left, practically Déch., 534*a*, but the rock is rather larger; in front of him a sheaf of corn, Déch., 1143; and in angles of this panel, framed also on extreme right with a vertical bead-row, are spiky rosettes-of-eleven, enclosed in small hatched wreaths or circles, of which Pl. xvii, No. 25, shows a more blurred example. In general style this suggests the work of *Advocisus* or perhaps still more *Divixtus*. The seated figure, found on a signed piece by the former potter (Déch. *l. c.*), occurs also at Wroxeter (*Report*, iii, p. 39, Pl. xxvi, No. 1) in a pit assigned to the late first and early second century<sup>1</sup>; the Caryatid, used by *Libertus*, *Divixtus*, *Cinnamus*, etc., is less distinctive, but the arcade-motive<sup>2</sup> and rosette-rings in the angles are quite suggestive of *Divixtus*. Further confirmation is afforded by the fact that at York is a fragment stamped with his name, which has the same ovolo as this; also at Colchester the same Caryatid and seated figure occur in conjunction.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Scarcely earlier than Trajan, to judge by this type; our example is perhaps Hadrianic, at the earliest. For another example, in the Ilkley Museum, see below, p. 236, No. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the Caryatid figures on fragments from Camelon, signed by *Divixtus*, *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, xxxv, p. 384, Fig. 13, and

*Newstead*, p. 221, No. 3. I am indebted to Mr. James Curle for the former parallel and am glad to learn that he agrees in suggesting *Divixtus* as the probable maker of this piece, as does Mr. Donald Atkinson.

<sup>3</sup> I am indebted to Mr. D. Atkinson for this additional confirmatory evidence.

## Plate xix.

1 (Inv. 30). Small fragment, including rim, of a smallish bowl of thin fabric. The ovolo is small, and the tongues end in small rosettes. Decoration perhaps in "free" style, but nothing remains except the head of a deer, apparently Déch., 883, one of the many animal types used by *Paternus*. Brownish-red glaze, in good condition.

2 (Inv. 12). Fragment, much damaged, with horseman to right, with spear held transversely, and cloak floating from above his shoulders, Déch., 158, used by *Paternus*, etc. Light-red glaze, surface damaged.

3 (Inv. 36). Small fragment from just below ovolo, with remains of boar to right, apparently Déch., 827, slightly varied.

4 (Inv. 27). Small fragment with remains of ovolo above, with a blank space below it, as though it were close to a stamp, and remains of bear (?) with head lowered, to left. Type uncertain, perhaps not in Déch. Deep red, dull, glaze.

5 (Inv. 19). Small fragment from just below ovolo, with bead-row above; remains of bear (?) to left; the shaggy coat is indicated, but the type is uncertain. (Not Déch., 817, as the head is not lowered, though the hindquarters are similar.)

6 (Inv. 33). Small fragment from near base, with double groove framing design; above, stag (?) to left, possibly Déch., 873. Dull glaze, thick fabric.

*East-Gaulish Ware.*

7 (Inv. 13). Large fragment of rim, with small remains of decoration, of a bowl in the style of *Satto*. The ovolo, which has two deep grooves above it, is somewhat elongated, and the tongues, adjacent to the *ova* on their right, are thickened into bulbs at the end; below them is a fine bead-row. Large scroll decoration; on left, small bear to left in lower curvature of scroll; below it remains of a panel of oblique bead-rows with a horizontal one above; to right, long leaf, with top curving over to left, and tendril ending in a rosette or flower with seven petals, both presumably springing from the main stalk. Thanks to the labours of Fraulein E. Fölzer,<sup>1</sup> who has collected and classified the motives used by the school of *Satto*, all these details can be at once recognised as typical of the style of that group. For the ovolo, cf. Pl. iii, No. 11; Pl. xxvii, No. 276; for the bear, Pl. iii, Nos. 2, 8, 14; Pl. xxvi, No. 204; for the leaf and

<sup>1</sup> *Römische Keramik in Trier. I. Die bilderschüsseln der Ostgallischen Sigillata Manufakturen.* Bonn, 1913.



flower, Pl. iii, Nos. 3, 8; Pl. xxvii, No. 270. For the work of *Satto* in general, *ibid.*, pp. 17 ff., and the list of large scroll motives, p. 26 f. The importance of his work, as illustrating the development of South-Gaulish motives in the (still uncertain) East-Gaulish centre to which he betook himself, is well brought out by Oswald-Pryce, *op. cit.*, pp. 24 f., 101, and on p. 123 is a list of the places where his signed bowls of Form 37 have been found. It appears that they (*i.e.* his decorated and signed bowls) are not known in England, and that the great bulk of his wares went to German sites.<sup>1</sup>

The clay of this piece, perhaps owing to subsequent burning, is a brownish grey, the glaze approximates to orange red, and is rather lustreless; the modelling of the design is admirably sharp.

#### *Lezoux Ware* (?)

8 (Inv. 18). Fragment from side, below the rim. Medium-sized ovolo, with corded tongues placed close to *ova* on left, and a pronounced wavy line below. In a demi-medallion with ornate attachment on left, a spotted dog (or panther?) couchant, to left, Déch., 969 (*ter*). In spite of the spots, which are not shown in Déchelette's drawing, the fact of the animal wearing a collar is perhaps decisive in favour of it being a dog. The same creature appears on a fragment of Form 30 from Newstead (*op. cit.*, p. 221, No. 5), described as Lezoux ware. The ovolo with its characteristic tongue and wavy line below seems most closely paralleled by that on a signed bowl by *Justus* from Corbridge<sup>2</sup>; this potter seems to have worked both at Lezoux and Vichy, and is to be distinguished from two other bearers of the name, viz., a South-Gaulish potter of the Flavian era,<sup>3</sup> and a maker of plain wares working at Rhein-zabern.<sup>4</sup> But there is admittedly little that suggests Lezoux in the style of the present piece, which is of thinnish fabric and poor brownish-red glaze.

#### *East Gaulish Ware.*

9 (Inv. 10). Four fragments which join, leaving only a small gap near the top, from the side of a bowl in the "free" style. Double groove below. On extreme left, perhaps the ears of a small animal; then a facing mask, Déch., 683, on pedestal supported by two dolphins which rest on a basket of fruit, Déch., 1069a. The same stamp is used on No. 10, but here it is blurred and shows three dolphins.

<sup>1</sup> "Decorated fragments apparently by *Satto*, but not stamped, are known from Wroxeter and in the Guildhall Museum. His plain wares are not uncommon in England" (Communicated by Mr. D. Atkinson).

<sup>2</sup> *Report*, 1911, Fig. 13, No. 2; for the ovolo, Oswald-Pryce, Pl. xxx, No. 86.

<sup>3</sup> Oswald-Pryce, p. 82; Knorr, *Töpfer und Fabriken*, p. 54 and Pl. 44.

<sup>4</sup> Oswald-Pryce, pp. 26, 202.

Next, on the two small fragments, the legs only of a standing figure with its feet crossed, perhaps Venus clasping her *fascia pectoralis*, Déch., 185 (used by *Butrio*, *Cinnamus*, *Doecus*, and *Libertus*). In the centre, stag galloping to left, almost Déch., 873 (but with a tail); above, traces of ribbed oval object, as on Pl. xviii, No. 1, above; on right, kid standing almost on its head (not in Déch.), and two legs of another small animal above. The mask and base are also reminiscent of *Cinnamus*, while the animals suggest the style of *Paternus*. The unintelligent combination of these motives perhaps indicates an imitation (made elsewhere than at Lezoux), and it is noteworthy that the mask as well as the Venus are types found at La Madeleine, where *Albillus* adopted many Lezoux motives.<sup>1</sup>

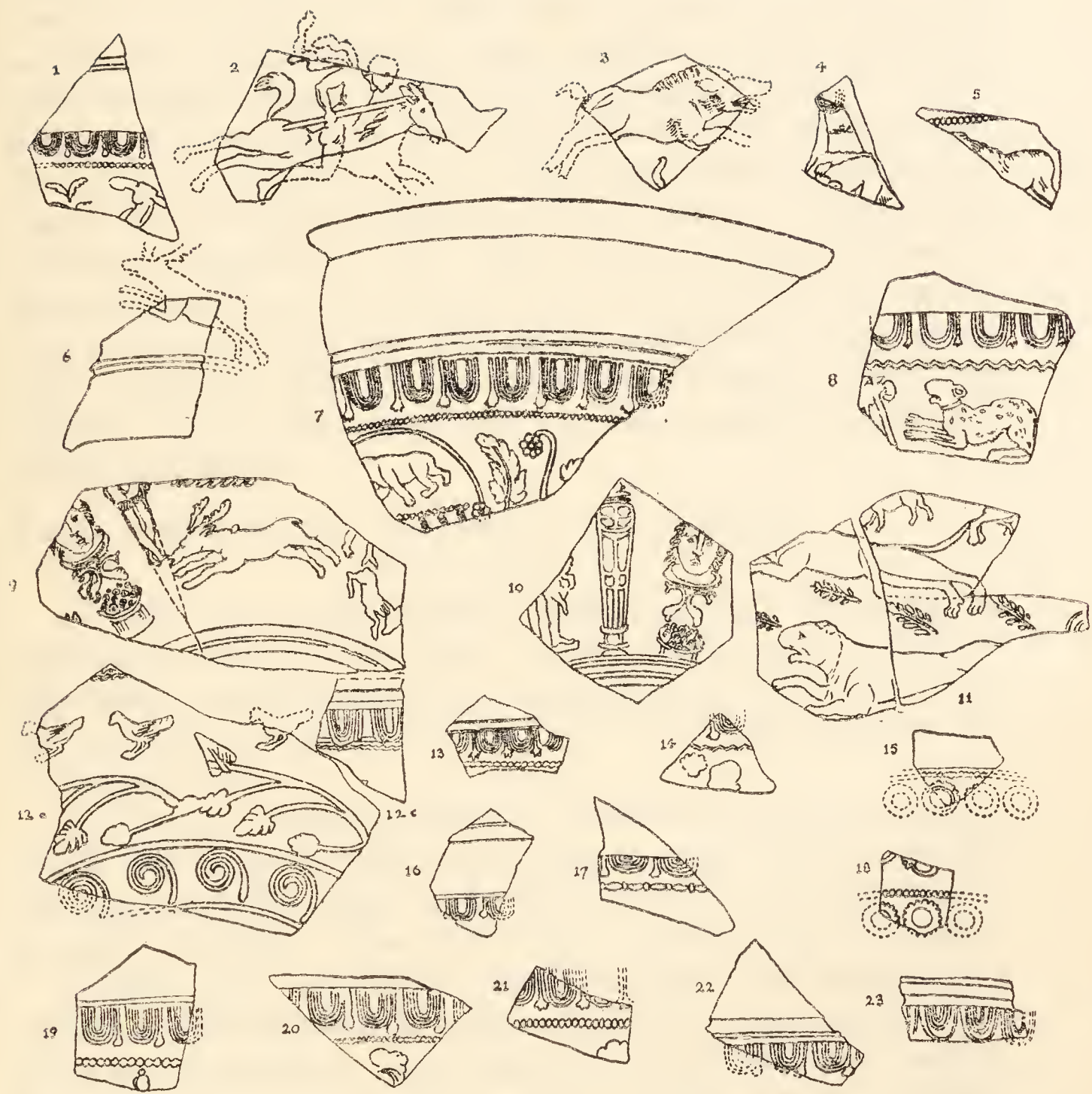
10 (Inv. 29). Fragment of similar style, but not the same bowl as No. 9, as there is a triple groove below, and the thickness is distinctly less. On left, standing figure, nearly Déch., 88 (Mars); in centre, tall tripod combining elements of Déch., 1070 and 1071; on right, mask on pedestal (Déch., 683, on 1070) as on No. 9, above, but with only two dolphins. Clay, glaze, and impressions as last. These are obviously contemporary, and from the same workshop.

11 (Inv. 20). Fragment of similar style, broken through and mended. Above, on left, small sheep to left, Déch., 895; on right, hindquarters of uncertain animal; in centre, body of lioness to left, probably Déch., 794; below, the same lioness; on the extreme right, horns of an antelope (?); in the field, four palm-branches, or poorly-drawn leaves. Burnt and discoloured, but originally similar clay and glaze to Nos. 9 and 10.

12 *a, b* (Inv. 11); *c, d, e* (Inv. 92). Two adjoining fragments (*a*), and a third (*b*, which joins on the right) not illustrated, from the side of a bowl; *c, d, e*, three small fragments with ovolo only, of which *e* joins *b* above. (*a*) Above, faint traces of wavy line below ovolo. Decoration in continuous tendril style, with row of birds above, and in a narrow zone below, framed by two plain lines, a series of unconnected spirals. The ovolo, rather irregularly stamped, has a plain tongue set close to the right of the *ovum*, a blurred plain line below, and a wavy line below the latter. I cannot find any close parallel to this striking decoration, which may be an East-Gaulish adaptation of a La Graufesenque scheme (the combination of tendril and birds suggests a prototype by *Germanus*, of Flavian date). The birds are reminiscent of Déch., 1040 (*Bassus*), but not identical; the tendril with its small triangular, combined with rather shapeless, leaves suggests Lavoye as the place of origin,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Fölzer, *op. cit.*, p. 10 f.; for the mask, Pl. i, No. 40; Pl. ii, No. 37.





DECORATED TERRA SIGILLATA (III)

(Scale 2:5)

Facing p. 210]





and the separate spirals seem to confirm this. The ovolo is almost identical with one from Lavoye, Fölzer, *op. cit.*, Pl. vii, No. 17. A somewhat similar wreath is shown on a fragment from Lavoye, Fölzer, *op. cit.*, Pl. vii, No. 16 (= Pl. xxviii, No. 397), but it has only small spiral shoots instead of leaves *above* the main stalk, and additional shoots of the same kind added to some of the lower branches of the stalk. The detached spiral is also found at Lavoye, *ibid.*, Pl. vii, No. 48 (= Pl. xxviii, No. 424), but inverted and used as decorative attachments to a demi-medallion. For a continuous frieze of them we can find parallels among the potters of Trier (Fölzer's "First Group"); they occur below the *ovolo* on her Pl. xii, Nos. 4, 33; Pl. xiv, Nos. 16, 25, 32, and below the rest of the decoration, as on our present fragment, on Pl. xiv, No. 35. Thus we may attribute it possibly to the "First Group" of Trier potters, influenced in this case—as already supposed by Fölzer (p. 41)—by the style of Lavoye, or perhaps with equal confidence to Lavoye itself. Light orange-red, fairly lustrous glaze, thickish fabric. The ovolo-fragment (*d*) (not illustrated) has a streaky, mottled appearance, perhaps accidental.

*Various Types of Ovolo, illustrated by small fragments.*

(Nos. 13–23.)

13 (Inv. 62). South-Gaulish. Small fragment, with small *ova* and tongues ending in four-lobed tassels; blurred wavy line below. Thin fabric, good deep-red glaze. The tassel seems distinctive of the Flavian potters *Crestio* and *Crucuro*, of La Graufesenque (latter also at Banassac?).<sup>1</sup>

14 (Inv. 35). South-Gaulish (?). Remains of ovolo with tongues, placed close to *ova* on right, and ending in coarse rosettes; strongly zig-zagged wavy line below, and traces of female head and of rosette at angle of a panel. Thin fabric, light-red glaze, rather damaged.

15 (Inv. 42). Lezoux (?). Small fragment with remains of a zone of small hatched rings in place of the ovolo, and apparently a rough wavy line above. This interesting variant finds a few parallels from British sites: it is more usually accompanied by a smaller plain ring within the other, which seems to be present here, but they are both rather blurred. At Wroxeter this occurs on a bowl with the *graffito* inscription *Ianuari*, apparently of Hadrianic date.<sup>2</sup> No. 18, which has similar rings below the rest of the decoration, is probably from the same bowl, as the two fragments were found close

<sup>1</sup> Knorr, *Töpfer*, etc., p. 44, and Pl. 28, A, c; Pl. 29, B, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Report*, ii (1913), p. 30, No. 22, and

Pl. xiii, No. 15; *cf.* Oswald-Pryce, Pl. xxx, No. 84; I have not traced any other instances.

together, and the Wroxeter example has likewise these rings both above and below.

16 (Inv. 47). South-Gaulish. Small fragment reaching to rim. Thick bead at rim, but narrow blank zone above ovolo (*ca.*  $\frac{5}{8}$  inch); small widely spaced *ova*, with short tongues ending in rosettes, set close to *ova* on right. Perhaps to be associated with *Masclus*, *cf.* Knorr, *Töpfer*, etc., Pl. 52, No. 29, but lacks the wavy line above the *ovolo*. Thickish fabric, good deep-red glaze.

17 (Inv. 37). Lezoux. Small fragment, with broad squat ovolo, and tongues, which are set close to *ova* on right, ending in projections to the left. Bead-row of alternating round and oval beads below. The last-named feature ("bead and reel") is used by a few Lezoux potters, notably *Censorinus*,<sup>1</sup> and is not unlike that on Pl. xxv, No. 3, below, which is suggestive of *Doecus*.

18 (Inv. 39). Lezoux (?). Small fragment with faint remains of a tendril above; below, divided from them by a bead-row, a zone of small hatched rings, as on No. 15 above, to which it probably belongs. Similar clay and glaze to No. 15, but surface damaged.

19 (Inv. 46). Lezoux. Small fragment, broken through and mended. Ovolo with plain tongues, which are set close up to the *ova* on left, thickened towards lower end; bead-row below, and knob marking the top of a panel-division. Not a rare type, used by *Cinnamus* among others. Fairly lustrous glaze.

20 (Inv. 17). Lezoux (?). Small fragment with irregular ovolo, which was blurred and damaged before painting. The tongues, which are set close to the *ova* on left, end in rounded knobs; blurred bead-row below. Remains of uncertain object from worn mould alone preserved from the decoration. Lustrous brownish-red glaze, in good condition. The ovolo type again suggests *Cinnamus*, among other possible makers, *cf.* Oswald-Pryce, Pl. xxx, No. 92 (= *Newstead*, Pl. xlv.).

21 (Inv. 38). Lezoux (?). Small fragment with tall close-set *ova*, and tongues, set close to those on right, ending in four-lobed tassels; bead-row below. Remains of a woman's head to right (?). Bright red glaze, not very lustrous. Not assignable to any definite group of potters. (*Satto* sometimes employs an ovolo almost identical with this; by the glaze it seems more likely to be of Lezoux origin.)

<sup>1</sup> Fölzer, *op. cit.*, p. 69, Fig. 5 (*cf.* p. 67, where he is rightly distinguished from other bearers of the name). *Cobnertus*

also uses a more elongated form of "reel," *cf.* Oswald-Pryce, p. 153, and Pl. xxx, No. 82.



22 (Inv. 63). East-Gaulish (Lavoye?) ware. Small fragment with two horizontal grooves above the ovolo, of which the upper one is wider and deeper. *Ova* without distinct tongues, yet the tassel-termination is attached to the lower right-hand side of each *ovum*. This peculiarity seems limited to the potters of Lavoye, and it is noteworthy that one of Fölzer's few examples which show it (Pl. vii, No. 16)<sup>1</sup> is precisely the bowl with the nearest parallel for the curious tendril on No. 12 above. Our fragment is not, however, from the same bowl as No. 12, but clearly belongs to the same group, and may even have been made by the same potter.

23 (Inv. 54). Trier Ware. Small splinter, of less than half the original thickness. Two horizontal grooves above the ovolo, which is closely set and has no tongues between the *ova*. Its characteristic elongated shape, and the clearly marked spaces between the three hoops which comprise each *ovum* suggest an attribution to the school of *Alpinus* (Fölzer's "Third Group" of Trier potters), towards the end of, and perhaps continuing after, the second century.<sup>2</sup>

24-68. *Not Illustrated.*

The following fragments of decorated bowls, mostly quite small, preserve too little of the design to be worth reproduction, and are recorded briefly for the sake of completeness.

24*a* (Inv. 90), 24*b* (Inv. 110), 24*c* (Inv. 76). Three fragments, of which *a* and *b* (from same bowl?) have rim and ovolo: orange-red glaze; *c* has rim and top of ovolo only; dark-red glaze, and small bead at rim, perhaps South-Gaulish.

25*a-j* (Inv. Nos. 48, 68, 69, 80, 96, 97, 101, 107, 111, 112). Ten small fragments, preserving part of ovolo only: *h* has a corded tongue; *j* an ancient rivet-hole. Probably all Lezoux ware.

26*a* (Inv. 102), 26*b* (Inv. 113). Small fragments, with small ovolo: *a* has corded tongue and corded line below; *b* has corded tongue ending in rosette, and bead and reel below (almost as Oswald-Pryce, Pl. xxx, No. 87).

27 (Inv. 52). Minute fragment, with part of ovolo of which the tongue ends in a small rosette; a spiky rosette alone survives from the decoration. Dark-red glaze, much rubbed.

<sup>1</sup> See also Pl. vii, Nos. 11, 50, and 63. This seems to have been a type of ovolo not used by any of the Trier potters.

<sup>2</sup> Fölzer, *op. cit.*, pp. 75 ff., cf. Pl. xxxii, Nos. 955, 956, for this type of ovolo; the latter is nearer to the Ilkley piece. British sites have yielded very little

ware of this school of potters; for another Trier fragment see Pl. viii, No. 12, below. The tongueless *ova* of certain Heiligenberg and Rheinzabern potters are not hard to distinguish from those of Trier. Cf. Oswald-Pryce, Pl. xxx, Nos. 96, 100, 104, 110, etc.

28 (Inv. 71). Small fragment from below rim. In place of the *ova* are the remains of a band of spirals, of which parts of two only are preserved. Above is a wide groove with a narrow one beneath it, as on No. 22. Among the rare users of this alternative for an ovolo the best known is *Albillus* of La Madeleine (*cf.* Fölzer, *op. cit.*, pp. 9 ff.), but it is not safe to attribute this piece to him on this ground alone. Good orange-red glaze, and reddish clay.

29 (Inv. 70). Small fragment, with remains of broad ovolo with thick tongue and zig-zag line below. Brownish-red glaze.

30 (Inv. 72). Similar fragment, with ovolo somewhat as the last, but bead-row below. Decoration obscure, perhaps head and fore-paws of rampant animal. Buff clay, brownish-red glaze in poor condition.

31*a* (Inv. 79), 31*b* (Inv. 104). Two small fragments: *a* has large ovolo without tongues with faint plain line below it, and under this a large and blurred bead-row; *b* has two much-blurred *ova* without tongues.

32 (Inv. 100). Similar: blurred ovolo without tongues and irregular bead-row below; uncertain traces of decoration.

33 (Inv. 81). Similar: remains of ovolo with tongue attached to right of *ovum* and ending in a "blob." Neat bead-row below; fore-part of dog to right (Déch., 915).

34 (Inv. 44). Tiny fragment, with uncertain object above, then a row of scaled leaflets and apparently a grass-plant below. Good fabric, deep-red glaze. Presumably South-Gaulish (from an early stratum of the site).

35*a* (Inv. 89), 35*b* (Inv. 114), 35*c* (Inv. 115). Small fragments, apparently of Form 30: *a* has remains of panel of scaled leaflets and diagonal wavy lines below, clearly South-Gaulish; *b* and *c* are from near the rim.

36 (Inv. 64). Similar (Form 37): part of double-framed medallion containing knee, and foot belonging to other leg, of kneeling figure, perhaps Cupid. Lezoux ware.

37 (Inv. 54). Similar: part of smaller medallion, enclosing uncertain object.

38 (Inv. 40). Similar, with remains of hatched demi-medallion, vertical bead-row and uncertain object.

39 (Inv. 88). Fragment with panel-decoration: on left, part of warrior holding a short sword in right and dagger (?) in left, Déch., 117; on right, remains of plain double-framed demi-medallion. Good glaze and mould. Lezoux ware.



40 (Inv. 65). Small splinter, with upper right angle of a panel framed with bead-rows and uncertain object above.

41 (Inv. 41). Tiny fragment from a bowl of very small diameter: fore-paws of an animal to right. Deep-red glaze.

42 (Inv. 53). Similar: part of vertical bead-row ending in a knob below. Glaze as the last.

43 (Inv. 77). Fragment, with lower part only of male figure to left, apparently Déch., 386; and on right, spiky rosette and acanthus leaf. Brownish-red glaze, surface damaged.

44 (Inv. 75). Small fragment from bottom of decoration: bead-row ending in a knob, and apparently the fore-legs of an animal on right. Dull, lustreless red paint.

45 (Inv. 66). Similar: blurred plain line below decoration, of which nothing certain remains. Thin ware with deep-red glaze; probably South-Gaulish.

46 (Inv. 73). Small fragment with part of the body only of an animal.

47 (Inv. 51). Tiny splinter, lacking inner surface: foot and ankle of a figure to right.

48 (Inv. 99). Small fragment: remains of ovolo with plain tongue and bead-row below. Vertical bead-row ending in small knob, remains of double-framed medallion and small ring in spandrel. Bright-red glaze.

49 (Inv. 74). Tiny fragment, with remains of an elaborate leaf-ornament. Type uncertain, but unusually good relief and light orange-red glaze; thick fabric.

50a (Inv. 84), 50b (Inv. 103). Two tiny fragments with remains of large *rinseau*: *b* might be of Form 30, and has dull-red glaze.

51 (Inv. 95). Small fragment with horizontal bead-row and remains of large medallion with leaf in spandrel (type not in Déch.).

52 (Inv. 93). Tiny fragment, with remains of hatched demi-medallion and leaf (?). Light orange-red glaze.

53 (Inv. 82). Similar, with horizontal bead-row: below, small vertical dart-shaped leaf with loops at base (not unlike that on *Rottweil* (1912), Pl. xxiii, No. 11), and uncertain object. Thin ware with good bright-red glaze.

54. (Inv. 87). Similar, with bead-row and part of a small leaf (?)

55 (Inv. 83). Similar, with vertical zig-zag line on left, ending above in a rosette, and on right, hand and fore-arm of a figure holding a weapon (perhaps Déch., 136), and umbrella-like ornament above.

56 (Inv. 91). Similar, with vertical zig-zag line on right, and a dagger with elaborate sheath and a thunderbolt (?) alongside it, also remains of a tendril. Thin ware with good deep-red glaze. (No parallel known to me.)

57 (Inv. 85). Similar, with wavy line above: horned head of deer to left (not in Déch., but somewhat like his 876).

58*a-g* (Inv. Nos. 78, 86, 94, 98, 105, 106, 117). Seven small fragments, in hopeless condition or otherwise unimportant: *a* and *b* are from the bottom edge of the decoration, *d* from near the ovolo, and *a* is light orange-red, perhaps East-Gaulish.

59 (Inv. 32). Large fragment of base, put together out of three pieces, with base-ring  $\frac{5}{8}$  inch wide. Plain ring below the decoration; of the latter only a horizontal rod and a quite doubtful object above it are preserved. Brownish-red glaze; from a bowl of large diameter.

60*a* (Inv. 107), 60*b* (Inv. 116). Two fragments: *a* has ovolo which has tongues with rosettes at end attached to right of *ova*, and a bead-row below; remains of a double-framed medallion in which is the head only of an eagle to right, perhaps Déch., 981; *b* has part of similar eagle in medallion, and vertical bead-row, with small ring at junction of two panels on left. (Same bowl?)

61 (Inv. 108). Tiny fragment, with remains of double-framed medallion and uncertain object.

62 (Inv. 109). Small fragment from a small bowl: remains of ovolo without bead-row and of medallion with thick single frame (East-Gaulish?).

63*a-e* (Inv. 118, 119, 120, 121, 127). Five fragments with rim or ovolo (or both): *a* is a rim-fragment from a large bowl with good light-red glaze; the ovolo is large and regular, with narrow tongues ending in small loops, and a bead and reel below. Of the design only the upper edge of a medallion (or *rinseau*?) is preserved; *b* has an ovolo with tongue ending in triple prong and uneven plain line below, with nothing certain from the decoration; rather thick fabric, bright-red glaze; *c* is a small fragment with large but cramped ovolo, unevenly stamped, having a thick plain line below, with serrated lower edge, and remains of a thick-framed medallion; *d* has a smallish ovolo with corded tongues, ending in rosettes, set close to the *ova* on their left, with blurred bead-row below (the ovolo appears blundered, as the potter, miscalculating his space, has stamped the last *ovum* and tongue to complete the circle so that they overlap with those on right and left); remains of double-framed medallion below flanked by heads of two birds or small animals facing each other; *e* is a small fragment with heavy bead



at lip and narrow space above top of ovolo (which is mostly lacking); thick fabric.

64 (Inv. 122). Fragment from near the base: above, remains of bird to left, perhaps Déch., 1033, with bead-row below; beneath the latter a coarse wreath of two rows of small leaves, both springing to right instead of being symmetrically placed. (No exact parallel known to me.)

65 (Inv. 123). Similar: above, uncertain object (hind-leg and tail of an animal?) and small shoot ending in dart-shaped leaf (mostly missing); below, remains of wreath, type uncertain. This and No. 64, both from low levels, are clearly South-Gaulish.

66 (Inv. 126). Fragment from side: small ovolo from worn mould, with tongue ending in rosette (?), and bead-row below. Bearded Silenus dancing with arms raised, Déch., 374, and oval hatched ornament, Déch., 1109a, in field on right. Thin fabric, with good bright-red glaze; from bowl of small diameter.

67 (Inv. 125). Similar, with remains of panel-decoration: remains of ovolo with bead-row below. On left, edge of large medallion with reel in spandrel; on right, upper part of standing male figure with right resting on uncertain object (Mercury, as Déch., 290a?), in panel framed with bead-rows. Dull light-red glaze.

68 (Inv. 124). Similar, but surface much rubbed. Remains of ovolo with bead-row below and of panel-decoration with demi-medallion on right; reel in spandrel on left, as on No. 67, to which it does not belong. Brownish-red glaze; from bowl of small diameter.

(2) *Miscellaneous Decorated Terra Sigillata (Barbotine, Incised, Rouletted).*

The few small fragments answering to this description consist of the following:

(a) Decorated “*en barbotine*,” two small pieces from the flange of two separate bowls, unfortunately so small and broken that it is not certain to what exact type they belonged. Both might come from vessels of the Form *Wr. 82*, with the *barbotine*-decorated flange projecting a short distance below the lip; in the present instances each is slightly curved-over outwards, and it is not clear that the smaller piece might not have come from a bowl of Form 36, where the decoration is on the out-bent lip itself. A larger fragment from a bowl of the former type (Pl. xx, 1) unluckily lacks the flange, which projected very close to the rim, but its profile seems consistent with a first-century date. Two small fragments with the flange broken off short (*ibid.*, 2, 3) have likewise an early look; No. 3 has a grooved

line a short way below the lip on the inside, and No. 2 a continuous curve, for the former of which *cf.* Oswald-Pryce, Pl. lxxi, No. 12, for the latter, *ibid.*, No. 10, both of Flavian date. The exact form of their flanges cannot be determined. More interesting is a good fragment from a platter with ivy-leaves *en barbotine* on a flat rim, with a bead near the outer edge (*ibid.*, 4); the fragment which joins it below shows that the wall and base made a sharply-defined angle, unlike the usual curved side of Form 35, but similar to examples of mid-first-century date from Colchester and Leicester.<sup>1</sup>

(b) The interesting class of incised or "cut-glass" Sigillata is represented by two tiny pieces, one of which, Pl. xx, 5 (found in two fragments not far apart but in separate years, and now reunited), preserves part of the rim, and has a cordon at the shoulder and the remains of a conventional incised leaf-motive; it may be classed as belonging to the type of beaker numbered by Dragendorff 72, *cf.* Oswald-Pryce, Pl. lxxviii, and seems intermediate in its profile between Nos. 3 and 8, *ibid.* The other has merely the remains of a cordoned shoulder, and of an uncertain incised pattern, but was probably of very similar profile to the first piece. For an undecorated piece of a similar beaker see below, p. 222 (Pl. xx, 24).

(c) The class of rouletted Sigillata is represented by two fragments, one from the rim and the other from the bottom of the side of bowls of Form 37; the former (Pl. xx, 6) is of light orange-red colour, the latter (discoloured by fire) is a dirty brown, but was probably of a yellowish tinge before. These may both be ascribed to an East-Gaulish origin, and dated not earlier than Hadrian.<sup>2</sup>

### (3) *Plain Forms.*

As was the case with the decorated ware, the examples which may be dated confidently to the first century form only a small, but unmistakeable, part of the total number of pieces found in the Fort. On the whole the plain ware found outside the Fort gives the same impression, and it is instructive to refer to the particulars of it given below,<sup>3</sup> though to avoid confusion it is described, and where necessary illustrated, separately. The same system of classification is followed in both accounts.

#### (a) *Platters, Dishes, etc.*

Form 15/17 (Pl. xx, 7, 8). Two small rim-fragments of this distinctive platter, with bead-mouldings on the wall, and a quarter-

<sup>1</sup> *Cf.* Oswald-Pryce, Pl. liii, Nos. 1 and 20; ours comes perhaps midway between the latter and No. 6, from Margidunum, where the angular wall shows more of a curve. The date can be little later, if

any, than the beginning of the Flavian era.

<sup>2</sup> *Cf.* Oswald-Pryce, pp. 221-223, and Pls. lxxv, lxxvi.

<sup>3</sup> pp. 249 ff.



round moulding at the inner junction of wall and base, and a third (not illustrated) with only part of the wall. It seems restricted to the first century, or perhaps persisted at latest into the following decade, and is usually of South-Gaulish fabric. For its evolution *cf.* Oswald-Pryce, pp. 173 ff., and Pls. xlii, xliii<sup>1</sup>; these two pieces are presumably of Flavian date, and No. 7 with its thinner fabric and finer glaze looks the earlier of the two. The disappearance of the strong moulding at the outer angle of the wall and base, and the shallowness of the other exterior mouldings suggest a late stage in the history of the type.

Form 18 (*ibid.*, 9, 10, 11). Only about half-a-dozen examples of the typical early form of this platter, with shallow walls of curved profile, were represented; all were found at a deep level, the three pieces reproduced all coming from the north-west angle of the *Praetorium*. Two bear stamps (No. 8, *Jucundus*, and No. 20, *Censor* ?); the former is only a small chip from the base, the latter comes from an example put together, to form nearly half the vessel, from numerous small fragments, with crimson, almost matt glaze, and light-buff clay; the profile is rather coarser than in the pieces illustrated, but is still curved.

Forms 18/31, and 31 (*ibid.*, 12-14). Numerous examples alike of the transitional shape and of the fully developed Form 31, may be regarded as illustrating the history of these types almost throughout the second century. It has not been possible to reconstruct a complete specimen, though there are numerous well-preserved portions of the sides. On the whole the tendency is for the walls to be splayed out wide and slightly curved in profile, yet preserving a clearly marked angle with the base. Very few furnish a close parallel with the very wide-splayed type from which the outer angle has practically disappeared, as in *Balmuilty*, Pl. xxxi, No. 4, which seems to belong to the last third of the second century, and the base with a high cone or "kick" is far from common. Of the stamped pieces the names of *Albillus* (No. 1), *Cobnertus* (No. 4), *Patricius* (No. 12), and *Virilis* (?) (No. 19), occur on transitional forms, that stamped *Cobnertus* being put together from many fragments to form more than half a platter 10½ inches in diameter, with thin but wide-splayed walls (Pl. xxi, 4). Those of *Domitianus* (?) (No. 5), *Felix* (?) (No. 7), *Scoplus* (No. 16), and . . . *lis* (No. 18), are probably all on pieces of genuine 31. Well-preserved fragments of three platters

<sup>1</sup> Ambleside (*Report*, ii, 55) and Slack (*Report*, p. 59 f.) yielded unstamped and incomplete examples, in addition to the

find-spots given by Oswald-Pryce, *loc. cit.*

of large diameter, not less than 10 inches, were found among the debris at the foot of the pillars of the large hypocaust at the west end of Site I, that with the stamp of *Cobnertus* alongside the foundations of Room K at the east end of the same building, but few other good pieces, except the base signed by *Scoplus*, came from this area.

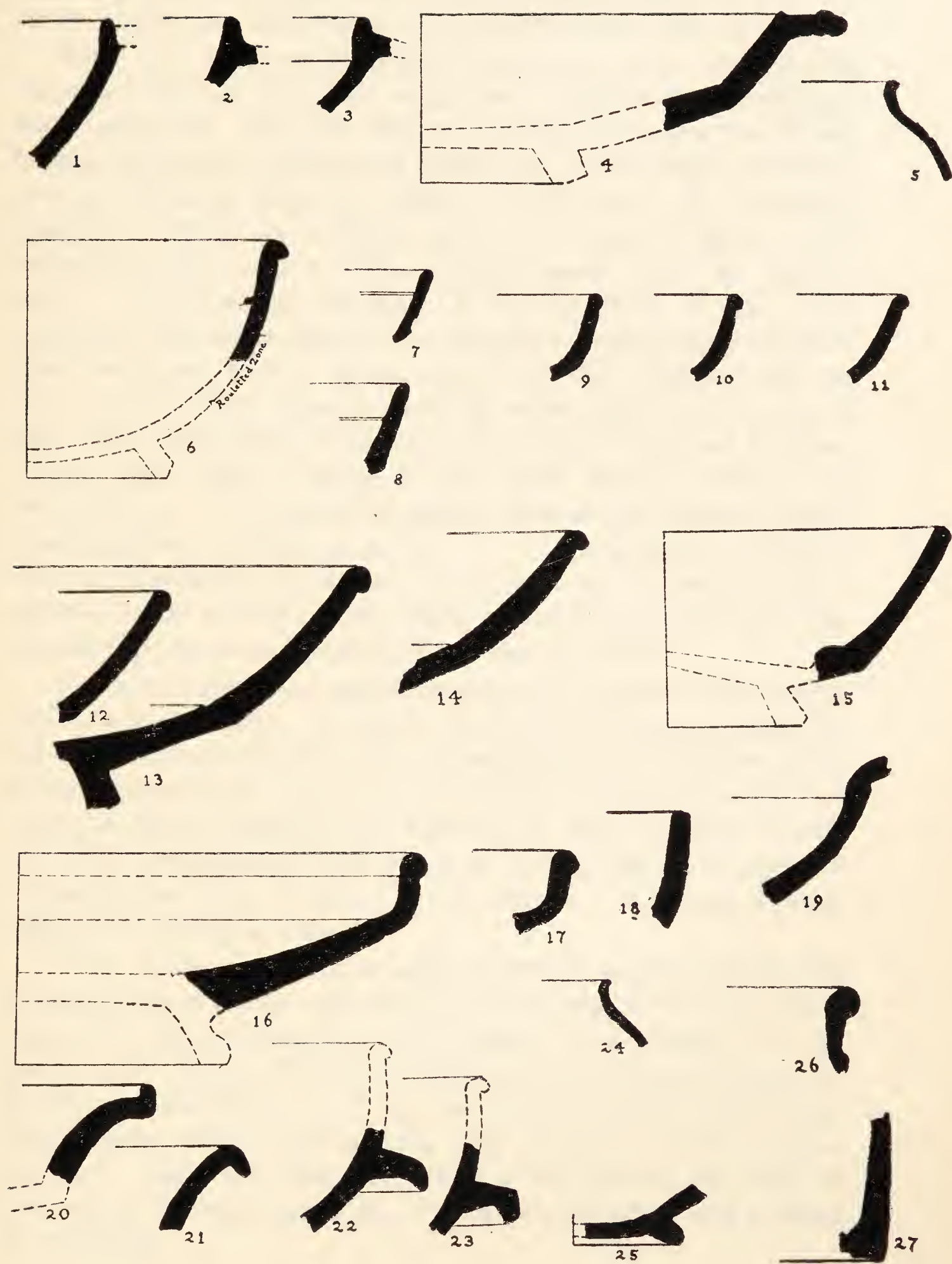
An exceptional variant of Form 31 is shown on Pl. xx, 15. This is a small platter (side only), with no bead at the rim and a quarter-round moulding on the inside at the junction of wall and base. It should, perhaps, in view of the latter feature, be classed rather as a survival of Form 15/17. Examples have been found also at Corbridge and Rough Castle, *cf.* Oswald-Pryce, p. 175, Pl. xliii, No. 43. The fact that the latter bears the stamp of *Doecus* is a proof of second century date.

Form 79 (*ibid.*, 16, 17). Two fragments only, of which the larger is broken through and mended, can be confidently ascribed to this type. No. 16 is of pinkish-buff clay with dull reddish-brown glaze; the base, which was apparently quite flat in the centre, has a rouletted circle on the inside, but no stamp is preserved. The fragment with stamp No. 17, x.xx . . . , may have belonged to a platter of this shape; it also has unusually light clay and dull red glaze. The other rim-fragment (No. 17), found close to, seems to belong to a very similar example. For a discussion of the type and its date *cf.* Oswald-Pryce, p. 199f., Pl. lviii; it seems not to have occurred at Newstead or Balmuildy, though not rare in Britain. Two other examples are in the Ilkley Museum, see p. 250.

(b) *Cups, Bowls, etc.*

Form 27. Not more than half-a-dozen recognisable fragments of this type of cup were found. A tiny bit with fine beaded lines on the outside of the upper portion of the side must have belonged to a small cup little more than two inches in diameter, not unlike that from Margidunum figured by Oswald-Pryce, Pl. xlix, No. 10, though it is unlikely to belong to the early period (Claudian-Neronian) ascribed to their example. It may, however, be claimed as of early Flavian date, and another small fragment of rim only, also from a similar cup of small diameter, may be classed as contemporary with it. Three other pieces are appreciably later, though none of them has the thick sides indicative of the latest stage in the history of this type, which scarcely survived the middle of the second century; *cf.* Oswald-Pryce, pp. 186 ff., Pl. xlix; *Balmuildy*, p. 65, where it appears that only about half-a-dozen examples were found as against





PLAIN TERRA SIGILLATA

Sections of Rims, etc. (Scale 2:5)





about eighty of Form 33. The only stamped example which we found consists of the base only, with a much-rubbed stamp, No. 18, and by its profile may well belong to the early second century.

Form 33. Remains of between thirty and forty cups of this shape are, with a very few exceptions, composed of depressingly small fragments. They fall into two well-marked classes, the former having thin sides, lustrous red glaze, and on the whole a smaller average diameter than the others (*cf.* Pl. xxi, 7 for a typical fragment), which are usually thicker, and tend towards a dull orange-red glaze and a rather straighter-sided and less oblique wall.<sup>1</sup> The damaged condition of the majority of the cups represented makes it difficult to formulate a proportion between these varieties, but it seems that very few, perhaps four or five only, are from examples over  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches high, and a few of those with good glaze are as small as  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inches only, and by their oblique walls may be little, if any, later than the end of the first century. It is noteworthy that the makers of the seven stamped examples, Nos. 2 [*Alb*]ucius, 3 *Cam* . . . . ., 9 *Mammius*, 10 *Maternus*, 11 *Namilianus*, 14 *Paullus*, 15 (?), seem pretty nearly contemporary,<sup>2</sup> as far as they can be dated, and all these pieces are of the coarser type as far as the form of the base is a guide.

Pl. xx, 18 represents a single example of a type not easy to identify with full certainty. It seems to have been of moderate diameter ( $5\frac{1}{8}$  inches outside the rim), with a beadless lip, and a shallow girth-groove incised about half-an-inch below the rim. This is like the profile of the two-handled cup, Form 34, or might possibly be from the plain hemispherical bowl, Form 40, though the latter does not normally have such a groove on the outside. It has good glaze, suggestive of Lezoux ware.

Pl. xx, 19 also represents a single example of a shallow bowl with a double-curved profile; unluckily the outer edge of the rim is missing, so it is hard to identify its exact type. It is perhaps to be regarded as a variant of Form 36 without the *barbotine* ornament on the rim, *cf.* Oswald-Pryce, Pl. liii, No. 19, from the Pan Rock Find. The deep-cut exterior groove at the off-set of the rim is not a normal feature of Form 36. The presence of a rivet-hole at the point of fracture on the right shows that this piece was broken and mended in antiquity.

<sup>1</sup> *Cf.* Oswald-Pryce, pp. 189 ff., who show that the type was in existence from the Claudian period down to the end of the Sigillata industry, though its greatest vogue only begins with the disappearance

of Form 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Albucius*, represented at Balmuildy, is probably earlier than Nos. 10, 11, and 14, whose stamped wares appear among those of the Pan Rock Find.

Form "Curle 15" (*ibid.*, 20). The fragment illustrated, found together with another smaller piece of the same vessel, is of a light orange-yellow glaze, perhaps indicative of Lavoye origin. No other example occurred. It has a wall with a rather steeper side than the Newstead prototype (*N.*, Pl. xl, No. 15=Oswald-Pryce, Pl. lvi, No. 1), and seems more nearly to resemble that from Silchester (*S.P.*, Pl. xxxii, No. 35=Oswald-Pryce, Pl. lvi, No. 8). There is a single specimen of this type also in the Ilkley Museum (see p. 251). A variant, with similar profile but down-bent lip, is represented by a fragment (Pl. xx, 21), which suggests a profile similar to a piece from Housesteads.<sup>1</sup>

Form 38 (*ibid.*, 22, 23). This bowl, which is normally of hemispherical section with a beaded lip and projecting flange at about midway down the wall, is represented by eight pieces of flange, and six rims and three pieces of curved side probably belong to it as well. Nos. 22 and 23 show two flange sections, of which the former has a gradual curve downwards, and the latter an abrupt angular overhang; another broken piece of flange, not reproduced, is bent down in a steep curve like that of Oswald-Pryce, Pl. lxxii, No. 12. Of the rim-fragments, which are not always easy to distinguish from those of Form 37, one is stamped with the name of the potter *Faustus* (No. 6), of Rheinzabern.

Form 43. This type of *mortarium*, with a broad flange vertically down-bent, is represented by one large rim-fragment put together from three pieces, and small pieces of two other specimens, not worth reproducing. An interesting piece of the same type with the maker's name stamped on the rim is described and illustrated below, p. 251, among the *Sigillata* from the Museum.

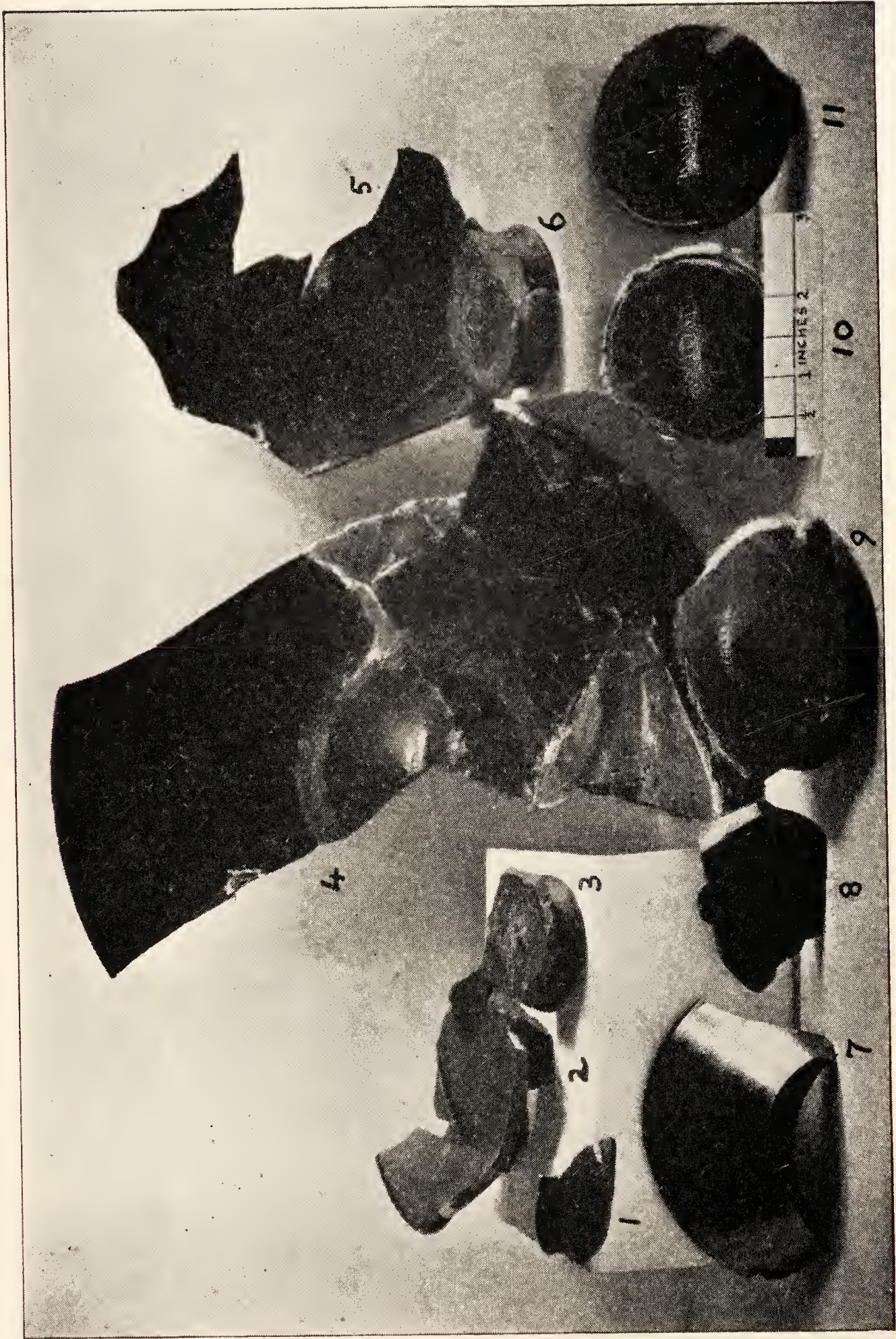
Form 45. Here, again, we have only minute fragments, representing five or six examples, of this type of *mortarium* or *deversorium* with upright, collar-like rim, and usually a lion-head spout; the fragments vary considerably in thickness. There are also three small bits of the bowl itself, with fine white grit.

(c) *Miscellaneous Shapes.*

Form 72 (*ibid.*, 24). One small fragment from the rim of a beaker, with a very small moulding at the lip and no cordon at the shoulder. Cf. Oswald-Pryce, p. 224, for the dating of this class, which seems not to have come into existence before the reign of Hadrian, and lasted into the third century, in its more decadent forms. A small fragment of side, hemispherical in section, seems to have belonged to a similar beaker.

<sup>1</sup> Oswald-Pryce, Pl. lxviii, No. 3.





PLAIN TERRA SIGILLATA

Selected Fragments, Stamps, etc. (Scale 3:8, approx.)







*Jugs* are represented by a tiny fragment of neck with the stump of a handle, indicating a narrow-necked type, and by the fragment of base illustrated in No. 25, which had a diameter of  $2\frac{5}{8}$  inches, with a well-moulded base-ring; the absence of glaze on the inside proves that the potter could not reach it with his paint-brush, and justifies the inference that it was a narrow-necked jug.

The rare and interesting class of platters and trays with a wide horizontal rim with a vandyked edge is represented by a solitary fragment, of which the rim has an average width of  $1\frac{3}{8}$  inches (Pl. xxi, 8); from the remaining indications of the curved body of the vessel it must have been not less than  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter. A smaller example was found at York, *cf. York Pottery*, Pl. vii, No. 3a, and this and a few examples from elsewhere are figured by Oswald-Pryce, Pl. lvii, and discussed on p. 198 f. Our specimen should presumably be classified as Form 39, and is probably of Lezoux fabric.

Ink-pot (?). A single fragment (Pl. xx, 27), with a vertical wall, slightly convex in profile, seems to belong to the ink-pot class; it is unpainted inside, and was about  $3\frac{3}{4}$  inches in diameter. Various types of this class are collected by Oswald-Pryce, Pl. lxx, but none of their examples is quite like ours in profile, as all show more curve. It is shown as coming from the base, owing to the appearance of the edge, but might possibly be regarded as from the lip; the point of breakage deprives us of a sure criterion.

A few small fragments, which do not appear to belong to any of the shapes described above, and are not recognisable as belonging to any other distinctive type of Samian ware, are omitted.

#### (4) *Pseudo-Samian Ware.*

A few fragments deserve mention as representing attempts made at potteries which had neither the true clay nor glaze of the real centres of the *Sigillata* industry, to reproduce imitations of the genuine article. The rim fragment shown (Pl. xx, 26) is typical of the fragments, less than a dozen in all, found in the excavations. It has a brownish-buff micaceous clay, rather soft in texture, and a poor, thin, dull red glaze. The ornament is clearly in imitation of rouletted *Sigillata*, but the shape has no obvious prototype in that ware. The other pieces are of similar fabric, but none has an undamaged rim.

#### *Note.*

The original diameters of the pieces illustrated on Pl. xx are as follows:

Inches.		Inches.	
1. 7	(inside the lip).	15. $6\frac{7}{8}$	(inside the lip).
2. $5\frac{3}{4}$	( „ „ ).	16. $9\frac{3}{4}$	( „ „ ) (?).
3. $6\frac{1}{2}$	( „ „ ).	17. $9\frac{1}{2}$	( „ „ ).
4. $10\frac{1}{4}$	(outside the flange).	18. $5\frac{1}{8}$	( „ „ ).
5. 2	(outside the rim).	19. $8\frac{1}{4}$	(outside the shoulder).
6. $6\frac{1}{4}$	(inside the lip).	20. $6\frac{3}{4}$	(outside the lip).
7. $6\frac{3}{8}$	( „ „ ).	21. $9\frac{1}{2}$ —10	( „ „ ) (?).
8. $6\frac{1}{8}$	( „ „ ) (?).	22. $7\frac{1}{2}$	(outside the flange).
9. $6\frac{1}{2}$	( „ „ ) (?).	23. $6\frac{1}{4}$	( „ „ ).
10. 7	( „ „ ).	24. $2\frac{3}{4}$	(outside the neck).
11. 7	( „ „ ).	25. $2\frac{5}{8}$	(outside the base).
12. $7\frac{3}{4}$	( „ „ ).	26. $7\frac{3}{4}$	(outside the lip).
13. $10\frac{3}{8}$	( „ „ ).	27. $3\frac{3}{4}$	(outside the side, at widest)
14. $9\frac{3}{4}$	( „ „ ).		

(5) *Stamps on Undecorated Ware.*

(From the Excavations of the Fort.)

1. ALBILLI · M, on complete base of coarse 18/31, in rather coarse lettering. *Albillus*, a maker of both plain and decorated wares, worked at the East-Gaulish centre of La Madeleine and belongs to the period Trajan-Hadrian. This or other forms of his signature occur at Chesters, Corbridge, York, Colchester, London. Cf. *C.I.L.*, vii, 1336, 36; Oswald-Pryce, pp. 25, 59.

2. //// /CIM, on a small burnt fragment of 33. Presumably [*Alb*]ucim. *Albucius*, of Lezoux, made both plain and decorated wares, and is represented on many British sites, including Balmuildy, Chesters, Corbridge, York, Wroxeter, Silchester, London. Cf. *C.I.L.*, vii, 1336, 45-47; *Wroxeter*, i, pp. 41, 48; Oswald-Pryce, pp. 61, 94, etc.

3. C A N/////≡ · · · ·, on a small burnt fragment of 33. The third letter was m, and we have a choice of names; perhaps *Campanus* is as likely as any, cf. *C.I.L.*, vii, 1336, 222; Oswald-Pryce, p. 200. He was a Lezoux potter of the later second century (Pan Rock Find, etc.). A possible alternative would be *Cambus*, cf. *C.I.L.*, vii, 1336, 221.

4. ////NERTI · M, on a large 18/31, of which half the platter has been put together from fragments (Pl. xxi, 4). Very neat lettering and fine well-glazed ware. This is almost certainly the stamp of *Cobnertus*, of Lezoux, who worked there in the time of Domitian and Trajan, and is known as a maker of both plain and decorated wares, of which stamped pieces have been found at



Carlisle, Corbridge, Wroxeter, Silchester, London, etc. He is to be distinguished from a potter of the same name who worked at Rheinzabern perhaps half-a-century later. Many forms of the Lezoux potter's stamp are known. Cf. *C.I.L.*, vii, 1336, 324-5 (325*a*, *b*, as here), 1337, 20, 21; *B.M. Pottery*, M 1613 (Form 18); *Silchester Pottery*, p. 214 (Form 37); Oswald-Pryce, p. 57. [*Carlisle Pottery*, No. 90, cf. p. 67, is by the Rheinzabern potter of this name.]

5. DOMITI////, on small fragment of 31, with slight cone; broken through and rubbed in centre. Apparently *Domitianus*, though *Domitus* is not impossible. For the former cf. *C.I.L.*, vii, 1336, 429 (reversed, Form 31); also at the Guildhall (Form 27) and Ranson Collection (found in London, perhaps Form 32), with the stamp *Domitianus f.*; and a variant DOMIATAN exists at Leicester. It is uncertain how many potters of the name *Domitianus* should be distinguished, in addition to the maker of decorated wares who worked at Kräherwald, cf. Oswald-Pryce, pp. 30, 117; the pieces mentioned above are attributed by these authorities to a maker of plain wares at Heiligenberg (*op. cit.*, p. 35).

6. // A // STI, stamped obliquely below the beaded rim of a fragment, apparently from Form 38, in very small and well-spaced letters. The name is presumably to be restored [F]a[u]sti, *Faustus* being the maker of plain wares who worked at Rheinzabern, cf. Oswald-Pryce, p. 206, but his name has not hitherto been noted on bowls of this shape. The stamp *Faustus f.* is recorded, *C.I.L.*, vii, 1336, 446, but I can trace no other British example.

7. // FEL//, on a tiny fragment from the coned base of Form 31. Perhaps *Fel[ix]*, *vel sim.*, but the shape is hardly consistent with our identifying the maker with the South-Gaulish potter of this name (cf. Oswald-Pryce, pp. 47, 52, etc.) whose date is Nero-Vespasian. *C.I.L.*, vii, 1336, 449-453, perhaps all belong to the earlier potter.

8. ///F · IVCVN ·, on a small fragment of Form 18. Clearly [O]f. *Iucun.*, one of the many variants of the stamp of the South-Gaulish potter *Iucundus*, who is well known as a maker of decorated wares also. This form of his stamp is found on bowls of Form 29 in the Guildhall Museum, at Wroxeter (*Wr.*, ii, p. 30, No. 23), and at Silchester (*S.P.*, p. 226), and on plain wares from London, Cramond, and Caerleon. Cf. *C.I.L.*, vii, 1336, 519; *Newstead*, p. 237; Oswald-Pryce, p. 53, etc. He is also represented at Corbridge and Colchester.

9. MAMM · OF, on the base of a coarse 33. Presumably the stamp of *Mammius*, who seems to have made both plain and decorated wares at Lezoux. This form of his stamp occurs also at

Aldborough (*C.I.L.*, vii, 1336, 623), and other varieties have been found at Camelon, Newstead, Papcastle, Corbridge, and other British sites. Cf. *Carlisle Pottery*, p. 72; Oswald-Pryce, p. 118.

10. MATERNI, on the base of a rather large 33. *Maternus* worked at Lezoux in the second half of the second century, and his plain wares, especially of this shape, are common in Britain; he had possibly a name-sake, or worked later himself at Rheinzabern. Cf. *C.I.L.*, vii, 1336, 679; *Wroxeter*, i, p. 55, No. 76; *Silchester Pottery*, p. 236; *B.M. Pottery*, M 1634, 1720–22 (some from Pan Rock Find).

11. NĀMILIANI, on a 33, of medium size, with good glaze. Probably a contemporary of the last-named potter, at Lezoux, and frequently represented on British sites. Cf. *C.I.L.*, vii, 1336, 746 (*e, f*, have the same ligatured AM as here); *B.M. Pottery*, M 1728–30 (some from Pan Rock Find); *Silchester Pottery*, p. 241; Oswald-Pryce, p. 200 (as a maker of Form 79); *Wroxeter*, iii, p. 48, No. 246 (on Form 38).

12. PATP///, on fragment of slightly coned base, probably of an 18/31. Enough is preserved of the fourth letter to show that it was R, and that we must complete the name as *Patricius*, whose wares, plain and decorated alike, are common in Britain. Cf. *C.I.L.*, vii, 1336, 806–811; *Carlisle Pottery*, p. 76; *Slack*, p. 60, No. 1, and other examples there quoted; Oswald-Pryce, p. 56.<sup>1</sup> Presumably the South-Gaulish potter, who used many varieties of stamp. Date not long after A.D. 80 at the latest.

13. ///PATRV///, on a small chip from a flat base, perhaps of Form 36, presumably to be restored [*Of*] *Patru[ini]*. The last letter preserved is clearly v, so *Patricius* is ruled out. *Patruinus* is a Rheinzabern potter, who is known but little in Britain. (Not in *C.I.L.*, vii, nor at Wroxeter.) Cf. Oswald-Pryce, p. 194 (on bowls of Forms 35 and 36).

14. PAVLLI · M, on the base of a coarse 33. Clearly the later *Paullus*, who worked at Lezoux in the Antonine era, and is known also as a maker of decorated bowls. Cf. *C.I.L.*, vii, 1336, 815–821 (some of these may refer to the early South-Gaulish *Paullus*), especially 818*a*, which has the same stamp as our example; he is also represented in the Pan Rock Find, his stamps occurring on Forms 32, 44, 79, 80, as well as the more common 33.

15. ·RCVS . . , on a piece of a slightly coned base, probably of a late 33, with good deep-red glaze. Not more than two letters are lost at the end and none at the beginning, as the stop with which

<sup>1</sup> They distinguish the South-Gaulish *Patricius* from a later one, probably working in Central Gaul under Trajan-Hadrian.



the stamp begins is set close to the edge of the frame, which is preserved. Unknown, and unintelligible unless it be a reversed and blundered stamp of *Sacer*, to be read [OF] SAOX [I].<sup>1</sup>

16. SCOPLIM, on the coned base of a coarse 3I put together from several fragments. *Scoplus* is a little-known potter, whose plain wares are seldom found in Britain. Examples are known from York, Chesterford (Audley End), and Silchester. Cf. *C.I.L.*, vii, 1336, 995; *Silchester Pottery*, p. 257. Not before the Antonine era, perhaps German (?).

17-21. *Fragmentary and Doubtful Stamps.*

17. X·XX////, on part of a flat base, perhaps of a 79; creamy-grey clay, with dull red paint, perhaps an imitation only of genuine *Sigillata*. Such "gibberish" stamps are not unknown,<sup>2</sup> but I cannot find one with this form of commencement; *C.I.L.*, vii, 1336, 1409, is given, however, as xxxvxxxv, and dismissed by the Editor as "*pravae lectionis*," perhaps unfairly. Not more than four or five letters are lost from the end of our stamp.

18. ///IIS·F, on fragment of 3I, with coarse roulette-hatching in a band on the inscribed side of the base. Apparently German ware, in view of the glaze; a large variety of names is possible, e.g. *Comitalis*, *Virilis*, *Vitalis*, etc.

19. ... RIL..., on fragment of an 18/3I of early appearance and good glaze, of which a rim-piece is also preserved. Presumably the stamp of *Virilis*, which has many known variants; OF VIRIL was found at Slack, and OF·L·C·VIRIL is known from Slack, York, and many other sites. Cf. *C.I.L.*, vii, 1336, 1184b, for the first alternative suggested, and *ibid.*, 1336, 346, for the other; cf. *Silchester Pottery*, p. 267 f.; Oswald-Pryce, *s.vv.* in Index ii; *Slack*, p. 60 f.

20. OF'////VS, on two fragments which join (but leave a regrettable gap) to form part of the base of an 18. Beginning and end are preserved, and faint traces of the third letter. I see no reading for this stamp unless it might be OF [CE]NS; the space suits admirably, and the penultimate letter might be N as likely as v, though the third letter does not suggest c. The South-Gaulish potter *Censor*, represented both by plain and decorated wares in Britain, seems to use the stamp OF CEN more frequently, though OF CENS is known on the continent (at Kempten). Cf. *C.I.L.*, vii, 1336, 286; *B.M. Pottery*, M305, 629-33, 932; *Wroxeter*, iii, p. 45, No. 228; Oswald-Pryce, pp. 57, 80. His date is presumably the Flavian period.

<sup>1</sup> Note that he reverses his "S" on a decorated fragment found at Wroxeter (*Report*, i, Pl. x, Fig. 2, 20, and p. 46).

<sup>2</sup> "Made by and for the illiterate," as

Mr. Atkinson happily suggests to me. Cf. IIXIX, *Carlisle Pottery*, p. 83, and presumably VIAIV, *ibid.*, and many others.

21. Fragmentary base of a 27, with good glaze, and sides of medium thickness. Inner surface much rubbed and traces of letters indistinct, perhaps . P/SS . . This might be either *Bassus* of Lezoux (*cf.* Oswald-Pryce, p. 107), or possibly the same stamp as MPI?II, found on platters of Form 18 at Leicester and in the British Museum.<sup>1</sup> Certainty is unattainable owing to the damaged surface.

(B) IN THE ILKLEY MUSEUM.

(1) *Decorated Terra Sigillata* (Plates xxii–xxvi).

(a) *South-Gaulish Ware*. Plate xxii.

Nos. 1–3. Form 29.

1 (M. 36). Small fragment from rim, with vertical roulette-notching on cornice and a grooved moulding below; below the latter a narrow rib with roulette-notching. (Found by Mr. F. G. Simpson on the side of the cutting overlooking New Bridge Street, and presented by him *ca.* 1909.)

2 (M. 37). Fragment from rim and side, with oblique roulette-notching on cornice and rib, which are separated by a narrow grooved moulding. The frieze shows a small panel of scaled leaflets enclosed with narrow wavy lines, and faint remains of a tendril on left. For the former motive, which is common, *cf.* *Rottweil* (1912), Pl. i, Nos. 1, 3, 11, etc.; Pl. ii, No. 4; Pl. iv, Nos. 1, 11, etc.

3 (M. 38). Fragment from side; coarse fabric, glaze somewhat perished. Above, rib with roulette-notching; the frieze consists of a *rinseau*, from which spring a spiral tendril ending in a rosette-of-six and a sceptre-shaped bud, alternately above and below the main stalk, with small rosettes-of-five in the field at intervals, and a widely-spaced bead-row below. Beneath this is a grooved moulding, then a close bead-row, and on the soffit the remains of a frieze of vertical narrow tongues. The *rinseau* resembles a simplified form of *Pompeii*, 47, and is exactly paralleled on the small fragment, *Rottweil* (1912), Pl. iv, No. 11.

Form 78.

4 (M. 39). Small fragment from side; good sharp modelling, light-red glaze. In an archway of small chevrons, supported on slender columns, figure of Minerva standing to left, holding small round shield, with right raised, *cf.* Déch., 81; Knorr, *Töpfer*, etc., Pl. 98, c (Form 30). On right, corner-curl ending in a sceptre-shaped bud, and uncertain object below; for the bud *cf.* No. 3, above, *Pompeii*, 50, etc. Corded line above.

<sup>1</sup> Suggested by Mr. Atkinson.



## Form 30.

5B (M. 89). Fragment from rim and side; good bright-red glaze, thin fabric. Ovolo with tongue ending in triple prong, and blurred bead-row below. Remains of *rinseau* decoration, with seven-lobed leaves and small animals, etc., in the field. The ovolo is almost identical with Oswald-Pryce, Pl. xxx, No. 60, which, however, has a wavy line below. The leaf is reminiscent of the style of *Germanus*, cf. Knorr, *Rottweil* (1907), Pl. v, Nos. 1, 2; Pl. vi, No. 2; and his *Töpfer*, etc., Pl. 35, No. 53, and p. 15, Fig. 8, though none of these seem identical with ours. The small animal below is perhaps the bird, *op. cit.*, Pl. 35, No. 43; the object in the upper right-hand corner is uncertain.

## Form 37.

5A (M. 51). Large fragment of base and lower frieze. Diameter of base  $3\frac{9}{16}$  inches; good dark-red glaze. Above, traces of *rinseau* and wavy line below. The lower frieze is a roughly-executed four-leaf design, apparently as *B.M. Pottery*, Pl. xxxiv, No. 28; cf. Knorr, *Töpfer*, etc., Pl. 63, B, and p. 66; the wreath with a wavy line above and a plain one below, suggests that this piece should be perhaps ascribed to *Pass(i)enus*; cf. Oswald-Pryce, p. 84, etc.

6 (M. 1). Five conjoined fragments, forming nearly a quarter of a bowl, from rim to base (the base is omitted in the drawing); good dark-red glaze and sharp impressions. Above, ovolo with long tongues ending in triple prong, as *Pompeii*, Nos. 54-63; *Rottweil* (1907), Pl. xii, No. 1; and Nos. 10 and 17 below; wavy line beneath. The main frieze has a *rinseau*, from which spring pairs of triangular serrated leaves and a small rosette-like bud on a stem curving to left, in the upper curvatures only. In the lower curvatures a palmette-ornament, composed of three leaves flanked with two rosettes-of-six on spiral stems; below, in panel framed with wavy lines, whose upper angles are tied in with rosettes, and with tassels (?) at the lower angles, a hare (or dog?) running to left. The lower frieze is a triple-leaf design. All these are common South-Gaulish motives of the Flavian era. Thus the long leaves of the *rinseau* occur on a group of fragments from *Rottweil*, *op. cit.* (1912), Pl. xxi, probably to be ascribed to the school of *Germanus*, *Mercator*, etc., and the tendril-binding is almost, if not quite, identical with that on a bowl signed by *Mercator*, *Rottweil* (1907), Pl. xiv, No. 6 (=Oswald-Pryce, Pl. xxxii, No. 40).<sup>1</sup> Even closer is the resemblance to a

<sup>1</sup> The tendril binding, Mr. Atkinson kindly informs me, is later in style than on the bowls from *Pompeii*, which sug-

gests the reign of Domitian (A.D. 81-96) as the date both for this bowl and for No. 9.

bowl of Form 29 at Carlisle (*Cat.*, Pl. ii, No. 15) signed by *Cia(milus)*. For the palmette *cf. Pompeii*, 53; for the type of panel, *Silchester Pottery*, p. 63, No. 26; and the hare may be that on *Rottweil* (1912), Pl. xxi, No. 1. The triple-leaf frieze is like *B.M. Pottery*, Pl. xxxiii, No. 13 (and *cf. Rottweil* (1907), Pl. xii, No. 1; Pl. xv, No. 2, assigned to *Crucuro* and *Biracillus* respectively).

7 (M. 3). Fragment from side; good glaze and thin fabric. Ovolo missing; above, frieze of chevrons to right. The main frieze has a *rinceau* from which spring pairs of leaves with eight lobes (for their shape, which seems uncommon, *cf. Pompeii*, 51; Knorr, *Töpfer*, etc., p. 85, Fig. 40, which is a bowl of Form 29, signed OF PASSENI). In the lower curvatures are scaled leaflets. The lower frieze is a rough four-leaved wreath, which seems identical with that on two bowls signed M. CRESTIO (Knorr, *Töpfer*, etc., Pl. 28, B, D, and p. 42); and a very similar one is used by the potters *Cotous*, *Jucundus*, and *Meddillus*.<sup>1</sup> The use of a chevron-wreath is common on "transitional" bowls of Form 37, Pompeii having yielded numerous examples (*op. cit.*, Nos. 48, 55, 67, 77, 79, all have one just below the ovolo, as here).

8 (M. 46). Small fragment from side. Ornament of three leaves, flanked with two rosettes-of-eight on spiral stems, and two shoots below ending in dart-shaped leaves. Below this is a wavy line, and traces of a tendril in the lower frieze; uncertain objects in the field. In style and date this is akin to No. 6 above, but I cannot find elsewhere an exact parallel for the main motive.

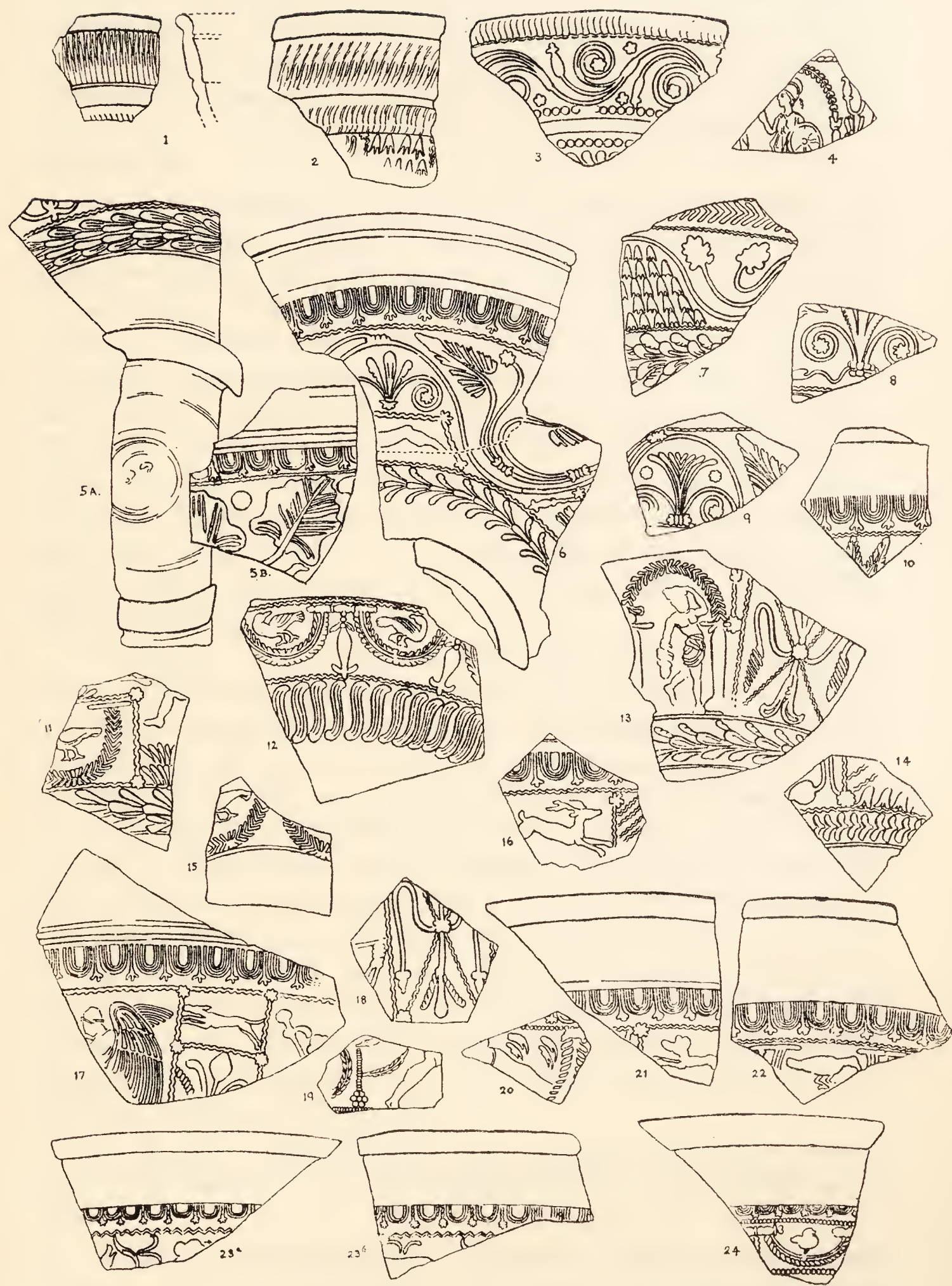
9 (M. 6). Small fragment from side. Remains of *rinceau* with triangular serrated leaves as on No. 6 above, but differently set. In lower curvature ornament of eight leaves flanked with two small buds on spiral stems and two small rosettes in the field; *cf. Rottweil* (1907), Pl. xiii, No. 9, for the leaf-ornament, and *op. cit.* (1912), Pl. xxi, No. 2, for the same in conjunction with a *rinceau* of triangular leaves; Pl. iv, No. 1, *ibid.*, shows it also, combined with the spiral stems, and a somewhat similar *rinceau* and type of tendril-binding (on Form 29). This tendril-binding is similar to that of No. 6 above.

10 (M. 5). Small fragment from rim and side. Ovolo with long tongue ending in triple prong distorted to left, nearly as No. 6 above, and wavy line below. Remains of two serrated leaves, as on Nos. 6 and 9 above.

11 (M. 9). Fragment from side; dull red glaze, almost matt. Decoration in panels and half-panels: on left, below, demi-

<sup>1</sup> Knorr, *loc. cit.*





TERRA SIGILLATA IN ILKLEY MUSEUM (I)  
(SOUTH GAULISH)

(Scale 2:5)





medallion of chevrons containing bird to left (Déch., 1033) in rectangular panel of wavy lines tied in at angles with large rosettes; above, traces of grass-plant and running dog (?). On the right, the right leg of a dancing figure (Déch., 135 ?), with two rows of grass-plants below. The lower frieze is a coarse triple wreath, nearly as *Pompeii*, 36.

12 (M 8). Fragment from side, low down; good bright-red glaze, thin fabric. Above, zone of demi-medallions with furred edges, with three small reels at point of junction, from which hang large tassels of distinctive type, which seem peculiar to the potter *Crestio*; cf. Knorr, *Töpfer*, etc., p. 21, Fig. 10, and Pl. 28, A, though *Germanus* uses a somewhat similar motive as a bud (*ibid.*, Pl. 38, P), and actually employs similar reels with a demi-medallion (*ibid.*, Pl. 36, c). In the demi-medallions are birds with their heads turned back, alternately to left and right, as on *Pompeii*, 19, 44, 45 (Déch., 1036 ?). The lower frieze is a row of elongated S-shaped ornaments, as *Carlisle Pottery*, Nos. 13, 18; *B.M. Pottery*, M44, M555, M1178; Knorr, *Töpfer*, etc., Pl. 59, A; 82, c (used by *Mommo* and *Vitalis*). Wavy lines between each zone.

13 (M. 10). Large fragment from side; dull red glaze, almost matt. Decoration in panels: to left, in an archway composed of two plain columns with broad capitals, supporting an inverted demi-medallion of chevrons, as on No. 11, Silenus dancing (Déch., 323). In panel on right, framed with wavy lines, cruciform ornament, with a double leaf above and below, and catkins on stalks at the sides, as e.g. on *Pompeii*, 73, 74 (bowls by *Memor*). Between the panel and the archway is a short vertical wavy line, ending below in a rosette. The lower frieze is a coarse triple-leaf pattern, like No. 11 above.

14 (M. 45). Small fragment. Remains of panel of scaled leaflets and diagonal wavy lines, with frame tied in at lower angle with a large rosette. To the left is a corner-curl ending in a broad dart-shaped leaf, as *Pompeii*, 3, 5. Wavy line below, and lower frieze as *B.M. Pottery*, Pl. xxxiii, No. 3.

15 (M. 44). Small fragment with remains of two demi-medallions as on No. 11; that to left contains a bird to left, perhaps as on No. 11.

16 (M. 4). Small fragment. Ovolo with tongue ending in triple prong, as on No. 10, with wavy line below. Decoration in panels: to left, stag running to right, perhaps Déch., 858, or *Pompeii*, 51; to right, panel of diagonal wavy lines, in frame tied in with rosette at upper angle.

17 (M. 2). Fragment from near rim; dark-red glaze, somewhat perished. Deep ovolo with tongue ending in triple prong, as on No. 16, etc.; wavy line below. Decoration in panels, whole or divided: on left, winged Victory (Déch., 479), to left; in centre, above, dog running to left, Déch., 916 (reversed), and *Rottweil* (1912), Pl. xxi, No. 9; below, plant motive, with large rounded bud between two long leaves, as *B.M. Pottery*, Pl. xl, No. 2; *Pompeii*, Fig. 4c; *Rottenburg*, Pl. v, No. 6, flanked by diagonal wavy lines. On right, cruciform ornament, mostly missing, of which the upper left arm ends above in a knob.

18 (M. 58). Small fragment from side. Decoration in panels and half-panels: to left, below, demi-medallion; to right, cruciform ornament, perhaps as on No. 17, with small dagger-shaped leaves on down-bent stalks at the sides; it has a smaller central bud, and furred leaves, as on *B.M. Pottery*, Pl. xl, No. 2.

19 (M. 48). Small fragment; orange-red glaze, decoration in very fine detail, and low relief; to left, remains of furred demi-medallion; separating this from the panel to right is a vertical double bead-row ending below in a rosette-of-six, with a slender branch springing to right from the former. In the panel is the leg only of a male figure moving to right, possibly a gladiator, as on *Wroxeter*, ii, Pl. xiv, No. 7. I cannot trace this exact branch elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

20 (M. 50). Small fragment, with deep-red glaze. Above, remains of ovolo with tongue ending in large rosette and fine bead-row below. Remains of furred demi-medallion, in which is an obscure object, with small rocks or plants (?) above in the field, as on Pl. xxv, No. 20 below, and *Carlisle Pottery*, 86, which are both of Lezoux fabric. This piece might nevertheless be South-Gaulish.

21 (M. 12). Small fragment with rim; dull brownish-red glaze. Ovolo rather blurred, with tongue ending in a triple prong, and wavy line below; to left, remains of two bead-rows, of which that on right is tied in at the angle with a rosette; to right, dog to left, perhaps Déch., 939.

22 (M. 13). Small fragment with rim; glaze and ovolo similar to the last, but not the same bowl. In plain double-edged demi-medallion, bird to right (Déch., 1031).

#### *Uncertain Origin.*

23a, b (M. 14a, b). Two fragments from rim, which do not join; light-red lustrous glaze, crisp modelling. Small ovolo with wavy tongue ending in a small rosette, with a zig-zag line below. I cannot

<sup>1</sup> Probably early Lezoux ware rather than South-Gaulish.



trace this ovolo type elsewhere, but a similar zig-zag line is found on *Wroxeter*, i, p. 39, Fig. 13, and is not rare on later bowls (*e.g.* by *Justus*). Decoration uncertain, apart from fine blades of grass, perhaps as on *Rottenburg*, Pl. ii, No. 2.

24 (M. 47). Small fragment with rim; orange-red glaze and crisp impression. Very squat ovolo with short broad tongue ending in small rosette, as *Rottenburg*, Pl. iv, Nos. 3, 11, and bead-row below. In shallow demi-medallion, terminating in reels, small bird (robin?) to right, which I cannot trace elsewhere; bead-row below. Both this and Nos. 23*a*, *b*, belong to an obscure group which is to be distinguished from the La Graufesenque wares, but its origin is not yet identified for certain.<sup>1</sup>

*South Gaulish (continued).* Plate xxiii A.

Form 29.

1 (M. 100). Small fragment from near base; bright-red glaze, in good condition. Remains of two stalks of a *rincean* from the lower frieze, and of small grass-plant consisting of seven blades all inclined to the right (instead of the more usual group of eight placed symmetrically, as used by several South-Gaulish potters; *cf.* *Rottweil* (1912), Pl. xxi, No. 2, where a group of eight is enlarged to twelve by four more blades on the right, and *op. cit.*, Pl. x, No. 8, for two complete tufts with three more blades on left). Plain line and two grooves below the decoration.

Form 37.

2 (M. 7). Small fragment from near rim; bright-red glaze, much perished. Ovolo with tongue ending in triple prong, and wavy line below. Decoration in panels framed with wavy lines tied in at angles with rosettes-of-seven. To left, uncertain object (mask?) on draped plinth or altar (the latter perhaps Déch., 149, but the mask seems more suggestive of Lezoux ware); small rock in field. To right, above, bird to left, as Déch., 1033; below, Venus stooping with left arm downwards and right raised (not in Déch., but *cf.* *Rottweil* (1912), Pl. xxi, No. 1, on which the same bird also appears).

3 (M. 64). Fragment from near base, similar in style to the last; glaze somewhat perished. Remains of large panels above and narrow row below; plain line under latter. On left, above, legs (only) of gladiator to left, apparently a Samnite, as Déch., 583; one leg is

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Atkinson suggests that they may be Lezoux ware of the time of Trajan. Conclusive evidence is still lacking.

visible of his opponent, perhaps a *Thrax*, as Déch., 582; on right, above, two uncertain figures, apparently a draped standing female on left and a small figure seated to left on right (possibly a variant of the rare group, *Rottenburg*, Pl. v, No. 2, which seems to represent either a visit to the dentist or face-massage?). In narrow panels, below, running hare (?) pursued by dog (?), perhaps as Pl. xxii, No. 6, above.

4 (M. 101). Fragment of rim and side, broken through and mended; deep-red glaze, in fair condition; worn mould, especially of ovolo. Groove below rim and fine parallel lines incised on blank zone below it. Ovolo with tongues adjacent to *ova* on left ending in triple prong inclined to right; wavy line below, worn almost to a straight line. Decoration in panels tied in at upper angles with rosettes; on left, cruciform ornament of rare type, with triple leaf as central upright (*cf.* the bottom of the example on a bowl by *Mommo*, *Pompeii*, 9=Oswald-Pryce, Pl. xxxvii, No. 5), and flat-topped knob on diagonal stem on right; and side-curl. In centre, Hercules slaying dragon of the Hesperides, as Déch., 468, and Pl. xvii, No. 1, from the site of the Fort, also No. 6, below. Presumably by *Biracillus*, or *Mercator*.

5 (M. 43). Small fragment with ancient rivet-hole above; brownish-red glaze, almost matt, and crisp impression. To left, long bud on stalk, perhaps a corner-curl; to right, Hercules standing with right hand resting on club, nearly as Déch., 443, a Lezoux type (only?).

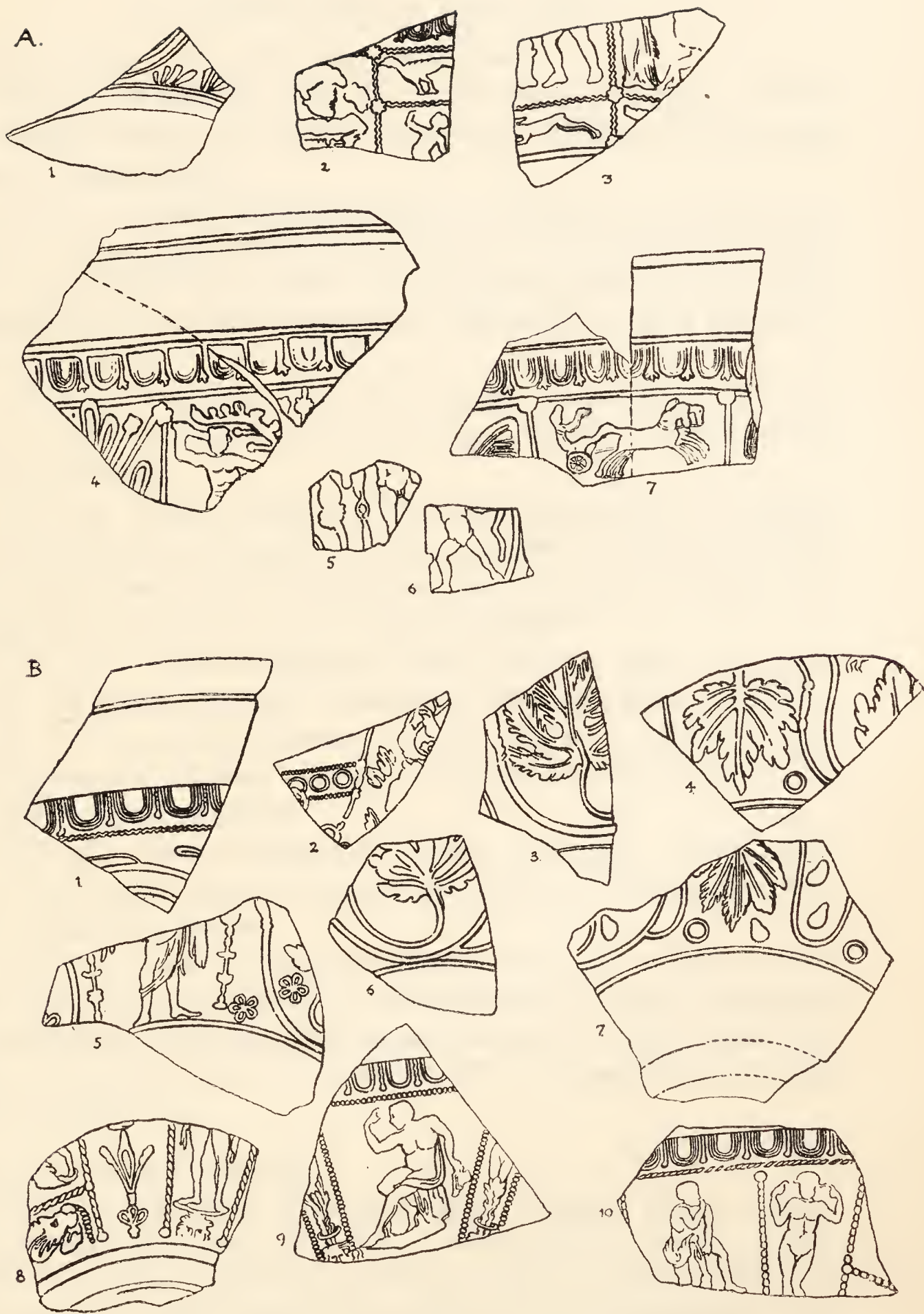
6 (M. 49). Small fragment with ancient rivet-hole on left; glaze and fabric similar to the last. Remains of Hercules as on No. 4 above, but not from the same bowl; |this may, however, be from the same bowl as No. 5, in which case possibly it had a series of scenes of the labours of Hercules (*cf.* Déch., i, pp. 216 ff.; a bowl of this type is known from Wilderspool in Lancs.).

7 (M. 102). Fragment from rim and side, broken through and mended; brownish-red glaze, sharp impressions.<sup>1</sup> Ovolo almost as on No. 4, but less worn, and plain line below. Decoration in panels framed by plain lines tied in at upper angles with round knobs. To left, apparently warrior with cloak (Déch., 118, fabric of Montans); in centre, charioteer driving quadriga to right (not in Déch., though his 647 is a similar but smaller quadriga to left; but it seems the same as that on the bowl from Bregenz ascribed to the school of *Cornutus*,

<sup>1</sup> Presented by Mr. W. Scott, Photographer, The Grove, Ilkley, who states that he found it together with another

decorated piece (M. 123, below) some years ago, during excavations for a cellar at the back of his studio.





TERRA SIGILLATA IN ILKLEY MUSEUM (II)  
(A: SOUTH GAULISH; B: CENTRAL GAULISH)

(Scale 2:5)





*cf.* Oswald-Pryce, Pl. xvi, No. 1).<sup>1</sup> To right, uncertain object, like part of a wing in high relief (not in Déch. ?).

(b) *Central Gaulish.* Plate xxiii B.

Form 37: Nos. 1-7, Large Scroll Decoration.

1 (M. 40). Fragment with rim; good bright-red glaze. Ovolo with beaded tongue and wavy line below. Remains of the stalk only of a large *rinceau*.

2 (M. 41). Small fragment, divided vertically by the stalk of a *rinceau*. In the upper curvature, on left, a horizontal row of small plain rings between bead-rows; on the right, uncertain object, hard to identify owing to poor impression, and small rocks or plants (?) in field to left.

3 (M. 15). Fragment from near base; good glaze. Part of *rinceau* with plane-leaf in upper curvature, almost as Déch., 1167; plain line below.

4 (M. 16). Similar fragment, glaze and mould poor. *Rinceau* with plane-leaves alternately in upper and lower curvatures; plain ring in field below, and hind-legs of small animal in upper one, possibly hare, as Déch., 943. Plain line below.

5 (M. 17). Similar fragment, poor light-red glaze but good mould. In lower curvature of *rinceau* draped male figure, as Déch., 570 (on left), standing between two candelabra, as Déch., 1095. Small leaf on curved stem in upper curvature, and rosettes-of-five in the field; plain line below.

6 (M. 63). Similar fragment, smaller, fair glaze. Leaf (sycamore ?) on stem in upper curvature, apparently as *Newstead*, p. 225, No. 7; plain line below.

7 (M. 71). Similar fragment, larger, with part of base; thick fabric, coarse light-red glaze. Leaf (sycamore ?) in lower curvature, and plain rings and small pear-shaped stones (?) in field; plain line below. For general style *cf.* *Cannstatt*, Pl. xx, especially No. 8, and *Carlisle Pottery*, 73.

Nos. 8-10, Panel Decoration.

8 (M. 24). Fragment from near base; deep-red lustrous glaze. Groove below decoration and two shallow grooves nearer to foot. Panels divided by corded lines ending in knobs: to left, above, uncertain object; below, Pan-mask, as Déch., 675 (*cf.* *Newstead*, p. 223,

<sup>1</sup> From J. Jacobs, in *Jahrbuch für Altertumskunde*, vi (1912), Pl. vi, which I have not seen. Knorr, *Töpfer*, etc., indicates in his table on pp. 6-7, that

*Cornutus* was not active after the year 85, but if we attribute this fragment to him, it suggests a date nearer to the end of the century.

Nos. 1, 3; *Wroxeter*, i, p. 39, Fig. 13). In centre, composite plant-ornament, of which the central portion is like Déch., 1153. To right, male figure with cloak, standing on mask-pedestal, as Déch., 514 and 655*a* respectively. This is reminiscent of the circle of *Advocisus*.

9 (M. 11). Fragment from near rim of a bowl of small diameter; deep-red glaze, almost matt, and shallow impressions. Ovolo with wavy tongue ending in small tassel or "blob," and bead-row below. On left and right, in narrow frame of vertical bead-rows, Caryatids standing on mask-pedestals, as Déch., 656; *Newstead*, p. 221, No. 3; *Camelon*, p. 384, Fig. 13. In central panel, male figure seated to left with right hand raised and wine-cup in left, as Déch., 534*a*; *Wroxeter*, iii, Pl. xxvi, No. 1; and the fragment from the site of the Fort, Pl. xviii, No. 2, above; presumably by *Divixtus* or his immediate circle.

10 (M. 23). Similar fragment, glaze and mould as on the last. Ovolo with tongue ending in "blob" with small projection to the left, and corded line below. Panels divided by coarse bead-rows ending in small knobs: to left, seated man, as Déch., 530; in centre, Venus doing her hair, somewhat as Déch., 173, but more closely resembling *Rottenburg*, Pl. xix, No. 2 (signed by *Pupus*). To right, doubtful traces (omitted from drawing) of object in upper half-panel.

*Central Gaulish, etc. (continued).* Plate xxiv.

Form 37. Various Styles of Decoration.

1 (M. 97). Large fragment of rim and side of a bowl of large diameter; brownish-red glaze, mould rather worn. Wide space above ovolo, which is large and irregular, with broad tongue spaced to left of centre, and bead-row below. Decoration in panels enclosing medallions, etc.; to left, in upper half-panel bird to right (nearly Déch., 1034) in demi-medallion consisting of a double wreath. To right, in large double-framed medallion, remains of Victory holding wreath, as Déch., 474; in upper spandrel on left, narrow rod or club with furred edges. Angles of panel tied in with small rings, as on Pl. xxv, No. 16, below, which has also the same type of demi-medallion and a very similar ovolo. This may be likewise ascribed to the circle of *Cinnamus*, indeed very probably to that potter himself.

2 (M. 68). Similar fragment; brownish-red glaze of poor quality. Broad ovolo with tongue thickened at the end and inclined to the left, and bead-row below. Decoration in panels: to left, traces of demi-medallion; next is a draped male figure to right, raising right hand towards face, as Déch., 344; then a panel of three tall S-shaped



ornaments of unusually large size, as *B.M. Pottery*, M44, M1178, etc.; these two motives occur in conjunction on the fine bowl from Caerwent (*Archæologia*, lxii, p.410, and Pl. lxviii); in panel on right, remains of thin bent stalk; upper angle of panel tied in with a rosette. Very similar to the last bowl both in ovolo-type and general treatment; therefore probably, like it, by *Cinnamus*.

3 (M. 92). Small fragment from rim and side; brownish-red, almost matt, glaze; good crisp clay, but worn mould. Ovolo with tongue ending in tiny loop, blurred on three of the four tongues, and bead-row below; no decoration is left beyond a rosette-of-ten, and parts of a bead-row and a demi-medallion.

4 (M. 91). Similar fragment; light-red glaze, surface rubbed. Small ovolo with tongue ending in irregular rosette-of-six, and bead-row below. Panels divided by bead-row ending above in a reel: in that on left, pigmy (?) to right, holding uncertain object in his right. The ovolo is suggestive of *Satto*, cf. Fölzer, *op. cit.*, Pl. iii, No. 11; Oswald-Pryce, Pl. xxx, No. 117; but the pigmy is not one of his known types.

5 (M. 99). Small fragment of side; light-red glaze. Irregular ovolo with plain tongue and no bead-row or line below. To left, in single-framed medallion, perhaps a pelican to right, as *Rottweil* (1907), Pl. xxvii, No. 6; on right, pigmy (?). Presumably Rhein-zabern ware, in the style of *Cerialis*.

6 (M. 96). Similar fragment; deep-red glaze, crisp clay and sharp impression. Traces of large ovolo and coarse bead-row below. In remains of a harp-like frame, mask to right, apparently Déch., 697 (associated with *Butrio*).

7 (M. 98). Small fragment from near base; poor light-red glaze, thick fabric. Traces of two frames of panel, that on right with knob or rosette at angle; in centre, remains of signature OF (?) running vertically upwards (uncertain, but possibly OFI SACRI, cf. Oswald-Pryce, p. 122, *Sacer* being a potter who worked both at Lezoux and Heiligenberg).

8 (M. 94). Three adjoining fragments from the side of a bowl decorated in the free style; deep-red lustreless glaze, crisp clay, but upper figures blurred. Tall ovolo with looped tongue spaced to right of centre, and bead-row below. Three zones of animals: above, dog (?) to left (Déch., 936?), badly stamped and lacking most of hind-legs; panther to left (not in Déch.); in middle row, large deer to left (Déch., 883), and facing it is apparently lion-cub (Déch., 790); below, hindquarters of dog (?), as Déch., 918 (?), followed by small deer to right (Déch., 860), and lion-cub (nearly Déch., 789); in the

field, several of the characteristic oval ribbed ornaments (Déch., 1109a), and on right, signature of *Paternus* (beginning lost), as on Pl. xxv, No. 14, below, *q.v.*

9 (M. 95). Small fragment, bright-red glaze, crisp clay. Torso of lion couchant to left (not quite as Déch., 753).

10 (M. 65). Fragment from near rim; brownish-red glaze, large flake missing on right. Panels divided by bead-rows ending above in rosettes-of-six; ovolo like smaller version of those on Nos. 1 and 2. On left, tendril of plant (?); in centre, mourning woman (a larger variant of Déch., 540); on right, head only of stooping female figure (quite uncertain).

11 (M. 60). Small fragment from near base; light orange-red glaze, poor blurred impressions. Above, quadruped to left; below, to left, Cupid with whip in hand, as Déch., 280, and an uncertain looped object below the whip; to right, remains of hatched demi-medallion, in panel of wavy lines. (Probably South-Gaulish, as the Cupid is found on a South-Gaulish bowl of Form 30, but it is also found on a Lezoux fragment).<sup>1</sup>

12 (M. 93). Fragment from rim and side of a smallish bowl; light-red glaze, in poor condition, and surface rubbed. Ovolo with plain tongues spaced to left of centre, and no bead-row or line below. Remains of a series of upright pillar-like objects, alternating with tall sword-like leaves, and rosettes-of-eight between. No exact parallel known to me, but suggestive of the style of *Reginus*, cf. Pl. xxvi, No. 16, below; presumably Rheinzabern ware.

13 (M. 59). Fragment from near base; poor light-red glaze, and blurred impressions. To left, traces of large *rinseau* (?), and to right, Cupid advancing with torch (Déch., 265); plain line below.

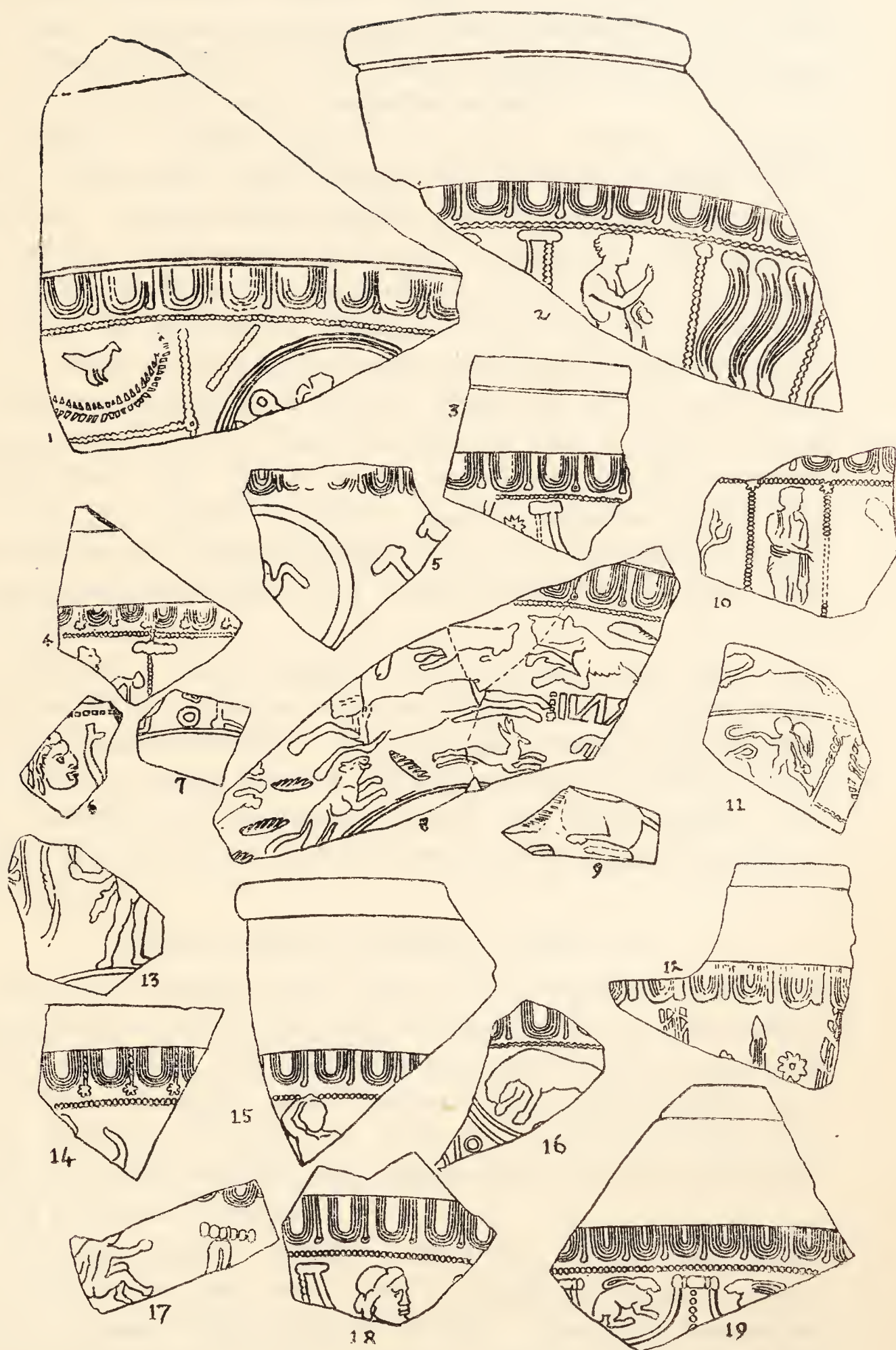
14 (M. 66). Small fragment from near rim; good light-red glaze, burnt to chocolate-brown. Ovolo with corded tongue ending in rosette-of-five, and bead-row below. Decoration uncertain, but possibly the surviving traces indicate the head and bow of Artemis to right; the ovolo is distinctive, and suggests that of the bowl signed by *Avitus*, *Cannstatt*, Pl. xxi, No. 1; cf. Oswald-Pryce, pp. 61, 107.<sup>2</sup>

15 (M. 69). Fragment of rim and side; good deep-red glaze. Ovolo nearly as No. 10 above, with end of tongue turned to left, and bead-row below. Upper part of figure with right hand on head (perhaps Déch., 224).

<sup>1</sup> Noted by Mr. P. W. Dodd in the "Collection Plicque." Note that Déch. is not certain as to the objects held by this Cupid. Mr. Atkinson agrees that this is more likely to be South Gaulish.

<sup>2</sup> Of the four potters of this name whom Oswald-Pryce distinguish, the one who worked at Eschweilerhof seems to have used this type of ovolo.





TERRA SIGILLATA IN ILKLEY MUSEUM (III)  
(MOSTLY CENTRAL GAULISH)

(Scale 2:5)





16 (M. 25). Small fragment from near rim; good deep-red glaze. Ovolo with plain narrow tongue, spaced to left of centre, and wavy line below. In plain double-framed demi-medallion, bear to left (not in Déch. or Fölzer). Plain ring in spandrel below, and traces of plain vertical line and of medallion on left.

17 (M. 62). Similar fragment; good glaze, burnt to chocolate-brown. Ovolo with short stumpy tongue, and no bead-row or line below. In large demi-medallion, which terminates above in a long bobbin, Cupid seated with right outstretched; this is not a Central-Gaulish type, *cf.* *Cannstatt*, Pl. xxviii, No. 10, connected by Knorr with *Janu(arius)*; Fölzer, *op. cit.*, Pl. iii, No. 4; Pl. xxvi, No. 152, where the type is associated with *Satto*; the ovolo, however, is much more suggestive of Trier (*cf.* Fölzer, *op. cit.*, Pl. xxxii, Nos. 933, 939, and for a very similar Cupid, Pl. xxix, No. 543). If not certainly from Trier, this is at any rate closely akin to its wares.

18 (M. 31). Similar fragment; good brownish-red glaze. Tall ovolo with narrow tongue ending in a tiny loop, and bead-row below. In a plain demi-medallion mask to right, possibly Déch., 695, from a worn mould.

19 (M. 32). Larger fragment than the last, with rim; good bright-red glaze. Close-set ovolo with plain tongue turned to left at end, and bead-row below. Two small plain demi-medallions from the junction of which hangs a vertical bead-row, in which are two hares couchant and facing each other (as Déch., 950*a*). Presumably Central-Gaulish, and not later than the reign of Antoninus Pius (138–161).

*Central Gaulish (continued).* Plate xxv.

1 (M. 18). Fragment from near rim; fair glaze. Ovolo with tongue ending in tassel, and plain line below. To left, female figure with left arm raised, and right holding drapery on hips, apparently Déch., 179*a*. To right, plain double-framed demi-medallion containing sea-horse to right, like Déch., 32, reversed; below this, remains of small medallion with double frame, contents doubtful. Vertical bead-row in centre.

2 (M. 19). Similar fragment; light-red, almost matt, glaze. Ovolo with groove above and corded (or diagonally-hatched) tongue ending in a tassel which bends to the left.<sup>1</sup> Thin plain line below. To left, thick corded line, from which a tongue or thin curved leaf projects to the right near the top; the other end of this object marks

<sup>1</sup> I do not feel certain whether this is intended for a tassel or for a rosette, as in the drawing.

the end of a diagonal bead-row, and the head of a small animal is visible in the space thus enclosed. To right, remains of large medallion with double frame. Vertical bead-row in centre ending above in small bobbin (not so large as Déch., 1111). No exact parallels known to me; might possibly be East-Gaulish (?).

3 (M. 22). Similar fragment. Broad ovolo with tongue ending in tassel or "blob"; row of "beads and reels" alternately below. To left, remains of large medallion; in centre, between two vertical bead-rows ending above in rosettes-of-nine, stooping figure of Venus, Déch., 181, *cf. Cannstatt*, Pl. xv, Nos. 1, 2; Fölzer, *op. cit.*, p. 69, Fig. 5, No. 7. The characteristic bead-row below the ovolo, of which an example was also found on a fragment from the Fort (Pl. xix, No. 17, above), occurs on several of the fragments illustrated by Fr. Fölzer, *loc. cit.*, which are all signed by the Lezoux potter *Ce(n)sorinus*, including that with the Venus, as here. This, then, may be likewise ascribed to him.<sup>1</sup>

4 (M. 27). Similar fragment; good red glaze, but worn mould. Ovolo widely spaced with small tongue ending in tiny loop. Wavy line below. Large medallion with double frame, containing giant with oar over right shoulder, and his legs ending in fishes' tails. Apparently Déch., 16, *cf. Carlisle Pottery*, 67, 68. Traces of bead-row on right and uncertain object on left. Probably of Lezoux origin, though this type reversed (Déch., 17) is connected by Knorr, *Rottenburg*, Pl. xviii, No. 4, with *Cerialis* and *Reginus* of Westerndorf.

5 (M. 56). Similar fragment; deep-red glaze, somewhat perished. Ovolo with tongue ending in tassel or "blob," with no line below. To left, remains of large double-framed medallion; to right, leaf, not in Déch., but resembling *Cannstatt*, Pl. xx, No. 1, Pl. xlv, No. 2, both attributed to Rheinzabern.

6 (M. 20). Large fragment from side of a bowl of large diameter; brownish-red glaze, somewhat perished, worn mould. Decoration in medallions and divided panels: on left, tall female figure, presumably a Caryatid (not quite Déch., 655a), with remains of bead-row framing half-panel on extreme left. In centre, above, small double-framed medallion containing couchant deer to left, Déch., 879; below, erotic group, of which the figure on left resembles *Cannstatt*, Pl. v, No. 7; that on right is not known to me elsewhere, though the attitude resembles that on the right on the same fragment; below them possibly a mask face upwards, as on Pl. xvii, No. 9,

<sup>1</sup> Date: "Trajan-Hadrian," Oswald-Pryce, p. 108. The similar bead-row used by *Cobnertus* has (always?) the

"reels" more elongated than those of *Censorinus*.



above. On right, above, horse galloping to right, probably Déch., 902, in large demi-medallion, with acanthus leaf below; in lower half-panel, similar horse and numerous acanthus leaves, also a small uncertain object. These leaves are not in Déch., but are like a degenerate form of those used by *Cinnamus* and his circle, *cf. Rottweil* (1907), Pl. xx, Nos. 11, 14. The panels are divided by bead-rows, of which the right hand of the two vertical ones terminates below in a rosette. The central group is suggestive of the circle of *Sacer* (Lezoux, early second century), but the large size of the bowl and the poor state of the moulds suggest the middle of the second century as the earliest possible date for it.

7 (M. 28). Fragment from near rim. Largish ovolo with plain broad tongue; plain line below. To left, remains of standing figure, perhaps Déch., 514. In centre, bead-row ending above in small knob or rosette. To right, in double-framed medallion, draped dancing figure with right raised, Déch., 220, *cf. Newstead*, p. 225, No. 5; p. 227, No. 6, the former signed by *Cinnamus* (Form 30); the same figure recurs below, No. 13 on this Plate.

8 (M. 30). Similar fragment. Large ovolo with plain broad tongue; corded line below. To left, remains of vertical bead-row (or corded line?). To right, in double-framed medallion, leaf, resembling Déch., 1144. Surface rubbed.

9 (M. 57). Small fragment. To left, remains of figure of Venus with hands to breasts, probably Déch., 185. In centre, wavy line ending above in a small leaf, as on *Cannstatt*, Pl. xxiv, No. 1, signed by *Cobnertus* (though this is a bead-row). To right, remains of large double-framed medallion, contents doubtful.

10 (M. 42). Small fragment; dull red glaze. To left, traces of foliage, perhaps belonging to a composite ornament. In centre, a bead-row. To right, remains of double-framed medallion containing figure seated left holding flute, which bears suspicious resemblance to a bottle, in his left.<sup>1</sup> Not known to me elsewhere.

11 (M. 52). Small fragment from near rim. Largish ovolo with groove above and plain tongue; plain line below. To left, head of female figure in small double-framed medallion, or archway. To right, doubtful.

12 (M. 33). Fragment from near rim; poor dull glaze. Large ovolo with two grooves above and broad tongue thickened at end set to left of centre; bead-row below. To left, remains of oblique bead-row. To right, large double-framed medallion containing

<sup>1</sup> This might possibly be foot and leg of a kneeling or running figure.

running figure with head turned back and right hand extended backwards, as Déch., 359 (but larger); bunch of grapes in field, as Déch., 1120. [For a similar figure and bunch of grapes *cf.* Chesters Museum, No. 2261. Probably period of *Cinnamus*, or even later.

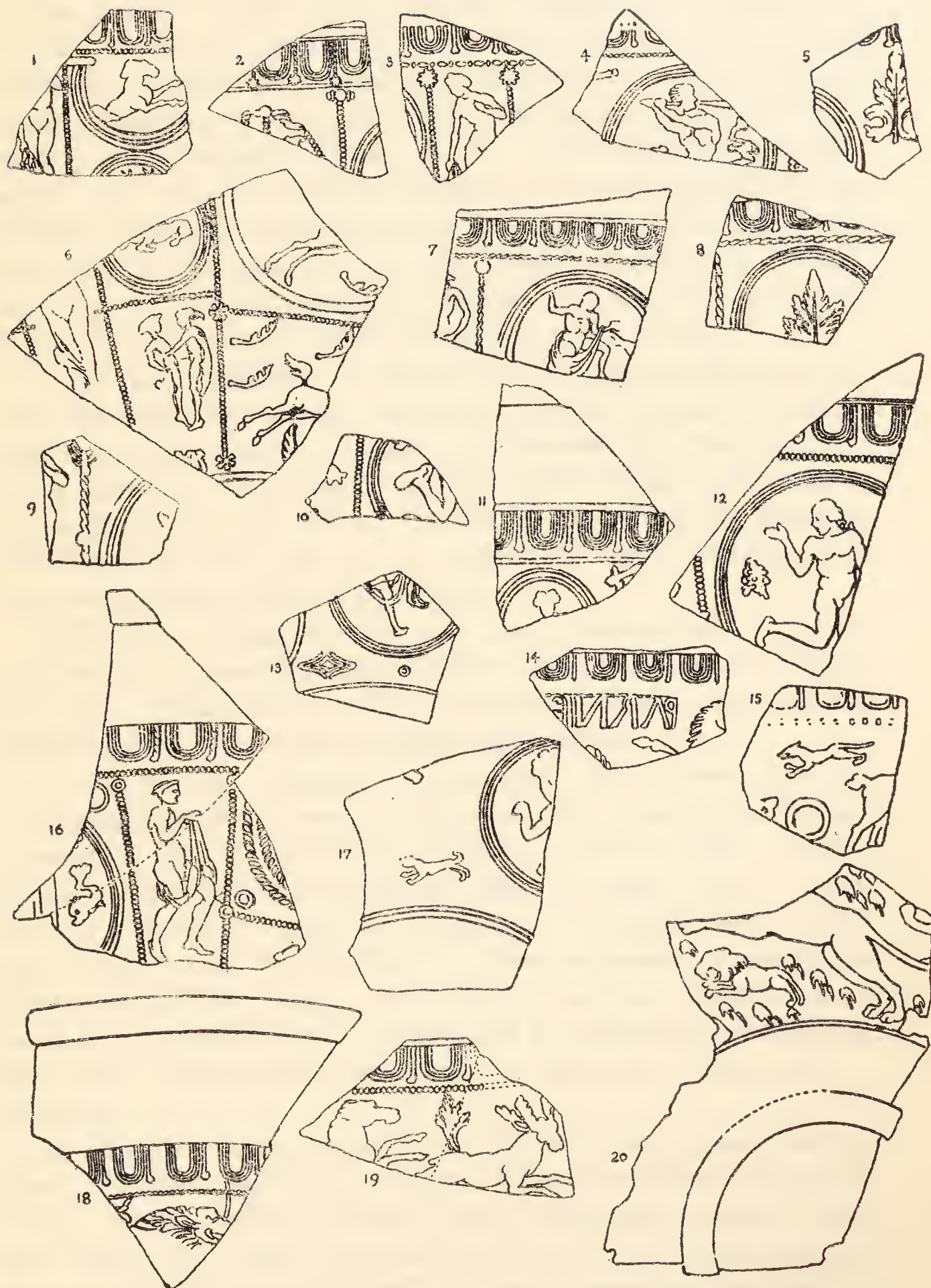
13 (M. 29). Small fragment from near base. To left, remains of *rinceanu*. To right, in small double-framed medallion, lower part of draped figure dancing, as on No. 7, above. Below, in field, double lozenge and small ring.

14 (M. 21). Small fragment from near rim; deep-red, rather dull glaze, partly perished. Ovolo with plain tongue set to left of centre. Above, signature of *Paternus*, for which see below. To right, remains of horse to left with head turned back, perhaps Déch., 906a. *Paternus* is known to have used several different types of decoration, though perhaps he was most partial to the "free" style, as here. Of five of his bowls, whole or fragmentary, in the British Museum, Nos. M67 and M1463 are in the "free" style, M43 in large scroll, and M1151 and M1157 in panels. The example from Silchester is in panels (*S.P.*, Pl. xxvi, No. 56), and on that at Chesters is a large scroll (No. 2376). Upwards of 100 signed fragments of his bowls are tabulated by Déchelette, i, p. 289, No. 240, and his list does not include all the British specimens. To May's list, *Silchester Pottery*, p. 245, add York, where there are at least four signed fragments, and *cf.* Pl. xxiv, No. 8, above.

15 (M. 55). Small fragment from near rim; surface rubbed and glaze perished. Ovolo with plain tongue, as on preceding No., and bead-row faintly visible below. "Free" style. Above, dog to left, apparently Déch., 919 (reversed). Below, to right hind-quarters of stag, as Déch., 856 (larger scale); to left, commencement of retrograde signature OF[ATTI?], *cf.* Déch., i, p. 252, No. 22.

16 (M. 70). (Presented by Mr. J. Douglas, 1919; found in digging foundations of shop on west side of Bridge Street, presumably about 50–70 yards outside south rampart of Fort.) Fragment of rim and side, broken through; light-red glaze, in perfect preservation, and crisp impression. Largish wide ovolo with plain tongue, spaced to left of centre, and bead-row below. To left, in double-framed medallion, pair of intertwined dolphins, probably Déch., 1069a (part), the rest missing; plain ring above in field. In centre, in panel formed by two vertical bead-rows ending above in small rings, dancing figure to right, Déch., 372 *bis*; *B.M. Pottery*, M1341; *Newstead*, Pl. xlv. To right, in upper half-panel demi-medallion formed of a double wreath, as *Rottweil* (1907), Pl. xx, No. 14, Pl. xxvi, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and plain ring in field below; in lower half-panel,





TERRA SIGILLATA IN ILKLEY MUSEUM (IV)  
(CENTRAL GAULISH)

(Scale 2:5)

*Facing p. 242]*





uncertain object. All the features of the decoration are typical of the style of *Cinnamus*, e.g. plain ring in field, *B.M. Pottery*, M1127, 1355, 1358; *Rottweil* (1907), Pl. xx, Nos. 2, 15 (all on fragments signed by this potter); small rings at top and intersection of bead-rows, *ibid.*, Pl. xx, No. 4; the ovolo, *ibid.*, Pl. xx, No. 1. Thus we may confidently ascribe this fragment to *Cinnamus*, one of the Lezoux potters whose wares are particularly well known on British sites; see May's list, *Silchester Pottery*, p. 213. His exact date is still in dispute, but that he was still working after 140 is proved by the frequent occurrence of his wares on the Antonine Wall, and in the later levels at Newstead, *N.*, p. 228; Knorr's dating (A.D. 90-130, and 100-150, *Rottweil* (1907), pp. 44, 59; *ibid.* (1912), p. 50) seems to be distinctly too early for the beginning of his activity.

17 (M. 34). Fragment from near base; glaze badly perished. Plain line and groove below. To right, in double-framed medallion, Cupid with bow running to right, as *Cannstatt*, Pl. xliii, Nos. 2, 5 (latter signed by *Peregrinus*). In field to left, small dog running to left, as *op. cit.*, Pl. xliii, No. 4. Similar figure and dog also found on *Rottenburg*, Pl. xix, Nos. 10, 11, connected with *Comitalis*. In any case probably Rheinzabern fabric.

18 (M. 54). Fragment with rim; good lustrous dark-red glaze. Ovolo with plain tongue thickened below set to left of centre. Wavy line below. Head of lion to right, apparently Déch., 741, and fine blades of grass, one of which reaches up to ovolo.

19 (M. 26+61). Fragment from near rim, broken through; deep-red glaze, almost matt. Wide ovolo with plain tongue ending in tassel or "blob," and bead-row below. ["Free" style. To left, forepart of horse to right, probably ridden, as Déch., 156; cf. *Newstead*, p. 225, Fig. 7, signed by *Cinnamus*. To right, deer to right, Déch., 852, cf. *Isca*, Pl. xiii, No. 2. Above, ornament resembling a sheaf of corn, Déch., 1145. The same deer and corn-sheaf are combined in a medallion on a bowl signed by *Cinnamus* at Chesters, No. 2268. This should accordingly be assigned to him also, cf. above, No. 16.

20 (M. 53). Large fragment of side and base; good deep-red glaze. Ancient rivet-hole on right. Plain line below decoration. "Free" style. Above, lion with curly tail to left, rampant, probably Déch., 766; below, lion-cub, Déch., 775 (?). Small stones or plants sprinkled about in field. Closely resembles the style of *Carlisle Pottery*, 86, where the same large lion and stones (?) recur on a "free" style bowl. Perhaps to be ascribed to the circle of *Eppillus*, with whom the lion is associated, of Lezoux.

*Central Gaulish (continued), East Gaulish, and German.*

## Plate xxvi.

1 (M. 84). Fragment from below rim; surface rubbed and glaze lost. Ovolo rather square and closely spaced, with tongue thickened at end. In plain double medallion, head of deer to right, or perhaps sea-stag (as Déch., 37). Two plain rings in field above the medallion. Bead-row on right seems to resemble that on Pl. xxv, No. 3. Probably Lezoux ware.

2 (M. 82). Small fragment, badly chipped. Two small leaves on slender stalks, reminiscent of the style of *Janu(arius)*, cf. especially Fölzer, Pl. ii, No. 10 (a sherd from La Madeleine), and *Rottenburg*, Pl. xiii, Nos. 4, 6, etc. For a signed bowl by this potter see below, No. 13. East-Gaulish ware.

3 (M. 75). Small fragment from below rim; glaze rather perished. Large ovolo with tongue ending in "blob," and bead-row below. Remains of large double medallion, and acanthus-leaf (?) in field to right.

4 (M. 86). Small flake from side; glaze perished. Remains of a sycamore-leaf, not quite as Déch., 1168.

5 (M. 73). Large fragment from below rim. (Found in 1887 at Wells Promenade, Ilkley, several hundred yards up the hill above the Fort; presented by Mr. P. Jefferson.) Surface badly scratched and rubbed, and glaze badly destroyed. Large ovolo with tongue thickened below and set close to *ova* on right. Decoration in panels and divided panels: to left, demi-medallion in which is a dog to right (type doubtful), and a plain ring in field below on right; contents of lower half-panel missing. In panel to right, lioness (or pantheress?) to left, rampant, with head turned back. This is apparently a type originating at Lezoux (cf. Déch., 793) but frequently used by *Janu(arius)*, as on *Rottenburg*, Pl. xii, Nos. 3, 5, 10, Pl. xiv, No. 8. Probably Lezoux ware.

6 (M. 78). Small fragment from below rim; dull red glaze. Ovolo as preceding, with bead-row below. Remains of large single medallion containing head of bearded figure to left, perhaps either Hercules (Déch., 449a) or Vulcan, as on *Rottenburg*, Pl. xiv, No. 11, where it is stated to be particularly common at Westerndorf. This, however, seems like Lezoux ware.

7 (M. 81). Small fragment from near base; glaze poor and badly damaged. Part of lower frieze of widely spaced chevrons with ends curved, as *Cannstatt*, Pl. xv, No. 5; *Rottenburg*, Pl. iii, No. 3. Resembles South-Gaulish.



8 (M. 87). Minute fragment; dull red glaze, sharp impression. Small animal rampant to left, and faint remains of a bud to left of it.

9 (M. 88). Minute fragment; dull red glaze, sharp impression, not from the same bowl as the preceding. To left, remains of tendril with long sword-like bud; to right, uncertain object like a post with a downward projection on left, which baffles identification.

10 (M. 85). Small fragment from near base; good dark-red glaze. To left, remains of large double medallion with an ornament below it resembling those on the *Severus* bowl (above, p. 205); in the centre is a vertical bead-row, and on the right the bottom of a conventional plant, perhaps as *Rottweil* (1907), Pl. xx, No. 11.

11 (M. 83). Fragment of base and side; bright-red glaze, somewhat perished. Remains of vertical bead-rows ending in rosettes below, between which is a row of four plain rings flanked with a lozenge at each end. For the latter compare Pl. xxv, No. 13, above, and for similar groups of rings, Pl. xxiii B, No. 2, above, and *Cannstatt*, Pl. viii, Nos. 6, 7. Perhaps Central-Gaulish ware.

12 (M. 90). Fragment of rim and side. (Found "near Castle Hill," and presented by the Exors. of the late C. T. Whitmell, Esq., H.M.I.) Good light-red glaze, thin fabric; from a bowl of large diameter. The ovolo is roughly semi-circular, and has no tongue; the blank space above it is exceptionally wide (nearly 2 inches), and immediately above the ovolo are three parallel grooves. Corded line below. All that remains of the decoration is a small leaf and the extremity of another, more pointed.

East-Gaulish ware, apparently from the workshop of *Alpinus*, who worked at Trier. For the typical ovolo without tongue, in combination with the triple groove above, *cf.* Fölzer, *op. cit.*, pp. 75 ff., and Pl. xx, Nos. 1, 3, 4, 6, 10, 13, 18, of which Nos. 3, 6, 13, 18 have also the corded line below. For the leaf, *op. cit.*, Pl. xx, Nos. 12, 19; Pl. xxxi, Nos. 769, 770.

13 (M. 35a, b). Two conjoined fragments giving nearly one-third of the rim and a portion of the side; and a small fragment from near the base, which clearly belongs to the same bowl; light-red glaze, rather damaged, and the small piece discoloured by fire. Ovolo rather rough with narrow tongue thickened below, springing from near left side of *ova*. Corded line below. Decoration in mixed style, with free animals, leaves in medallions, and bead-rows from which spring leaves in pairs. On left, remains of signature [IAN]VF (= *Janu(arius) f(ecit)*), and below it head of a quadruped which looks like the lion on Fölzer, *op. cit.*, Pl. i, No. 27, a fragment of a mould found at La Madeleine which is clearly the work of *Janu(arius)*.

Then comes a double-leaf on a slender stem, as *Rottenburg*, Pl. xi, No. 4; Pl. xii, No. 5; Pl. xiii, No. 20, which seems an adaptation from a motive of the *Satto-Saturninus* group (*cf.* Fölzer, *op. cit.*, Pl. xxvi, No. 239; Pl. xxvii, No. 269). The sycamore leaf in the corded medallion, in which it seems to hang by a double cord, is not one of his more usual motives, though he uses a corded medallion on *Rottenburg*, Pl. x, No. 4; Pl. xiii, No. 3, and one built up of square beads, *ibid.*, Pl. xiii, Nos. 17, 18. Then comes a typical corded line ending in a rosette above and broken by one in the middle, as on *Rottenburg*, Pl. x, No. 10; Pl. xi, Nos. 1, 2, 3; Pl. xiv, No. 13, from which springs to right another double-leaf; *cf. ibid.*, Pl. xv, No. 5, for a different shaped leaf springing from the rosette at the end of a bead-row.

The small fragment from the base has, above, part of the body of an animal springing to right, apparently not that of which the head appears on the main fragment, and a row of flowers on short stalks springing up from the groove which bounds the design below, for which *cf. Rottenburg*, Pl. xi, No. 1; Fölzer, *op. cit.*, Pl. ii, No. 19.

Fraulein Fölzer has definitely established that this potter worked at La Madeleine before proceeding to Heiligenberg and Rheinzabern (*op. cit.*, pp. 13 ff.), and his activities in East Gaul apparently coincide with the early years of Hadrian. It seems also certain that his signature is abbreviated for *Janu(arius)*, and thus that we must discard the name *Janus* by which Knorr and others refer to him (*Rottenburg*, etc., *passim*). This bowl would seem to belong rather to his German than to his East-Gaulish period, and probably to Heiligenberg. Other signed bowls or fragments of his are found occasionally in Britain, *cf. B.M. Pottery*, 1156 (not 456 as in Index), in the Museum at Chesters (Cilurnum), Nos. 177, 2248, 2250 (one of these, or a fourth example (?) from Nether Denton), York (*C.I.L.*, vii, 1337, 38),<sup>1</sup> and Corbridge.

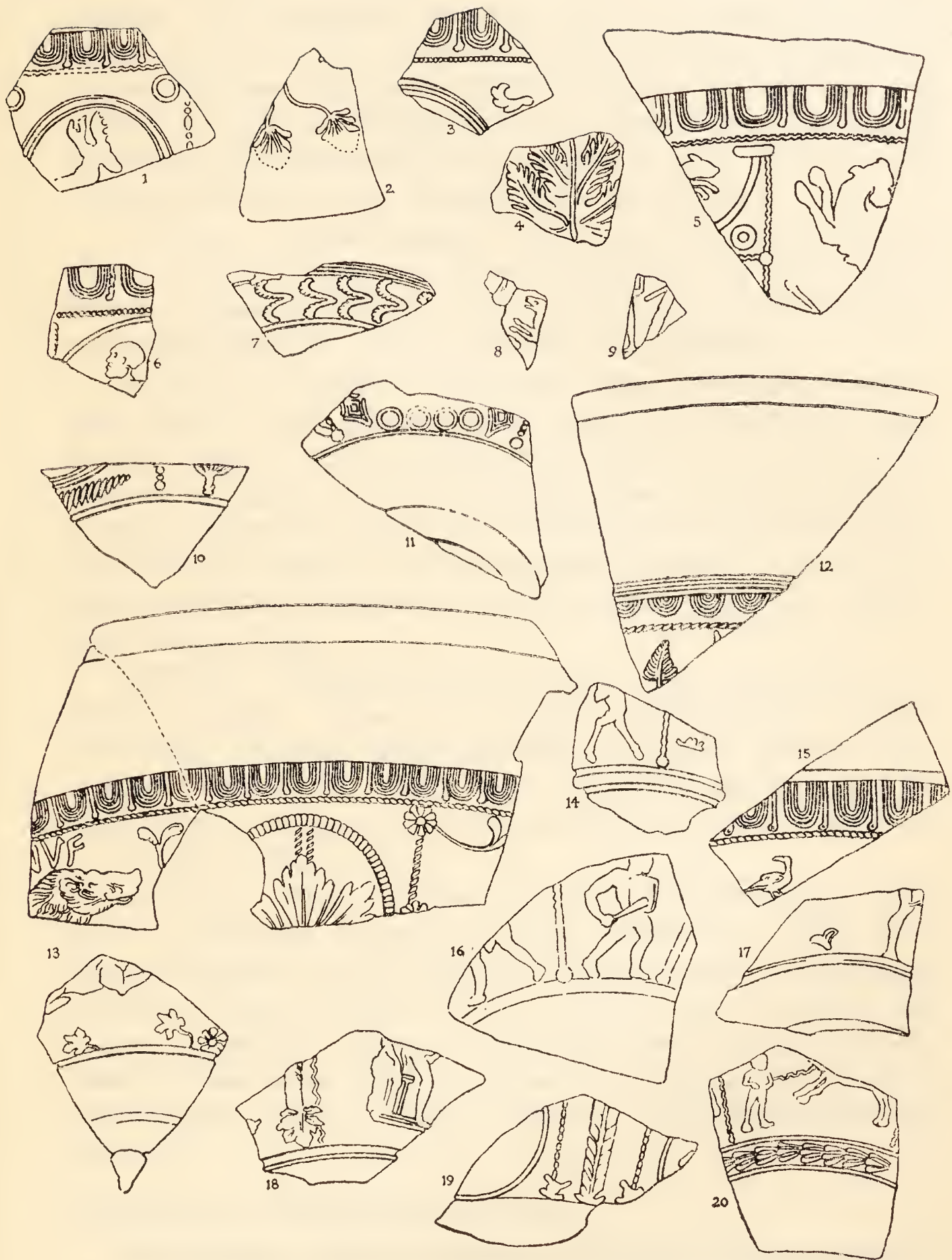
Note also the ×-shaped rivet-holes showing that this bowl was broken and mended in Roman times.

14 (M. 76). Small flake from near base; glaze perished. Two plain grooves below decoration. To left, legs of Pan standing to right, perhaps as *Rottenburg*, Pl. xii, No. 11 (by *Janu(arius)*); then a vertical bead-row, and to right an uncertain ornament.

15 (M. 79). Small fragment from near rim; good light-red glaze. Tall ovolo with tongue ending in rounded prong, and corded line below. Bird to right with head turned back, as *Rottenburg*, Pl. xiii, No. 1 (style of *Janu(arius)*).

<sup>1</sup> Not described in T. May's *Catalogue*, but on page 7 he cites *Janus (sic)* as a Lezoux potter whose stamp is represented there.





TERRA SIGILLATA IN ILKLEY MUSEUM (V)  
(EAST GAULISH, ETC.)

(Scale 2:5)





16 (M. 77). Fragment from side; orange-red glaze, but surface much perished. Decoration of gladiators separated by plain columns. Cf. *Cannstatt*, Pl. xxxv, Nos. 1, 2 (latter signed by *Reginus*); Pl. xlvi, No. 3; for the columns, *op. cit.*, Pl. xli, No. 6 (style of *Reginus*). For the activities of *Reginus*, who seems to have worked not only at Heiligenberg and Rheinzabern, but also at Kräherwald in Wurtemberg, see *Cannstatt*, p. 41 f.; Forrer, p. 175; *Silchester Pottery*, p. 252; Oswald-Pryce, pp. 60, 121 f.

17 (M. 74). Small fragment from near base; good deep-red glaze. Groove, blundered, below decoration. To right, leg of Pan (?), or possibly a cow (?); to left, in field, small plant-ornament, not unlike Fölzer, Pl. xxv, No. 76 (from La Madeleine).

18 (M. 67). Fragment from near base; brownish-red glaze; thick fabric. Two grooves below decoration. Corded or cross-hatched column resting on small seven-lobed leaf, and zig-zag line adjacent on right. To left of column traces of uncertain object; to right, apparently a male figure, with left leg bare and cloak falling over right leg, seated on a stool resembling an altar. I can find no exact parallel for this figure, or for the column and leaf. Presumably German fabric.

19 (M. 80). Fragment from near base; glaze burnt black, and surface damaged. Decoration in large medallions, whose contents are missing. Between the two medallions is a double column, somewhat as *Cannstatt*, Pl. xxxviii, Nos. 1, 4; Pl. xli, No. 6, flanked by two bead-rows standing on crudely modelled rosettes. Possibly to be ascribed to *Reginus* (?).

20 (M. 72). Fragment from near base; orange-red glaze, thick fabric. Decoration consists of panels divided by zigzag lines. Pigmy standing to right defending himself against a quadruped (possibly a boar, as Fölzer, Pl. xxx, No. 609) with a weapon like a giant corkscrew.<sup>1</sup> Below, a neat three-leaved wreath to left enclosed in plain lines, which is unusual on a German fabric such as this fragment clearly is, though *Cerialis* of Rheinzabern sometimes uses one.<sup>2</sup>

#### *Fragments not Illustrated* (M. 103–121).

The following nineteen fragments, which for various reasons it does not seem worth while to reproduce, may be briefly dismissed.

M. 103–105 are South-Gaulish, the rest mostly Lezoux ware.

<sup>1</sup> Formed with a length of the zig-zag line border-stamp.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Cannstatt*, Pl. xxiii.

M. 103. Base of Form 37, with triple wreath below decoration, almost as on Pl. xxii, No. 1.

M. 104. Fragment of Form 78, with Silenus in archway, as on Pl. xxii, No. 13, and looped stalk to left.

M. 105. Small fragment of Form 37, with remains of tree, perhaps as *Rottweil* (1912), Pl. xiii, No. 21, in style of *Germanus*.

M. 107 and M. 114 have a very small ovolo; M. 109 has tongue of ovolo spaced to left of centre; M. 115 has a corded line below ovolo (perhaps East-Gaulish).

M. 111 and 119, the latter in poor condition, show remains of decoration in large medallions, M. 112 of concentric medallions, and M. 121, besides the remains of a medallion, has an ovolo with tongue spaced to left of centre, and coarse bead-row below. M. 113 has a blundered ovolo with tongue like the last-mentioned piece, and a wavy line below, also traces of an acanthus leaf.

M. 116, 117, 118 are from bases, M. 116 apparently of Form 30, the others of Form 37; M. 118, which is large and coarse, has traces of panel-decoration, with the legs of Pan (?) standing to left. M. 120 is from near the base of a bowl similarly decorated, with the remains of the signature of *Paternus*, as on Pl. xxiv, No. 8, and Pl. xxv, No. 14, above.

#### *Addenda.*

M. 122. Small fragment with rather dull red glaze, rubbed.<sup>1</sup> On left, gladiator with shield and short dagger, standing with legs crossed (Déch., 586); on right, one leg of an uncertain figure; below, forming lower frame of decoration, row of serrated rings between two bead-rows.

M. 123. Small fragment from the lower part of the decoration of a bowl in the "free" style.<sup>2</sup> Above, on left, deer to right (Déch., 852); below, small lion to left (Déch., 753); on right, small horse to left (Déch., 908). All three types used by *Cinnamus*, for whom see above, Pl. xxv, No. 16.

#### *Miscellaneous Decorated Terra Sigillata.*<sup>3</sup>

Of vessels decorated "*en barbotine*" there are four small fragments of bowls of Form 36, one of which is illustrated (Fig. 34, 2); and a large rim-fragment of a bowl with barbotine-decorated flange

<sup>1</sup> Presented by Mr. W. Douglas, of Ilkley, who found it in excavating a cellar under Mr. Dimsdale's shop in The Grove, Ilkley.

<sup>2</sup> Presented by Mr. W. Scott, who found it together with Pl. xxiii A, No. 7, above.

<sup>3</sup> This group of *Sigillata* is discussed more fully above, in connection with the examples found in the Fort.



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like a later development of *Wr. 82*, cf. Oswald-Pryce, Pl. lxxi, No. 14. There are no examples of incised or rouletted decoration in the Museum.

(2) *Plain Forms*.<sup>1</sup>

(a) *Platters, Dishes, etc.* (cf. pp. 218 ff. for those from the site of the Fort).

Form 15/17 (Fig. 34, 1). Four small rim-fragments, and part of one base, with the typical quarter-round moulding. The outward

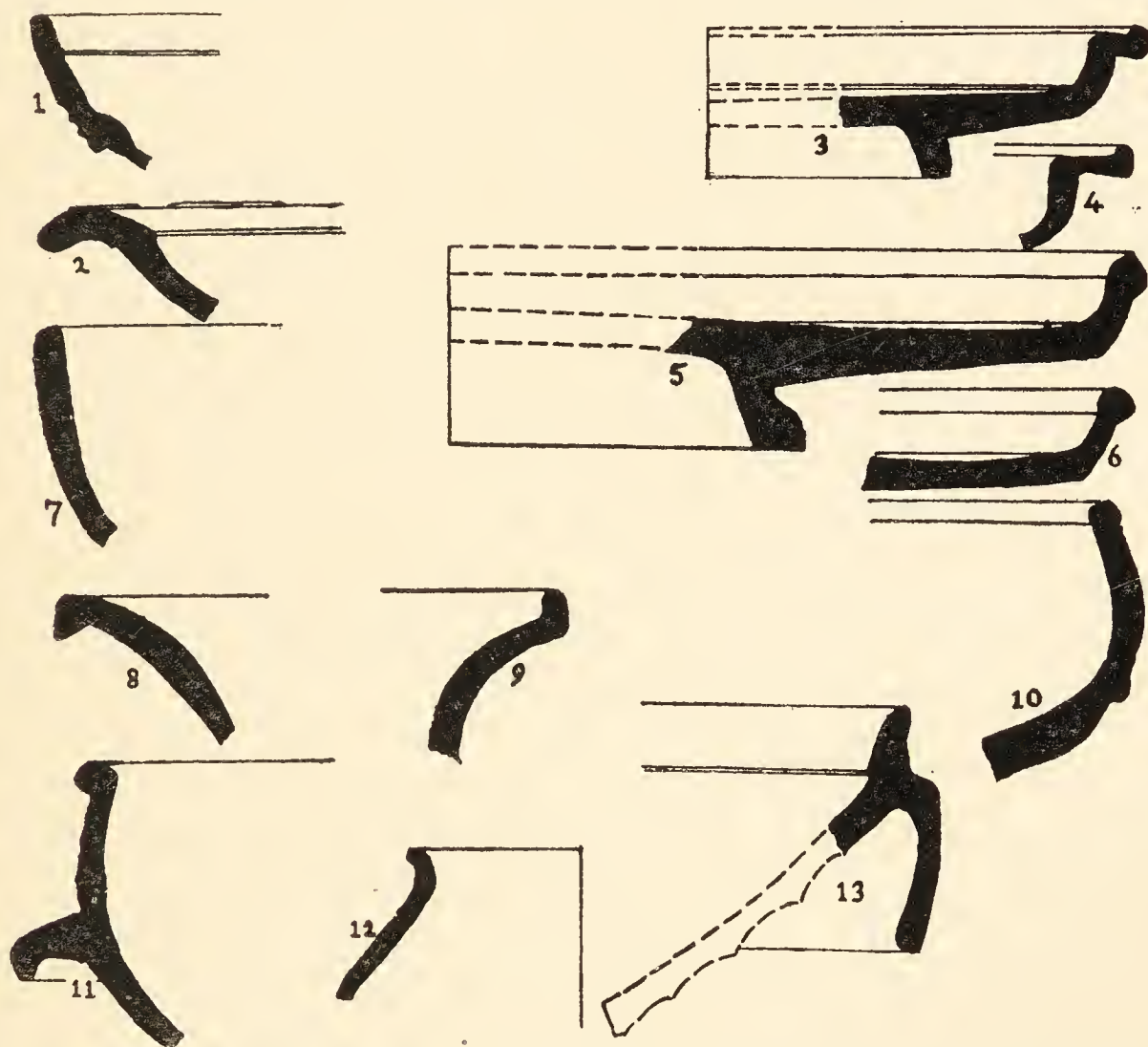


FIG. 34.—ILKLEY MUSEUM. RIM-SECTIONS OF PLAIN TERRA SIGILLATA  
(Scale 2:5)

inclination of the wall of the fragment illustrated suggests a date near the end of the first century.

Form 18. Seventeen rim-fragments and portions of bases from early (first century) forms. The piece stamped with the name of *Calvus* (No. 2) is probably the only stamped piece of this early group.

Form 18/31 and 31. Nearly fifty different examples are represented by fragments, most of which seem to belong to the transi-

<sup>1</sup> This class of *Sigillata* is discussed more fully above, in connection with the examples found in the Fort.

tional form, and there are very few with the high-coned base. Not more than six seem by their glaze to be of East-Gaulish origin. Four stamped bases, of which No. 1 (*Advocisus*) and No. 8 (*Paterclinus*) are alone legible, both on Form 31.

Form 79 (Fig. 34, 5, 6). Two fragments, of which No. 5 has a diameter of about 11 inches; its base should probably be rather flatter than is shown in the drawing. No. 6 was about 6 inches in diameter.

Form "*Ludowici Tg*" (Fig. 34, 3, 4). Two rim-fragments, and probably one from the base, of this type of platter with a narrow horizontal rim upturned at the outer edge, which was not represented among the finds from the Fort. The larger, which includes part of the base, was about 7 inches in diameter, and both in size and profile closely resembles an example from Caerwent, *cf.* Oswald-Pryce, Pl. lxviii, No. 6; for other British specimens see *op. cit.*, p. 202. Though first classified by Ludowici from finds at Rheinzabern, it is also a product of Lezoux. The base with the stamp of *Carus* (No. 3) probably belongs to this type.

(b) *Bowls, Cups, etc.*

Form 27. Fragments of about twelve different cups, of which ten seem definitely of the early type with thin walls, and of smaller dimensions than the other later examples. Two stamped bases, No. 4 (*Firmus*) and No. 15, illegible.

Form 33. Fragments of about 25 different cups, of which the height of the wall where measurable ranges from 2 to 2 $\frac{7}{8}$  inches. Both the thin-walled type with more obliquely set sides and the thicker type with more vertical sides, and of coarser fabric, are represented. Four stamped pieces, Nos. 7 (*Marcus*), No. 9 (*Severianus*), No. 10 (*Vindos*), No. 11 (*Vitalis*), date from the middle and later second century.

Form 32. Two fragments from rims of this wide, shallow bowl, with beadless lip, which was not represented among the finds from the Fort. It seems to have superseded Form 31 in the German *Limes* district towards the end of the second century. Though "pre-eminently a product of the potteries of East Gaul," *cf.* Oswald-Pryce, p. 205 f., and Pl. lxiii, it was also made at Lezoux, whence, to judge by the glaze, our fragments probably came.

Form 40 (?) (Fig. 34, 7). One fragment, broken through, from the rim of a plain hemispherical bowl with beadless lip, and a shallow girth-groove on the outside near the point of fracture. Exact type doubtful, but clearly from a deeper vessel than Form 32.



Form 46 (Fig. 34, 8). One rim-fragment from this type of cup, with concave walls and slightly down-bent rim. The nearest parallels seem to be the specimens from Silchester (*S.P.*, Pl. xxxi, No. 21) and York (*York Pottery*, Pl. v, No. 5), *cf.* Oswald-Pryce, Pl. lv, Nos. 13 and 19, both dated to the Antonine age.

Form "Curle 15" (Fig. 34, 9). One rim-fragment. *Cf.* that from the site of the Fort, p. 222, above.

Form 44 (Fig. 34, 10). One fragment of a bowl with beaded lip and horizontal flange or rib slightly below the line of greatest diameter. Probably of Antonine date, as it resembles the profile of an example from Newstead, of that period (*N.*, Pl. xl, No. 20). No certain specimen was found on the site of the Fort.

Form 38 (Fig. 34, 11). Fragments of seven different bowls of this type. That illustrated is the only one which has rim and flange undamaged; its fine deep-red glaze suggests a Lezoux origin. Two stamped bases, of which No. 5 (*Jucundus*) is probably, and No. 12 (*Uxopillus*) is certainly, to be ascribed to this shape, seem both to be of East-Gaulish ware.

Form 43 (Fig. 34, 13). Fragment from rim of *mortarium* with broad flange vertically down-bent. This type seems of later date than the Antonine levels at Newstead, where it does not occur, and is assigned to the earlier period of the occupation of Niederbieber, which began only in 190. The flange is sometimes, but not on our piece, decorated "*en barbotine*." The outside of the body is restored as fluted horizontally, as is often the case, but owing to the fracture this cannot be confirmed; nor is it certain if the interior was studded with grit, as we should expect. It bears the stamp IVVE[NIS], a Rheinzabern potter (No. 6), whose name I cannot find recorded elsewhere on this form; *cf.* Oswald-Pryce, p. 215, and Pl. lxxiii.

Form 45. Fragments, of which none are worth reproducing, from about ten examples of this type. None preserve the lion-head spout; four are from the rim, three from the base. One has remains of an ancient ×-shaped rivet-hole.

#### (c) *Miscellaneous Shapes.*

Form 72 (Fig. 34, 12). One fragment from rim and side of a plain globular beaker of about 3½ inches diameter, with a fine cord on the shoulder. The example from Niederbieber, Pl. i, No. 24b (=Oswald-Pryce, Pl. lxxvii, No. 6), shows a very similar profile, but has incised decoration. They may well be contemporary, and thus a date about the end of the second century seems indicated as the earliest possible for our piece.

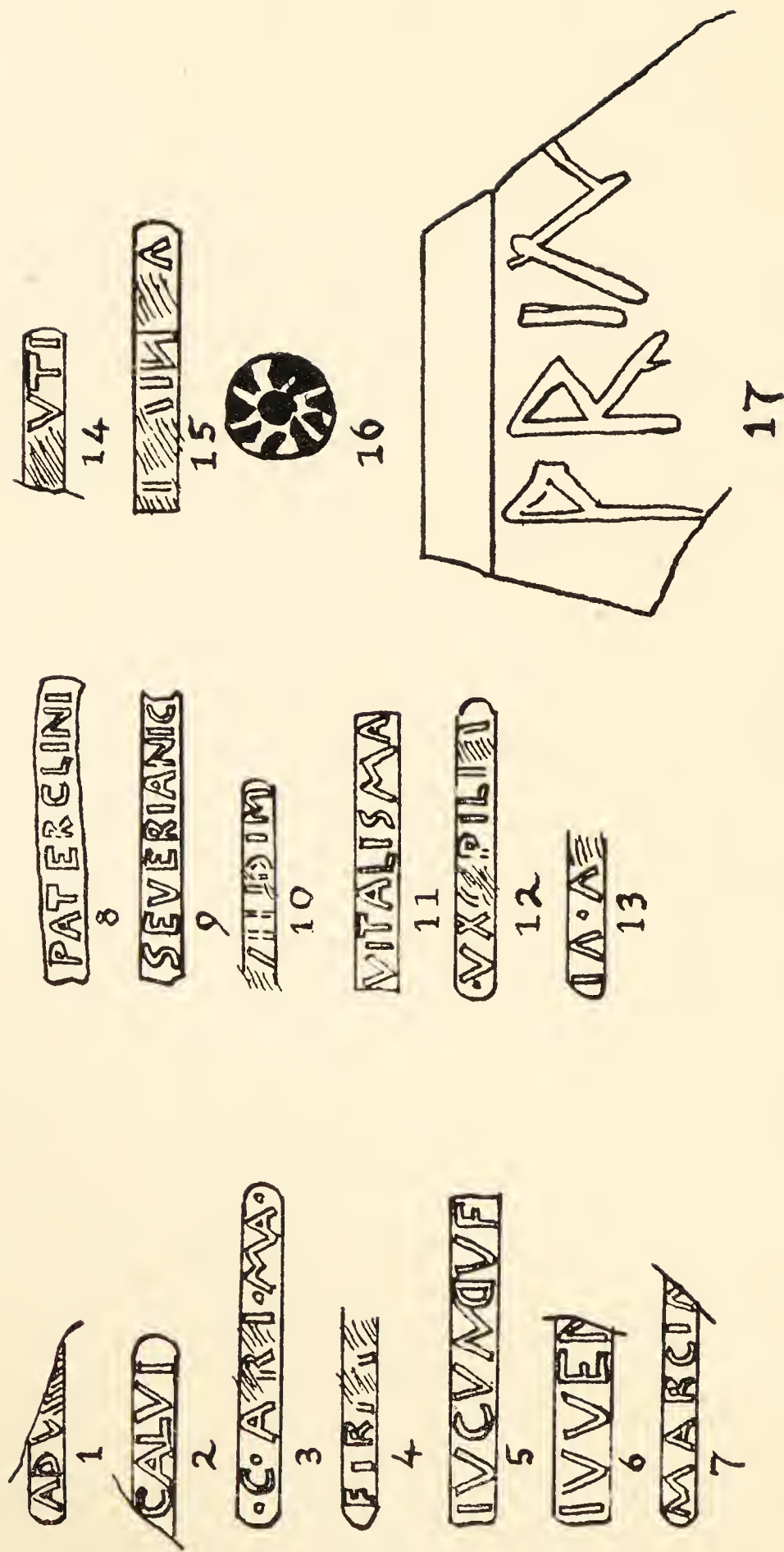


FIG. 35.—ILKLEY MUSEUM. 1-16, STAMPS; 17, GRAFFITO;  
ON PLAIN TERRA SIGILLATA

(Scale 1:1)



*Uncertain.* Three pedestals or foot-rings from vessels of doubtful shape and poor glaze, with diameters of  $1\frac{5}{8}$ , 2, and 2 inches respectively. Possibly from pedestalled beakers, like Oswald-Pryce, Pl. lxxx, of Rheinzabern origin, and presumably of late second or early third century date.

(3) *Stamps on Undecorated Ware.* (Fig. 35.)

1. ADV[OCISI], on Form 31 with coned base. *Advocisus* was a Lezoux potter of the Hadrian-Antonine era, whose wares, plain and decorated alike, are common on British sites. Cf. *C.I.L.*, vii, 1336, 16; 1337, 2; *Carlisle Pottery*, p. 63; *Silchester Pottery*, p. 200; at Corbridge, *Arch. Ael.*<sup>3</sup>, viii (1912), p. 192; xii (1915), p. 277; *Newstead*, pp. 228, 231; *B.M. Pottery*, M 1640, 1748; Oswald-Pryce, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

2. [OF] CALVI, on Form 18 (small fragment). *Calvus*, of La Graufesenque, is to be dated approximately A.D. 60–85, and his plain and decorated wares are not uncommon on British sites. Cf. *C.I.L.*, vii, 1336, 217–9; *Carlisle Pottery*, p. 66; *Silchester Pottery*, p. 209; found also at Camelon, Corbridge, Chester, Cirencester, London (*Archaeologia*, lxvi, 256), Wroxeter (*Report*, ii, p. 33, No. 146), etc. Cf. Knorr, *Töpfer*, etc., Pl. 17; Oswald-Pryce, p. 52.

3. C·ARI·MA·, on base of vessel of uncertain shape; crisp clay and good brownish-red glaze. The surface is somewhat rubbed in the centre of the stamp, but the reading *Cari ma(nu)* seems beyond doubt. This cannot be from the workshop of *Carus* of La Graufesenque, who worked in the period of Claudius and Nero, and is not known to have made plain wares, cf. Knorr, *Töpfer*, etc., p. 37, and Pl. 19, 20; Oswald-Pryce, p. 79. The existence of another later potter of this name must be postulated, perhaps at Lezoux (or Rheinzabern?).

4. FIR[MVS F?], on Form 27. *Firmus* seems to have worked both at Heiligenberg and Rheinzabern; at the latter he is associated with the second period (130–170), cf. Oswald-Pryce, pp. 27, 29, 36, etc. His plain wares are known in Britain at Colchester, Corbridge, London, Newstead, Silchester; cf. *C.I.L.*, vii, 1336, 456 ff.; *B.M. Pottery*, M 2325; *Newstead*, p. 236; *Silchester Pottery*, p. 223.

5. IVCVNDV F (with D reversed), on base of Form 32 or 38 (?). This coarse piece is clearly to be assigned to the later *Jucundus*, who worked at Rheinzabern, cf. Ludowici,<sup>1</sup> iii, 28 (IVCVNDVS FEC); Oswald-Pryce, *op. cit.*, p. 206; and he is to be distinguished from the earlier potter of the same name represented on a fragment from the Fort (p. 225, No. 8).

<sup>1</sup> *Urnengräber römischen Töpfer in Rheinzabern*, 1905–1908.

6. IVVE[NIS FEC (?)] on the flange of a mortarium of Form 43 (*cf.* Fig. 34, No. 13). *Juvenis* is the most likely restoration, though he is not known as having made this particular shape, on which stamps very rarely occur. He made both decorated and plain wares at Rheinzabern in the second period; *cf.* Oswald-Pryce, *op. cit.*, pp. 116, 194, 200, etc.

7. MARCI[M], on base of Form 33. *Marcus* seems to have been the name of more than one potter, of whom the earliest worked in South Gaul, *cf.* Oswald-Pryce, *op. cit.*, p. 82. The *Marcus* from Central Gaul whose name occurs on Form 79 (*Silchester Pottery*, p. 234) is perhaps to be distinguished from the first-named, though Oswald-Pryce identify them (*op. cit.*, p. 199, note 5), as well as from the *Marcus* who worked at Rheinzabern, Ludowici,<sup>1</sup> i, 51; iii, 40. *Cf.* *C.I.L.*, vii, 1336, 636-9, and list in *Silchester Pottery*, *loc. cit.*

8. PATERCLINI, on a fragment of Form 31. *Paterclinus*, a maker of plain wares only, seems to have worked at Lezoux, in the Antonine period. *Cf.* *C.I.L.*, vii, 1336, 791; *B.M. Pottery*, M 1986-7, 2023, 2223; *Silchester Pottery*, p. 244; Oswald-Pryce, p. 204 f.

9. SEVERIANIC, on a fragment of Form 33, with light-red glaze. This variant of his stamp is found also on a cup of the same shape in the Guildhall Museum. *Severianus* is the name of more than one pottery of the later second century, and it is more likely that the one who worked at Lezoux is here concerned.<sup>2</sup> *Cf.* *C.I.L.*, vii, 1336, 1041-2; *Silchester Pottery*, p. 259 f.; Oswald-Pryce, pp. 200, 205, 214 (for the Lezoux potter; and pp. 37, 124, 206, for another man of the name who worked at Rheinzabern and Westerndorf). The form *Severiani O* occurs on pieces (of Lezoux ware) from the Pan Rock Find.<sup>3</sup>

10. Probably VINDIM, on a fragment of Form 33; good ware, but worn stamp. *Vindos* of Lezoux (?) is known also as a maker of decorated bowls, but his stamp is not at all common in Britain. *Cf.* *C.I.L.*, xiii, 10010, 2047; *Silchester Pottery*, p. 267; Oswald-Pryce, p. 125.

11. VITALIS MA, on a fragment of Form 33. Presumably the Rheinzabern potter of this name, *cf.* Ludowici, iii, 77; Oswald-Pryce, p. 204. The same stamp occurs at Corbridge, and at Silchester with the variant Λ for A at the end, *cf.* *Silchester Pottery*, p. 269, where other references are given. Presumably the bowls with stamps reading VITA, OF VITA, OF VITAL are to be ascribed to the South-

<sup>1</sup> *Stempelnamen röm. Töpfer . . . in Rheinzabern, 1901-1904.*

<sup>2</sup> Kindly communicated by Mr. D. Atkinson.

<sup>3</sup> *Cf.* R. A. Smith, *Proc. Soc. Antiq. London*, xxi, 268, 599; xxii, 395 ff.; Oswald-Pryce, p. 45 f.



Gaulish *Vitalis* (" Nero—early Domitian "), Oswald-Pryce, p. 86.

12. VXOPILLI, on a fragment of Form 38 (?). Soft clay, brownish-red glaze, in poor condition. *Uxopillus* is a little-known potter whose wares have been recorded in Britain at Chesters, Colchester, Corbridge, Silchester, and Wroxeter. Cf. *C.I.L.*, vii, 1336, 1222; *Silchester Pottery*, p. 269; *Wroxeter*, i, p. 64, No. 83. To judge by the fabric this may be of East-Gaulish make.

*Uncertain.*

13. IA. A // (or // V. VI (?)), on a fragment of Form 31 with coned base. Unidentifiable.

14. //// VTI, on a fragment of Form 18/31 (?). There is a large choice of names ending in *-utus* or *-utius*, e.g. *Acutus*, *Cornutus*, *Lillutius*, *Minutius*, *Restutus*, *Statutus*, etc., between whom it is impossible to decide (except that *Acutus* is probably too early to be represented at Ilkley, and that not many of these potters generally use a stamp with the genitive case).

15. //I /// IIV /// Δ, on a nearly complete example of Form 27, of small size and good ware, but the stamp is lightly and incompletely impressed. About nine letters, presumably ending with MA.

16. Rosette stamp, on fragment of Form 40 (?) or shallow 27. East-Gaulish, cf. Ludowici, i, 87, 88; *Silchester Pottery*, p. 272, and Pl. lxxxi, D.

17. *Prim*[*i* or *us* ?]. *Graffito* on fragment of Form 37 below rim; presumably the owner's name.

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## CHAPTER VI.

### THE POTTERY (*continued*).

#### I. MISCELLANEOUS DECORATED WARES.

(Other than *Terra Sigillata*.) (Figs. 36–38.)

A considerable number of fragments, mostly small, represented several varieties of colour-coated vessels, and of types with various other forms of ornament, which may be conveniently grouped together. Some of the former must be ascribed to the kilns which produced the well-known " Castor " ware; others are probably to be identified as German wares, with elaborate patterns of roulette-notching on the exterior, and a dark, sometimes metallic-like slip; a few other pieces have a fine steel-grey glaze, on red clay of good quality.

A few pieces have red or brown-painted ornament on white slip, a class of which many British sites have yielded a few examples; this seems to have been a fashion of long duration, but never very popular. A quite exceptional piece of a large jar of grey ware has bands of reddish-purple and light-yellow in pairs, painted directly on its unslipped surface. Of those not colour-coated we may note a solitary example of a frilled cup, represented by a fragment only, and the remains of perhaps eight different vessels with rough-cast ornament. Another form of decoration represented is the scale-pattern found on eight small fragments of "folded beakers," which mostly have the greenish-brown "Castor" glaze and white clay.

Some typical pieces of colour-coated ware are shown on Fig. 36, which illustrates various rim-types and characteristic "Castor" ware with *barbotine* decoration. These beakers have either (1) plain straight lips or slightly concave, sometimes with a shallow horizontal groove within an inch of the mouth (*cf.* Fig. 36, Nos. 1-4 and 9); or (2) lips with simple beading (Nos. 5-8); or (3) a slight flat-topped rim, stepped below (Nos. 10-12). I noted nine of the first type, ten of the second, and eight of the third. No. 8 is of the fine ware with steel-grey glaze, of which barely a dozen pieces occurred in all.

Of pieces with *barbotine*-ornament about twenty were noted, representing perhaps fifteen vessels at least. Nos. 9, 13, and 14 (and one or two not shown) have scanty remains of hounds or other quadrupeds, and may be classed as coming from the "Hunt-cups"; Nos. 10, 11, 15, 16, and 18 have spiral motives, and on others only a row of raised dots has survived. No. 17 is an exceptional piece, with a bearded head in relief, in a fabric resembling "Castor" ware, from the side of a small beaker. Of the bases of these beakers in general, about thirty-five have survived, ranging in diameter from  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches; six are smaller still (*ca.*  $1\frac{1}{8}$  inches), and many seem to have come from the tall-footed type, indicating a later date than those with a more squat profile. Most of them have a greenish-brown or brown-red coating. An incomplete foot, with incised *graffito* inscription, of which RVM proved (to our amusement) the most legible letters, is shown on Figs. 38, No. 4, and 40, No. 7.

Fig. 37 shows some typical rims and other fragments of rough-cast (Nos. 1-3 and 5-11) and roulette-notched ware (Nos. 4, 12, 13). Here, too, it is not easy to restore the exact shapes and so to arrive at even an approximate dating. Probably, however, Nos. 1 and 2, which have a less rounded curve from shoulder to lip, are later than Nos. 3 and 6; the rounded shoulder of the latter, with a horizontal



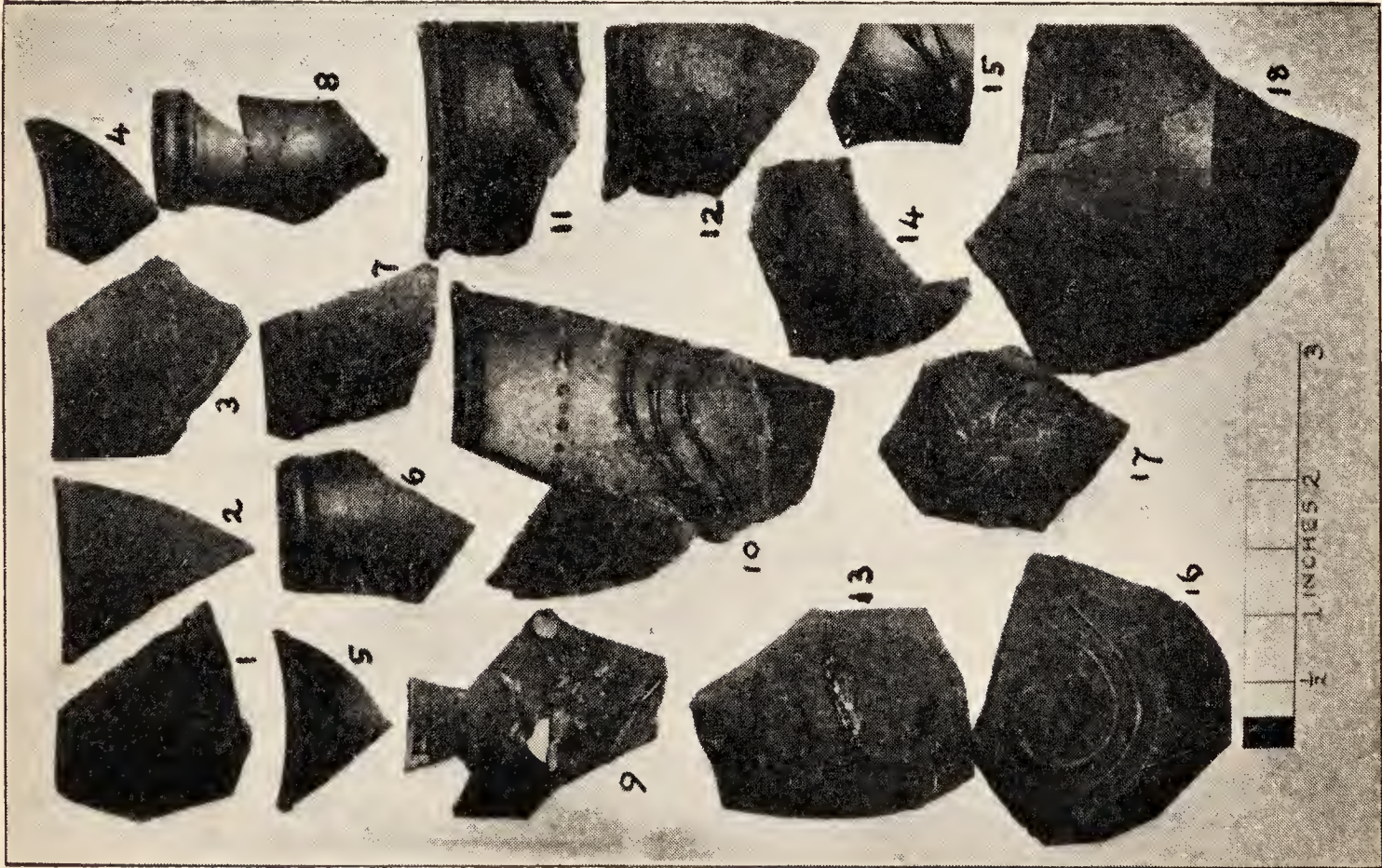


FIG. 36.—FRAGMENTS OF 'CASTOR' WARE

(Scale 7:16)

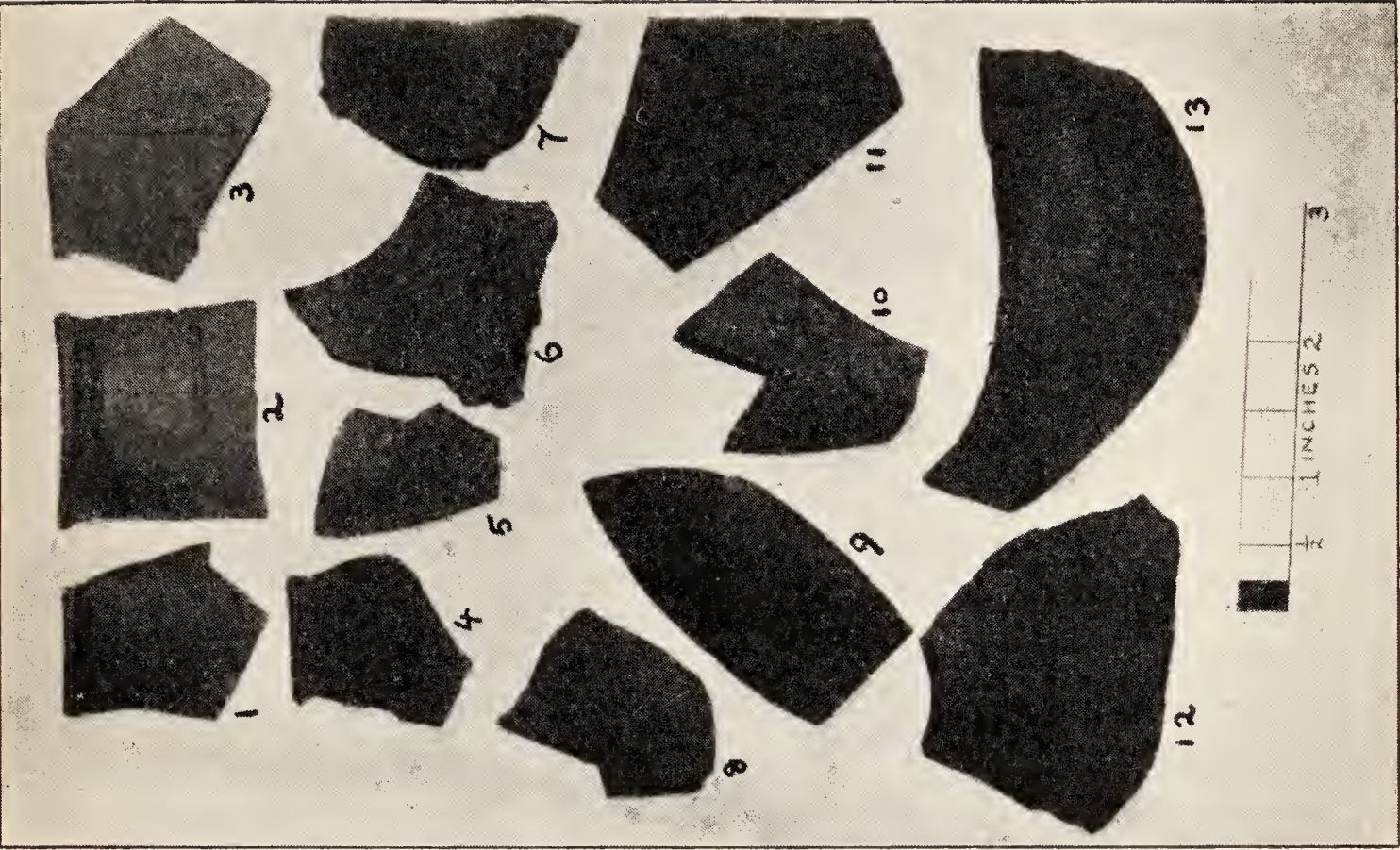


FIG. 37.—FRAGMENTS OF 'ROUGH-CAST' WARE, ETC.







groove below which the rough-casting begins, suggests a date not later than Hadrian.

This rough-cast class, which is found both in first and second-century deposits, but seldom, if ever, in those of the third, includes types with either plain or "folded" ("indented" or "thumbed") sides.<sup>1</sup> To the latter shape belong Nos. 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, all of brown clay with slip of the same tint; No. 9 is an exceptional piece, with a curve suggesting a larger vessel, rough-cast, but also covered with the greenish-brown "Castor" slip.

Of the roulette-notched pieces, which were about as numerous as those with *barbotine*-decoration, most were too small to be helpful for purposes of comparison. Of the pieces illustrated, No. 4 with its lip resembling that of No. 1 of the rough-cast type, may be of the Antonine period. Nos. 12 and 13, the former thick, with a raised cordon above the shoulder, and No. 13 of finer ware, with a pronounced carination, are not easy to date, particularly as they came from a confused deposit (the flue in Site IV). The former is a piece for which I cannot quote a close parallel, and the latter is somewhat like *B.M. Pottery*, M2699, 2700, and *Wr.*, i, p. 70 f., No. 9, though these have only a band of this ornament on the shoulder. Our pieces are presumably of German origin, along with some others of our similarly-decorated pieces. Even more clearly of German origin are half-a-dozen small fragments with white-painted patterns on a black or dark slip, usually known as Rhenish ware.<sup>2</sup>

We also found fragments—too small to merit illustrating—from a few folded beakers with scale-pattern, mostly with dark coating, some apparently of "Castor" ware. When complete they probably had profiles like *Carlisle*, 110. The solitary piece of a "frilled" cup, found at a deep level at the east end of Site III, is of fine dull red clay (Fig. 38, No. 1). It has two bands of applied clay frilling at the upper and lower edges of the upper part of the side, below which it curves sharply inwards. This is not a rare class of cup (sometimes described as "incense vases") during the first two centuries of the Empire, and it normally has a pedestalled foot, though the body exhibits many varieties of profile. Those from Balmuildy, for instance, are more like an inverted cone in section, without the marked carination of our piece.<sup>3</sup>

A few pieces showed painted ornament in reddish-brown on a white slip. The best preserved of these is figured below, Fig. 39, 3,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Wr.*, i, p. 75, No. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *B.M. Pottery*, p. xlix f., and M 141 ff. and 2445 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Balm.*, Pl. 1, 23-25; cf. *Slack*, p. 64, and add to the parallels there cited *B.M. Pottery*, M 2750-2756; *Newstead*, p. 252.

and more fully described under *Mortaria*, No.5. No.2 on Fig.38 is from a wall-sided mortarium of late type, with trellis-pattern, and No. 5, *ibid.*, is from a large jug (?) of buff clay, with thin bands of reddish-brown on a white slip. Further examples of this ware, consisting of fragments from wide bowls with spreading sides, are in the Ilkley Museum. A very unusual piece is Fig. 38, No. 3, with light-yellow and reddish-purple bands applied direct on the surface of the side of large jar of grey ware.

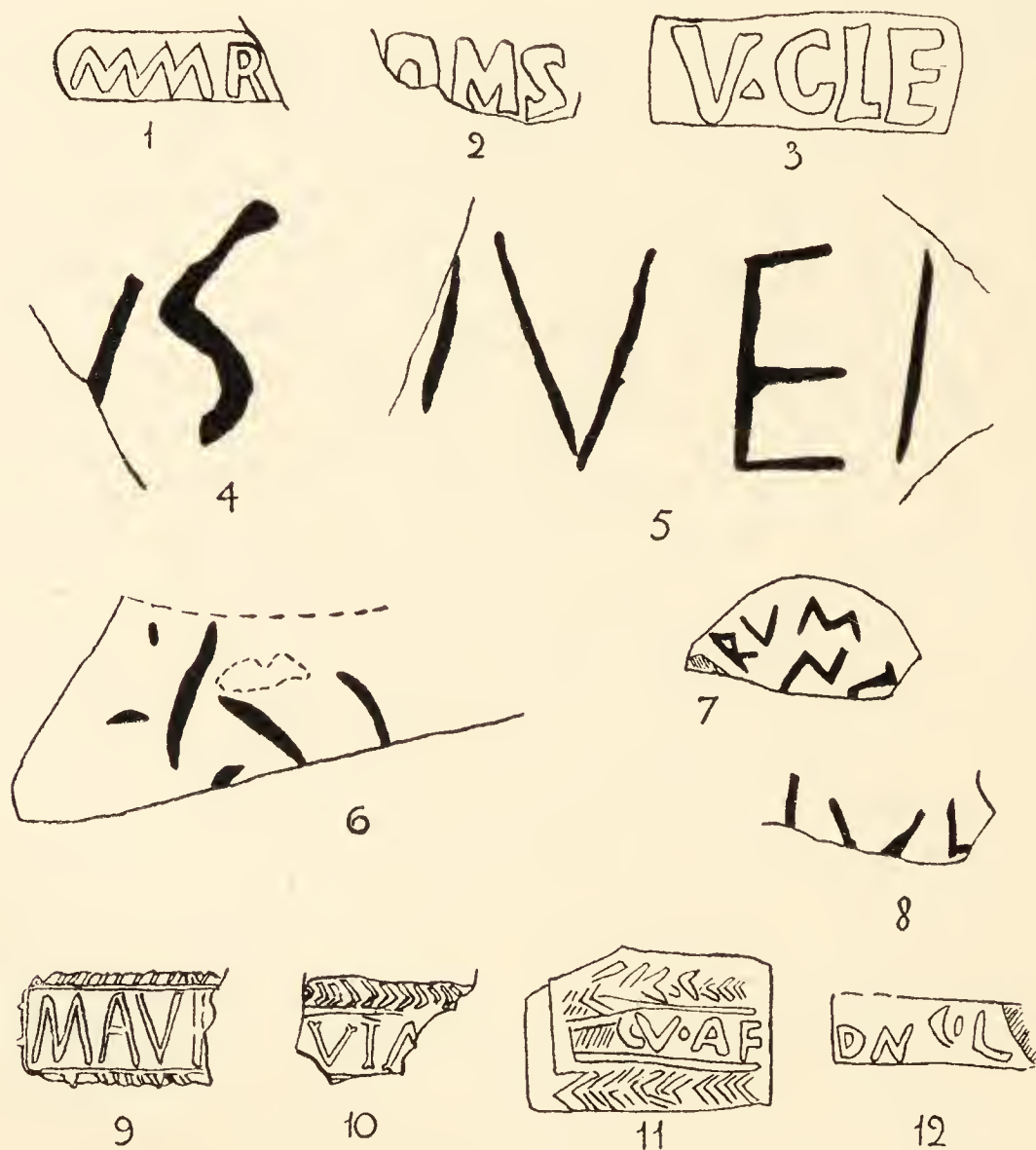


FIG. 40.—1-3, STAMPS ON AMPHORAE; 9-12, STAMPS ON MORTARIA;  
4-6, GRAFFITI „ „ 7, 8, GRAFFITI ON OTHER VESSELS  
(Scale 1:2)

## 2. AMPHORAE. (Fig. 40.)

Fragments of Amphorae of the common type were not numerous among our finds, and apart from a group of pieces found close together at the north-west corner of Site II—perhaps mostly from one vessel—they occurred only sporadically. Amphorae of other ware than the usual coarse buff or brown clay were not represented. Only one piece came from the neck, none from the base; but of the few handle-fragments two bear incomplete stamps, and three pieces



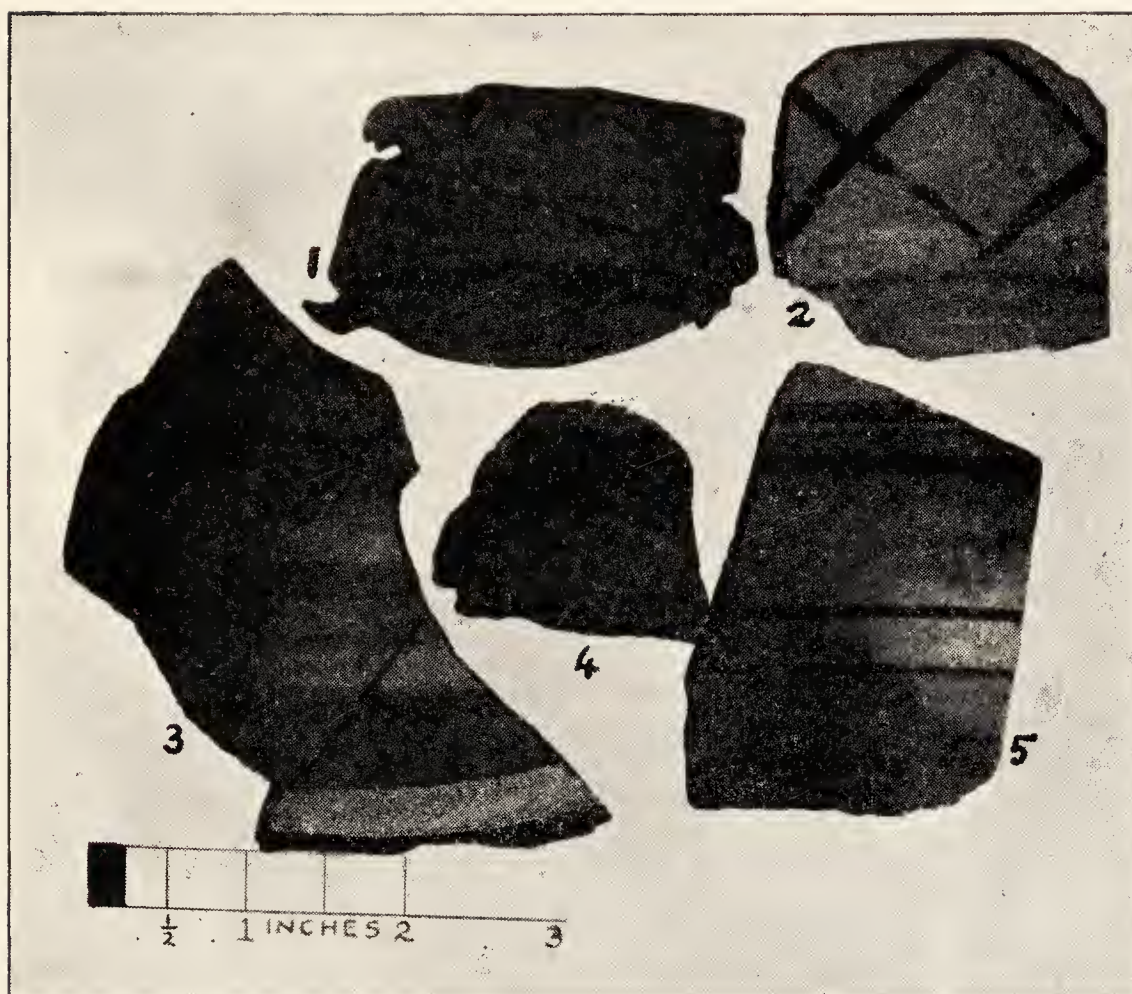


FIG. 38.—1, FRAGMENT OF 'FRILLED' CUP; 2, 3, 5, PAINTED WARE;  
4, BASE OF 'CASTOR' CUP, WITH INCISED INSCRIPTION.  
(Scale *ca.* 1:2)

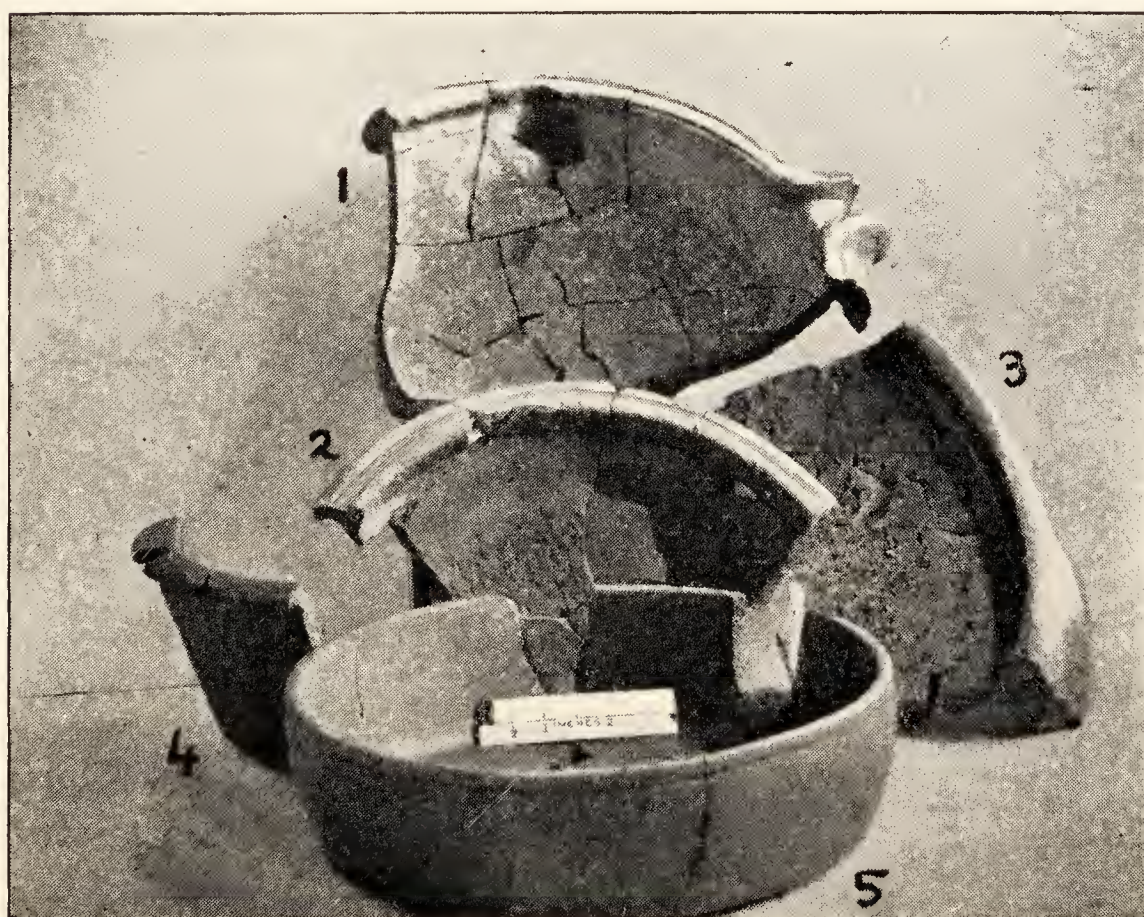


FIG. 39.—1-3, FRAGMENTS OF MORTARIA; 4, 5, FRAGMENTS OF DISHES  
(Scale 1:5)





of sides bear tantalisingly incomplete incised inscriptions. A stamped handle already in the Ilkley Museum is added.

The stamped handles read as follows:

- (1) MMR. Letters in low relief. From north of Site I.
- (2) [D]OMS. Letters in high relief. From Site IV.
- (3) V. GLE. Letters in high relief. In the Museum.

No. 1 is not to be traced elsewhere. No. 2, of which the restoration is almost certain, gives us a stamp rare in Britain,<sup>1</sup> but well known in East Gaul and Germany.<sup>2</sup> Examples from the Monte Testaccio at Rome, bearing also the names of consuls, show that this stamp is to be dated to the middle of the second century.<sup>3</sup> No. 3 seems identical with one from Rome, which, however, lacks the stop.<sup>4</sup>

The three inscribed pieces (Figs. 40, 4-6) read as follows:

- (1) IS. From surface-earth above large hypocaust at south-west of Site I.
- (2) IVEI (?). From outside the west end of Site II.
- (3) ?? From east end of Site III. Quite hopeless; apparently two stops followed by a very doubtful κ (the upper oblique stroke, if it existed, is lost owing to injury of the surface) and v (?).

### 3. MORTARIA. (Pl. xxix.)

The number of mortaria found in the excavations does not exceed sixty, and many of these are represented by small fragments, often in a badly-damaged condition. The proportion of pieces which may be confidently ascribed to the first fifty years of the occupation of the site is very small; and there is only one, unluckily too much injured to warrant reproduction, which is typical of first and early second-century wares, by its fabric of soft, creamy-buff clay, and its wide flat rim, with small raised bead near its inner edge, and by the presence of particles of grit extending from the bowl on to the rim. It is worth recording that in the Ilkley museum are four large pieces of rims of this type, one of which bears a stamp (Fig. 40, No. 11, and Stamp No. 3, below).

The great majority of our mortaria belong accordingly to the later stages in the history of the site. Twenty-three specimens of rim-types are reproduced (Pl. xxix), and represent alike the best-preserved and the most interesting examples. To these should be

<sup>1</sup> *C.I.L.*, vii, 1331, 43a; *Corbridge* (1908), p. 114, No. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *C.I.L.*, xiii, 3, 10002, 183 (11 examples); in addition it occurs at Cannstatt, Knorr, *Kastell Cannstatt*, p. 74, Pl. xi, 3;

at Stockstadt, *O.R.L.* (s.v.), p. 118, Pl. xx, 3; and Zugmantel, *Saalburg-Jahrbuch*, 1911, p. 46, Fig. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *C.I.L.*, xv, 2, 2800b.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 3234.

added two partly-reconstructed pieces shown on Fig. 39, 1 and 2, together with a large portion, put together from many fragments, of the mortarium No. 5 in our list of rims. Much uncertainty still prevails as to the exact dating of mortaria-types in the second, third, and fourth centuries, in spite of important contributions by Messrs. Simpson, Bushe-Fox, Collingwood, and Miller. The last-named, in his valuable discussion of the Balmuildy types,<sup>1</sup> shows us the wide range in use during the Antonine period on the Scottish wall, and enables us to claim a corresponding date for Nos. 1, 3, and 4 of our pieces; with the qualifying reminder that local taste and fashion may have exhibited considerable variety between these two places. It is not likely that two sites as far apart as Ilkley and Balmuildy usually drew upon the same sources for mortaria, or indeed for any other classes of their coarse pottery. At the same time, as Mr. Miller points out, the mortarium, "a distinctively Italic vessel, not very amenable to local influences, took little development in native hands and suffered everywhere alike a mere deterioration."<sup>2</sup>

The general arrangement of Nos. 5-21 follows as nearly as possible the numerical order of the examples collected by Mr. Bushe-Fox from Wroxeter and other sites,<sup>3</sup> though neither ours nor his can be regarded as showing an exact chronological sequence. For instance, No. 5, with broad rim, and heavy-beaded edge, decorated with reddish-brown paint, and closely resembling *Wroxeter*, 118 ("probably not earlier than the middle of the third century"), may be practically contemporary with Nos. 17 and 18, of the typical hammer-headed shape, associated elsewhere with late third and early fourth-century deposits. No. 22, an unusual type, has every appearance of lateness, and may legitimately be regarded as transitional between the plain upright rim of No. 21 and the coarsely-moulded profile of No. 23, which seems to find its nearest analogies in the late fourth-century wares from the Yorkshire coast-defence forts.

The prevalent type of clay is white, and usually finely levigated. Certain pieces, including Nos. 7, 10, and 20, are of a dirty white hue, perhaps due to poor workmanship or subsequent vicissitudes. Quite distinct is the pinkish-buff clay with a creamy-buff glazeless slip, of Nos. 8, 11, 12, 13, and 15. No. 22 is again different, the clay being a paler pink and the slip a deeper buff. Other unusual colours, of which we have single or rare examples, are: yellowish-buff, No. 14; coarse reddish-brown, almost suggestive of sandstone in texture,

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 78-82.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 81 f. Note, however, the close connection between many Bal-

muildy pieces and those from Corbridge and Hadrian's wall.

<sup>3</sup> *Wr.*, i, pp. 76 ff.



No. 1; light-red, No. 2; dull-red, but grey-blue at the core owing to uneven firing, No. 23, as also is Fig. 39, 1, which has also a dull-white slip, and is perhaps of second-century date. This variety of material is no doubt a safe indication that the products of various centres were in more or less simultaneous use on the site. It is unfortunate that we have so few makers' stamps to aid still further the comparative study of our examples.

*Description of selected Rims.* (Pl. xxix. The approximate external diameter in inches of each piece is shown.)

1. Coarse reddish-brown clay with blue core where unevenly baked. Grooved line along rim, which is wide and convex; projecting grit, white, brown, and black.

Intermediate between *Balm.*, 3 and 16; *cf.* also *Wr.*, 46; *Templebrough*, 197b.

2. Light-red clay with thick coating of same colour on rim, which is wide and slightly convex; it has angular edges and a flat under-surface. Small pieces of grit, projecting from surface of bowl, but covered by coated surface of rim, show that this coating was added later than the grit.

No exact analogy, but perhaps intermediate between *Slack*, 1 and 5. Not later than mid-second century.

3. White clay with half-round moulding at lip and curved overhanging rim.

Intermediate between *Wr.*, 70 and 82; *cf.* *Balm.*, 21 and 22.

4. Similar clay with buff slip. The rim curves over more sharply than on the last. Grey and brown projecting grit, not dense.

*Cf.* *Balm.*, 22; Simpson, *R.W.*, Pl. xviii, No. 97.

5. Whitish clay, smooth-faced, and decorated with zig-zags roughly painted in reddish-brown on rim. Rim has clumsy half-round moulding at lip, and slopes gradually downwards, with flat surface. Unusually large diameter, *cf.* reconstructed fragment, Fig. 39, 3. Black grit, coarse, but flush with surface.

*Cf.* *Wr.*, 118 ("probably not earlier than the middle of the third century.")

The general class to which Nos. 6–16 belong, though Nos. 8 and 9 are at first sight distinct from it, serves to illustrate the transition from the curved rim, with half-round moulding at the lip, to the hammer-headed type, of which Nos. 17 and 18 are good examples. They are all, it seems, later than the Balmildy series, and offer many analogies with *Wr.*, 122–182.

6. Pinkish-buff clay, of poor quality. The rim slopes sharply downwards from the lip, which is vertical on the inside; three parallel grooved lines on rim and one within below lip. Walls are unusually thin.

7. Dirty white, rather coarse clay. Rim somewhat as the last, but has an angular rib between upper and lower groove. Thick walls. Not unlike *Wr.*, 122.

8. Three fragments of which two join. Fine pink clay with creamy slip. Rim nearly horizontal, with threequarters-round moulding at lip. One piece has a small spout made by the potter pressing down the beaded lip with his thumb. On this account we may class this as a mortarium rather than a bowl, in spite of the absence of grit, though the profile is otherwise more like a bowl.

*Cf. Wr.*, 134, also of small diameter.

9. Whitish clay with light-buff slip. Tall lip, vertical on outside and curving slightly inwards; flanged rim, almost flat, ending in roll-moulding. Thin walls. Grit reaches to foot of lip, flush with surface.

*Cf. Wr.*, 142.

10. Dirty white clay. Rim with an incised groove slopes outward, as on Nos. 6 and 7; rounded lip.

*Cf. Wr.*, 166.

11. Creamy-pink clay with light-buff slip, much rubbed. Half-round moulding at lip, and four incised grooves on the rim, which has a slight outward slope, and is conspicuously thick and clumsy.

*Cf. Wr.*, 174 and 178.

12. Clay as last. Short lip, slightly overhanging inside, and rim sloping downwards. This is heavy and almost triangular in section, and has remains of shallow incised grooves. Apparently intermediate in type between Nos. 10 and 13.

13. Clay as the last two. Profile somewhat as No. 10; on the rim is incised a groove with a wavy line below it.

*Cf. Wr.*, 174 (approximately).

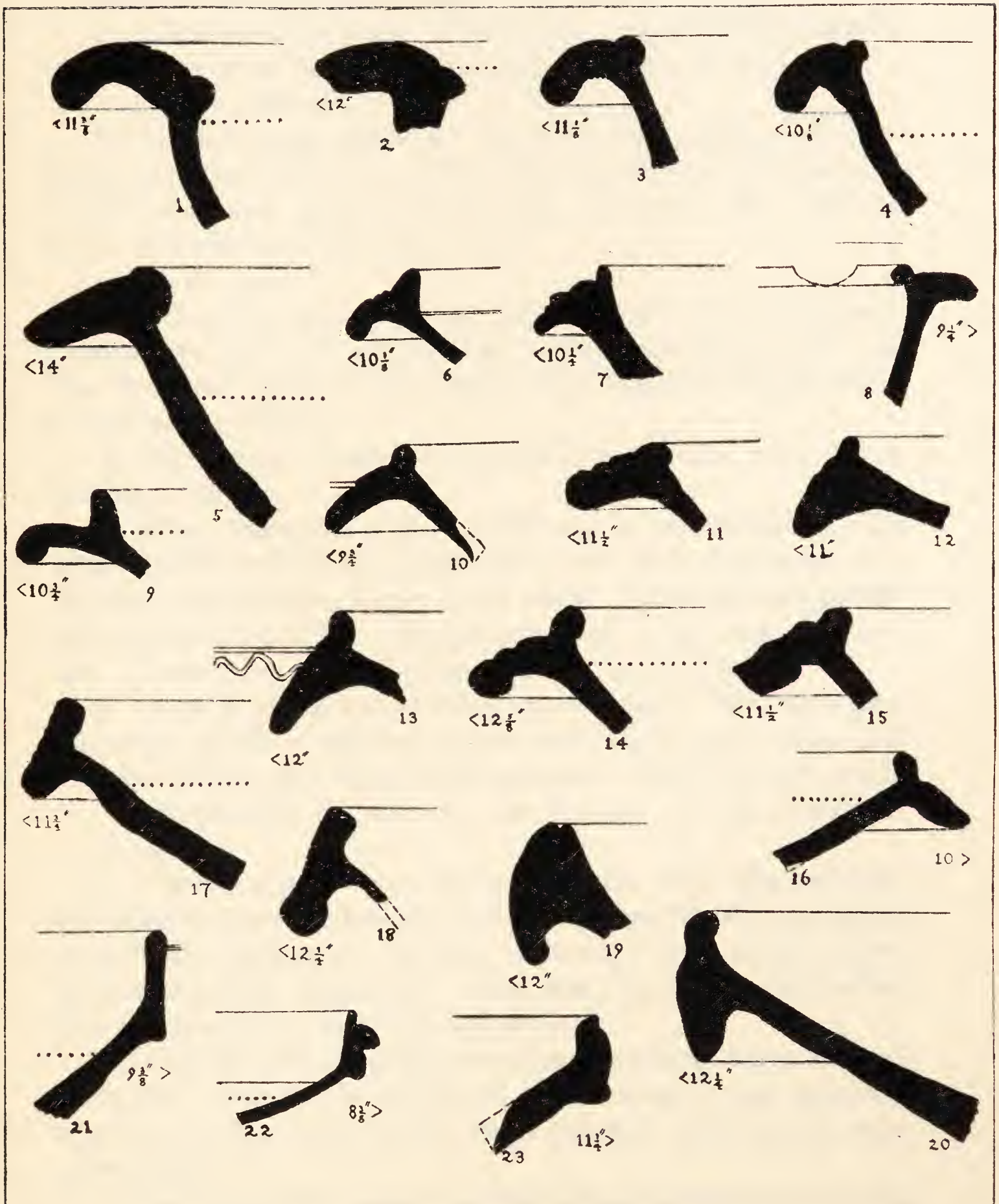
14. Buff clay with similar coating. The lip overhangs inside and the rim is off-set at an angle from outer foot of lip, and has its extremity thickened with a roll-moulding; two incised grooves on rim. Fine black grit, almost flush with surface.

This seems to be intermediate between *Wr.*, 170 and 178.

15. Clay as Nos. 11-13. Lip overhangs inside, and on the rim, which ends in a thick projection, is a heavy bead-moulding.

No exact parallel, but *cf. Wr.*, 178, 202, and *Ambleside*, ii, 37.





RIM-SECTIONS OF MORTARIA

The estimated diameter in inches is shown for each piece

(Scale 2:5)





16. White clay with light-buff slip. Profile somewhat as the last, but rim is narrower, and projects downward more steeply. Fine black grit, flush with surface.

*Cf. Wr.*, 202 (which is nearer to this than to No. 15).

17. Hammer-headed type. White clay. Lip overhangs slightly, and rim has seven shallow incised grooves. Grit as the last.

*Cf. Wr.*, 186, etc.

18. Similar profile and clay. The lip is more angular and overhangs more than in No. 17, and the lower edge of the rim is heavier. It has also seven grooves, more clearly incised. The walls—as far as preserved—are unusually thin.

*Cf. Wr.*, 206.

Nos. 19 and 20 are apparently transitional between the hammer-headed type and that with straight walls, represented by No. 21. The distinctive feature is the convex outer profile of the rim, which is vertical in section.

19. White clay; clumsy and massive rim-profile, with double beading at the lip.

20. Three fragments of dirty white clay, in poor condition. The outer profile of the rim is formed by a short curve separated by a shoulder from a longer, flatter curve below. Quarter-round moulding at inner edge of lip. No grit preserved on decayed inner surface. These have some affinities with *Wr.*, 230 and 238.

21. Straight-sided type, of rather small diameter. Fine white clay. The outer profile is slightly concave and sharply inset below, and near the top are two finely-incised grooves. Fine black grit, flush.

Intermediate between *Wr.*, 226 and 242; *cf.* also *Ambleside*, ii, 54.

22. Similar type. Fine creamy-pink clay with light-buff slip. The outside of the rim has two heavy mouldings, of which the upper is carelessly applied, and projects unevenly. (The section shown gives its *maximum* projection.) Otherwise a neat, thin-sided profile, with fine black grit, flush with the surface.

23. Red clay with grey-blue core through uneven firing, and dull white slip. The rim is vertical in section with a poor moulding above and below, with convex *fascia* between; side sharply inset beneath this.

For this poorly made type the nearest analogies seem to be *Ambleside*, ii, 55, and the pieces from Saltburn, *J.R.S.*, ii, p. 227, Fig. 40, Nos. 1–5. This may easily be contemporary with the finds from the coast-defence forts (*ca.* A.D. 370 ff.), and therefore will be the latest mortarium from the site.

Of the reconstructed pieces shown in Fig. 39, No. 1, put together out of thirteen fragments, is of red clay (blue in places in the core) with white slip. The well-modelled spout is one of the few surviving, but it has no stamp. The rim with heavy-beaded lip and steeply down-bent side has a slight bead near its lower edge; the grit is moderately coarse, flush with the surface, and not dense. This may be put late in the second century, in view of its general, but not very exact, resemblance to *Wr.*, 102 and 106. Found near the south-east corner of Site II.

No. 2, put together out of eleven fragments, is of creamy clay with buff slip, and has two incised grooves on its outward-sloping rim. The inner profile of the lip is vertical, and the slope of the wall indicates a shallow bowl. Coarse, black, projecting grit, very dense in the centre. Found at a late level at the west end of Site III, and is probably contemporary with Nos. 11-14, above.

No. 3 is part of the same mortarium as rim-section No. 5, above.

*Stamps on Mortaria* (Fig. 40, 9-12).

Two only, neither complete, and neither definitely identifiable elsewhere, were found in the Fort; two illegible examples already in the Museum are added.

1. MAVI≡, on broken rim-fragment, of hard light-buff clay with buff slip. (Type apparently not far from *Wr.*, 54 and 58; cf. *Ambleside*, ii, 25.) There is room for two letters after the v, so we may perhaps restore as MAVRI, completing also the name on *Ambleside*, ii, 57, No. 5, which has -AVRI, in the same way. Even so, this is not a stamp known elsewhere.

2. VIA≡. On fragment of pink clay (with blue core), broken at both ends. Found outside north-east corner of Site I. Perhaps VIA[TOR], of whom several stamps were found at Templebrough,<sup>1</sup> including four with a frame hatched or chevron-bordered.

3. //CV·AF. On an early-looking broad rim of soft buff clay. Now in the Museum. Reading doubtful.

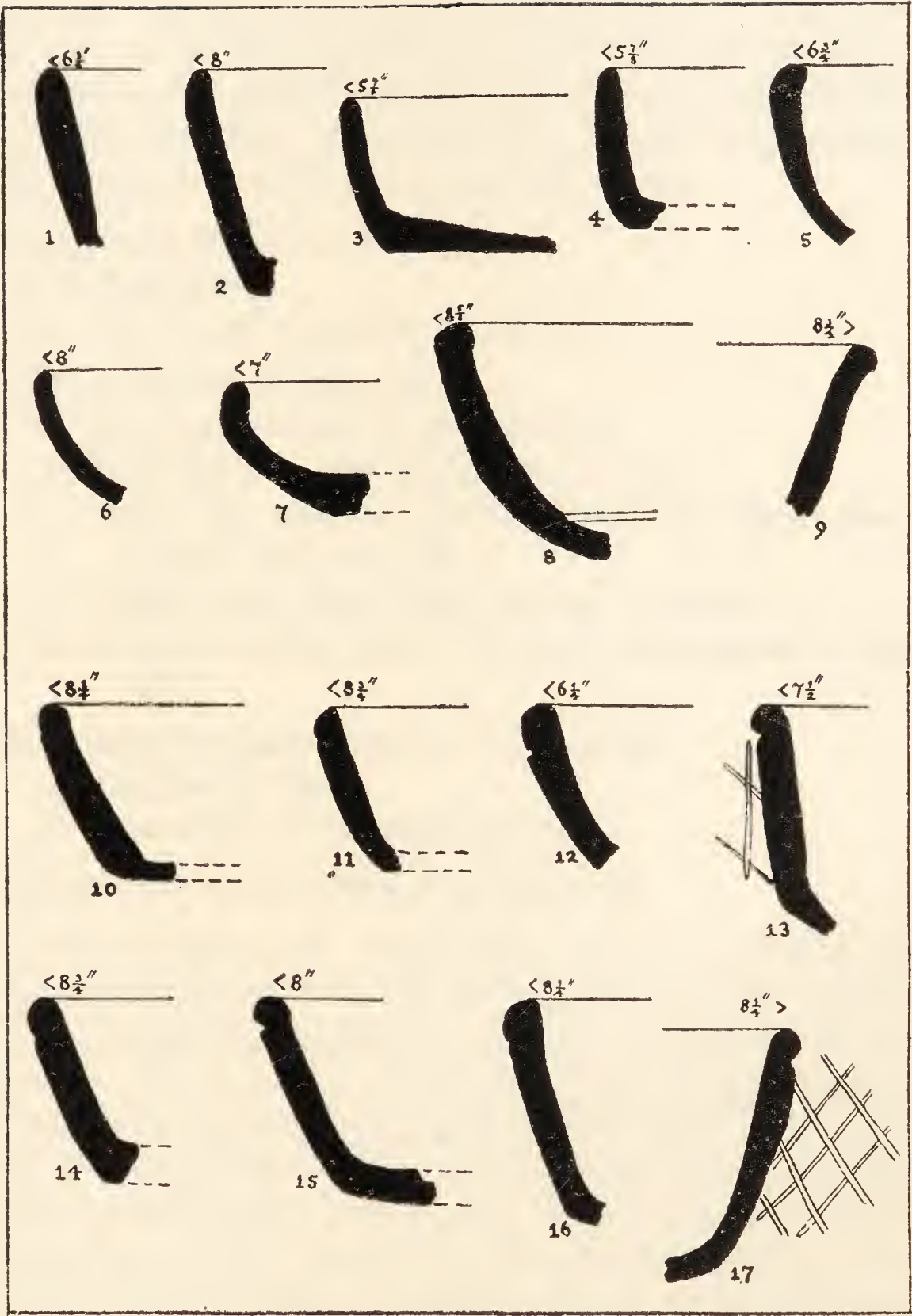
4. DNC·L (?) On rim-fragment in the Museum. Quite uncertain.

#### 4. BOWLS, DISHES, PLATTERS, ETC.

A generous selection of rim-fragments is reproduced (Plates xxx-xxxii) in order to represent, more clearly than is possible by mere description, the large variety of types found. As with the *ollae*, etc., described below, we may claim to have in the bowls also

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 131, Pl. xxxviii, 12 a-f.





COARSE POTTERY: BOWLS AND DISHES (i)

The estimated diameter in inches is shown for each piece

(Scale 2:5)





a series covering the whole period of occupation of the site. The system of arrangement adopted aims at simplicity as well as brevity; and since our knowledge of the subject does not—and perhaps never will—make possible an exact dating for the introduction and disappearance of several of the forms found, parallels are not extensively quoted. A partial exception is made in the case of types or single specimens for which other sites furnish close and approximately dateable parallels. According to the classification adopted, the bowls, dishes, etc., fall into the following groups:

- I. With no projection at the rim.
  - (a) Plain-sided.
  - (b) With bead or groove below lip.
- II. With projection at the rim.
  - (a) Flat rim with one or more grooves.
  - (b) Moulded rim with double-curved side.
  - (c) Plain rim, more or less horizontal, and types transitional from it to (d).
  - (d) Rolled rim, roughly semi-circular in section.
  - (e) Variants of the above, and types transitional to group III.
- III. With flange projecting below lip on outside.
  - (a) Horizontal flange.
  - (b) Down-bent or overhanging flange.
- IV. Various types not included in groups I–III.

I (a) (Pl. xxx, Nos. 1–9). About forty pieces in all were found. No. 1 is typical of about a dozen rims of which rather more than half have lattice-scored sides, in coarse “cooking-pot” ware, mostly with black surface. Nos. 2, 3, 5 are of a finer grey clay, usually burnished on the surface, but not lattice-scored, and typical of fifteen examples. The outer profile is usually slightly convex. For No. 2, *cf. Corbridge*, 84; for No. 3, *Newstead*, 41, *Carlisle*, 176; No. 4 is one of three bowls of creamy-grey clay with brown colour-coating, suggesting a connection with “Castor” ware; the sides are only about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches high. Nos. 6 and 7 belong to a distinct group of about ten examples in brown or reddish clay, mostly with burnished surface. Six are large open bowls, perhaps to be regarded as trays, about a foot in diameter, with bases fully half-an-inch thick; the rest are smaller, like those figured, with which we may compare *Balm.*, Pl. 1, No. 27. Practically every fragment of this type came from the north-west angle of the Fort, close to the mouth of the drain. Nos. 8 and 9 look

like Belgic ware, being of coarse grey clay with black bitumen-coating all over; the slight inward projection of the lip, and the step at the inner junction of side and base of No. 8, recall *Corbridge*, 19, regarded by Mr. Bushe-Fox as early,<sup>1</sup> and *Balm.*, Pl. xlviii, No. 21.<sup>2</sup>

I(b) (Pl. xxx, Nos. 10–17). These represent about fifty rims, of which ten are of black-surfaced ware, but none real Belgic, one of reddish-brown clay, and the rest grey, mostly well-kneaded and baked. Nos. 13 and 17 are among the few with lattice-scored sides. A practically complete example, put together of about ten pieces, from a deposit probably anterior to the middle of the second century, is shown on Fig. 39, 5. The usual height, where calculable, averages barely  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches, but the larger variety, as No. 17, with slightly carinated side, is not rare; it perhaps tended to disappear before the shallower type. No. 17 is reminiscent of *Slack*, Pl. xxiv, No. 73. Both deep and shallow types were plentiful at Slack, but at Balmuildy this class did not form more than a tenth of the bowls found<sup>3</sup>; it is hard to say how long it continued in use.

II (a) (Pl. xxxi, Nos. 18–24). Only ten pieces in all of this type, with one or more grooves on a flat projecting rim, came from the Fort, but three others, found elsewhere in Ilkley and preserved in the Museum, have been included, to amplify the series (Nos. 19, 21, 23). Of the former, eight are of soft grey clay, two of red; of the latter Nos. 19 and 21 are grey, No. 23 a hardish dull red clay. There is considerable variety in minor details in this group, for not only do the rims vary in breadth, but the inner profile of the side may be either straight, or slightly convex, or again slightly concave; moreover, the sides may be either more or less abruptly carinated (contrast Nos. 18 and 22). For this group in general *cf.* *Corbridge*, 4–8; *Slack*, 76–84; *Poltross Burn*, Pl. iii, Nos. 1–3; and note its absence from the Antonine levels at Newstead, and from Balmuildy. It seems safe to regard it as having disappeared from sites in Scotland and the north of England before the Antonine period. Resemblances to individual examples from Slack are striking. Thus for No. 20 *cf.* *Slack*, 78; for No. 21, with the inner edge of the lip merging into the curve of the side, *Slack*, 77; No. 22 seems intermediate between *Slack*, 79 and 80, and No. 23 very close to the latter, apart from a slight difference in the tilt of the rim. No. 24 is practically identical in profile with *Slack*, 81, and, like it, has the rim-grooves very shallow, perhaps an indication of the last stages of the type; the closest parallel to Nos. 18 and 19 is Simpson, *R.W.*, Pl. xvii, No. 94.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 171.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 91; *cf.* also *Wr.*, i, p. 73, and

Fig. 17, No. 23. All three are, however, of pink clay.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 90.





COARSE POTTERY: BOWLS AND DISHES (ii)

(Scale 2:5)





II (b). Nos. 25–27 form a distinct group, presumably contemporary with Nos. 18–24, as both were found together at Slack. Nos. 25 and 26 are in the Ilkley Museum, No. 27 alone being found in the excavations. For No. 25 *cf.* *Slack*, 85, which is perhaps shown as slightly tilted forward, and Nos. 26 and 27 are not unlike *Slack*, 86, though the former has a slightly concave, and the Slack piece a slightly convex, outer profile. The incised wavy line between two horizontal grooves of No. 27 is not rare, and is another link with group II (a). No. 28 is a solitary example in red clay with brown burnished surface, resembling the fabric of Nos. 6 and 7 above, which seems both related to Nos. 25–27 and partly derived from the *terra sigillata* cup with upturned lip (Dr., 51). A somewhat similar piece was found at Balmuildy by Mr. Miller, who makes the same comparison.<sup>1</sup>

No. 29 is a quite exceptional piece, in the form of a shallow saucer or plate with a flat rim, on which concentric lines and small lozenges are impressed with a sharp instrument; it is of soft dull pink clay with light-brown slip. I cannot trace any parallel, but there is no need to doubt its Roman origin.

II (c), (d). These subdivisions may advantageously be considered together, as certain pieces seem midway between them. As introductory to them Nos. 30 and 31 call for mention, for both are exceptional, and interesting types. The former, with a slightly projecting rolled moulding at the lip, and a small overhang on the inside, and made of coarse, brown clay, is very like *Balm.*, Pl. xlvii, No. 13, but should perhaps better be kept distinct from the group with the plain inner profile at the lip, and outer rolled moulding. It might even be regarded as a type derivable from No. 24 above. No. 31, of fine grey clay with fumed surface, has obvious affinities with *Slack*, 72 and 91, and *Balm.*, Pl. xlvii, No. 8. Our piece is most like the first of these, and they seem to mark intermediate stages between the plain-lipped type I (a) and the flat-rimmed type which we now have to consider.

This group II (c) (and *cf.* Pl. xxxi, Nos. 32–47) represents varieties of a type of dish or shallow bowl which had a long life, and does not normally permit of exact dating. It was common at Slack and Gellygaer, occurred rarely in the first period at Newstead and the early levels at Corbridge, and in the Antonine period was less common at Balmuildy<sup>2</sup> than the rolled-rim type, which seems to point to its *floruit* being about the first half of the second century, though it clearly began life late in the first, and probably lasted to

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 91; *cf.* *Slack*, p. 65.

at least the end of the second century. Perhaps it proved less satisfactory than the rolled-rim pattern owing to the more vulnerable shape of the rim.

Of about forty fragments with more or less horizontal rims, nearly three-quarters are of grey ware, the remainder being either of "cooking-pot" ware with fumed black coating, or a rather coarse red or brown clay, the last named being from large and usually deep bowls. Our pieces are too fragmentary on the whole to permit us to calculate the proportion of plain to carinated sides, or of deep to shallow vessels. The pieces reproduced are fairly representative for dimensions in general. Nos. 32-39 have rims with rather flatter tops than Nos. 40-47, where it is on the whole convex, and tends to slant outwards as well; Nos. 48-54 seem transitional to the rolled-rim type, II (*d*).

Of the pieces figured only No. 39 came from a definitely early level (the west end of Site III), and its profile is very like that of *Slack*, 66; No. 32, by its very close resemblance to *Slack*, 65, may be Hadrianic or earlier, and No. 34, with a broad flat rim and general similarity to *Cor.*, 11, is presumably of the first century. No. 37 is of fine brown clay, resembling the fabric of No. 28, above, with a markedly convex profile below the lip on the inside. No. 38, found with it at the north-west angle, is of coarse reddish-brown clay, and unusually thick.

No. 40, of grey clay, with the inner surface burnished and the outer left rough, is noteworthy for the slight "steps" below the rim outside; four others exhibited this feature to varying extents. Nos. 41-47 call for little comment, and resemblances to types from *Slack* again suggest themselves (*e.g.* No. 42 to *Slack*, 70; No. 43 to *Slack*, 67; and No. 44 to *Slack*, 95). Of stratified pieces Nos. 41 and 46 both came from low, but not the earliest, levels in the north part of Site I. Nos. 44 and 47 are of brown clay; the latter, with a burnished surface, closely resembles No. 37, but shows a larger diameter and more down-bent lip, with the same wedge-shaped extremity. It also came from the north-west angle.

Nos. 48-54 are all entitled to be classed as intermediate in shape—but not necessarily in date—between the last group and that with fully-developed roll-rim. No. 48 is close to No. 44, but has the rim-projection rather more rounded and still stumpy. No. 49 has a heavy overhang, which appears in an exaggerated form in No. 53, the latter being a solitary example. The rounded rim of No. 50, from a bowl with internal diameter of only 7 inches, is curiously heavy and clumsy. No. 51 reminds us of *Balm.*, Pl. xlvii, No. 12,



but has the double-beading on the rim more emphasised. With No. 52 we seem to be approaching to the genuine roll-rim, though the curve at the top is still very flat. No. 54 has the roll-rim practically achieved, but would seem to have reached it along a line of development from the grooved-lip type, I (b). It is the only example from the site, and is not unlike *Balm.*, Pl. xlviii, No. 25, where the groove is cut more deeply.

II (d). With Nos. 55–60 we reach the roll-rim proper, and these six pieces are typical of about twenty-five. This type, in its developed form, was all but unknown at Slack, but at Balmuildy more than three times as common as the flat-rimmed class. We may accordingly regard it as typically Antonine. Lattice-scored sides are exceptional, but we may note the single groove close below the rim of No. 56; practically all are of dark-grey clay, usually with fumed—and often polished—surface. No. 57 resembles closely *Cor.*, 81, and No. 59 is close to *Balm.*, Pl. xlvii, No. 11.

No. 61 is hard to classify as its shallow form distinguishes it from all our other pieces. It is of fine red clay, blue at the core, and the roll of the rim begins on the inside of the lip, and continues through more than half a circle. Nos. 62–64 show an incipient flange on the outside below the lip, as though transitional to group III. Of these three pieces, each of which is exceptional, No. 62 reminds us of *Balm.*, Pl. xlviii, No. 28, but is rather heavier, and No. 63, which is of greyish-buff clay with a brown coating (like No. 4, above), is a neater version, with the outer flange almost fully achieved. No. 64 is hard to match.

Group III (a), (b). Nos. 65–69 are typical of the flat or slightly convex flange, and Nos. 70–74 show varieties of it either curving downward or sloping down at a pronounced angle. Including the few transitional pieces, there were over a hundred examples in all, of which about 62 per cent. are of grey clay, 23 per cent. of buff, brown, or red, and the rest of “cooking-pot” ware, with single examples of brown-coated ware (No. 63), and of the late type of clay with particles of white grit in it (No. 74). The diameter ranges from about  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches to 10 inches, No. 74 being unusually large (*ca.* 12 inches). On the whole this class is in bad preservation, the flanges being much damaged, but those with the downward curve represented about a quarter only. This is a well-known type, which originated little, if at all, before the end of the second century, and lasted, apparently, well into the fourth. No developed example occurred at Balmuildy or Newstead. For examples from Yorkshire sites, *cf.* *Templebrough*, 217 (p. 115), and *York.*, *Cat.*, Pl. xiv b, No. 11;

from the Wall region, *Corbridge*, 71, and at High House, Milecastle, *R.W.*, Pl. xviii, No. 195.<sup>1</sup> In the south, where it is common, *cf.* *Silchester*, Pl. lxvi, No. 201, and other refs., *ibid.*

No. 65 is of creamy-white clay, of fine quality, with a buff slip; Nos. 66 and 67 are of "cooking-pot" ware, the former black-coated, the latter grey; the lattice-scorings on the former are most unusual in this class. Nos. 68-72 are of grey clay, grey-coated, and sometimes burnished as well. The last-numbered is again unusual for its double-curved side and short rounded flange. No. 73 is of coarse sandy-grey clay, more like "cooking-pot" ware, burnished inside, and No. 74, alike in view of its large diameter and fabric of coarse brownish clay with white grit-particles (usually associated with fourth-century urns and cooking-pots),<sup>2</sup> is unique among our finds.

No. 75, though it, too, has a flange below the lip, is placed here for comparison only. It is a quite exceptional piece of soft pink clay tending to a creamy shade, with remains of a creamy-yellow slip. Three bits forming about half a bowl, or deep saucer, were found in Site I among debris at the base of the pillars of the large hypocaust. None of the accompanying finds indicated a later date than the second century, and our present piece may be little, if at all, after A.D. 150. Its affinities, in form and material, lie rather with mortaria than bowls or dishes, and we must bring it into connection with a group of similar small vessels from the Roman Wall,<sup>3</sup> which are all of Hadrianic date—or possibly a shade later. None of these, however, has the lip raised quite so sharply above the flange.

Group IV. Nos. 76-79 form a quite different class from the last group, with their flanges projecting at one inch or more below the lip. Some twenty-five pieces in all were found, none in early levels, and except one, of grey ware, all are of buff or brown clay, of fine, rather mealy, consistency; two have red slip, one a brownish glaze. This is a type not easy to date, for it is found from the second to the fourth century.

A few examples came from Balmuildy,<sup>4</sup> presumably belonging to the last period of its occupation, but it is noteworthy that at Templebrough six pieces, of which the one illustrated<sup>5</sup> is not unlike our No. 79, are classed as imitations of *Terra Sigillata* forms and ascribed to an early date. They are, however, of a "soft bright tile

<sup>1</sup> *Cf.* p. 357. The presence of this one fragment in Level I must, as the finder implies, be accidental, in view of more pieces coming from Level II (third century).

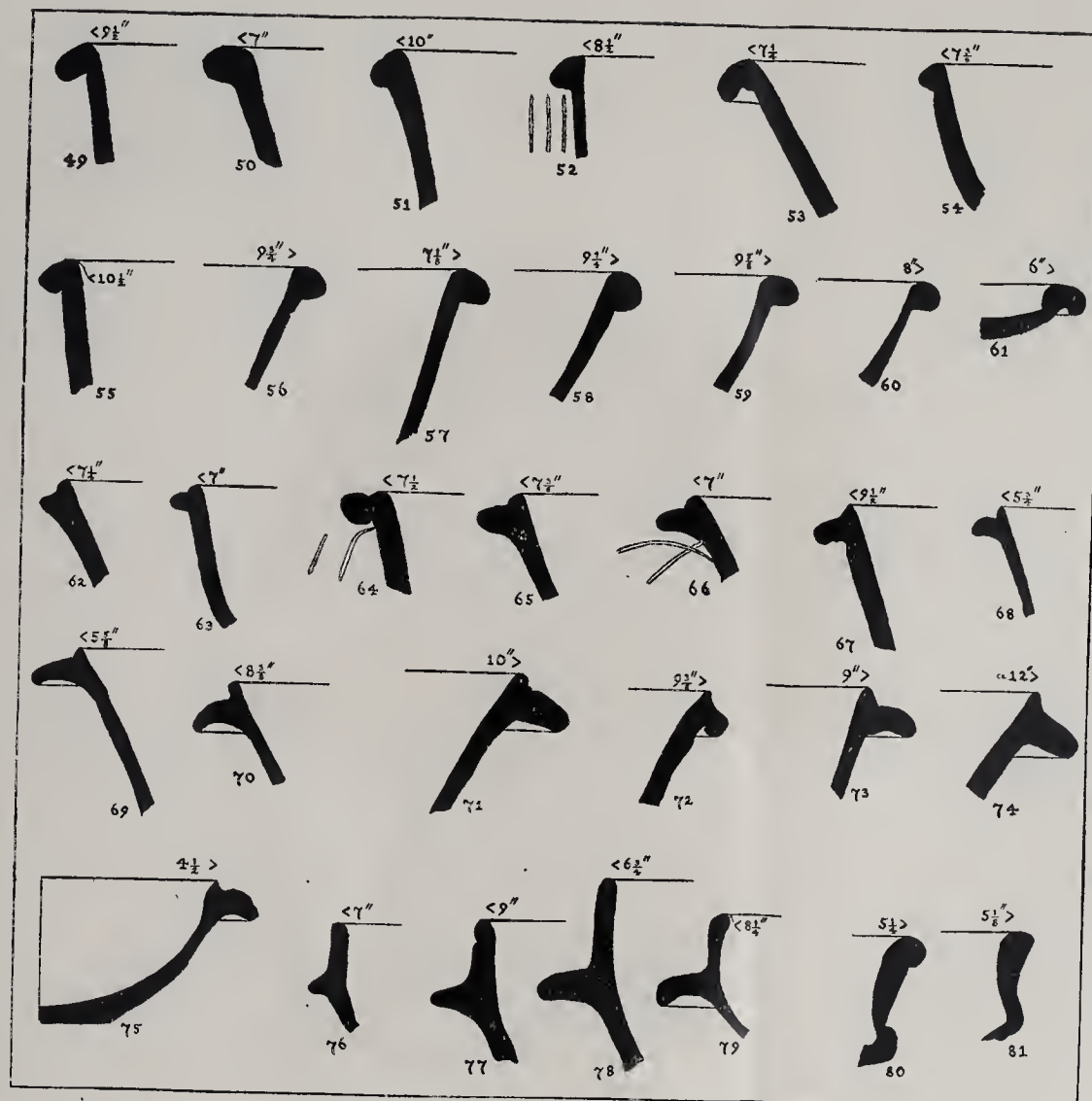
<sup>2</sup> *Cf.* below, p. 277.

<sup>3</sup> *R.W.*, *loc. cit.*, and Pl. xviii, 102, 103; and examples from Haltwhistle Burn and Poltross Burn, there quoted.

<sup>4</sup> Pl. xlviii, 29, 30.

<sup>5</sup> Pl. xxix, 176; *cf.* p. 109.





COARSE POTTERY: BOWLS AND DISHES (iii)

(Scale 2:5)





red." Perhaps we should place No. 79 as the earliest of our pieces, and regard the others as not closely connected with it, and therefore likely to be distinctly later. They remind us also of *Carlisle*, 172, 173, ascribed by Mr. May to a local workshop, but not dated.

Nos. 80 and 81 are two single specimens, of an uncommon shape. The former is of grey clay, burnished, the latter of a pinkish-buff clay, blue at the core. The former should perhaps be connected with *Wr.*, 62, being a rather squatter version, and the latter seems to resemble *Slack*, 45.<sup>1</sup> If these tentative comparisons are accepted—with the caution necessitated by their fragmentary condition—we may date them both to the early second century.

### 5. JUGS AND PITCHERS. (Figs. 41 and 43.)<sup>2</sup>

In comparison with the quantity of other types of domestic pottery found, the number of jugs and pitchers was surprisingly small. Not more than about a dozen pieces from necks or spouts survived in good enough preservation for the profile to be recognised, and the only example of the body of a jug which it was possible to reconstruct (Fig. 41, 1) unluckily lacked its neck. In view of the chronological value of several of the types of this class of ware, the pieces discovered are described with fairly full references to the more easily findable parallels; and they may be grouped for convenience as follows:

(a) One-handed jugs with mouthpiece which tapers downwards and is moulded with horizontal bands or steps ("screw-neck" jugs; for the evolution of this type see *York Pottery*, p. 68 f.). One example (Fig. 43, No. 1) of pale-red clay with buff slip, smooth matt surface, three bands below mouthpiece, of which the outer diameter is  $2\frac{1}{8}$  inches (very like *S.P.*, Pl. lxiii, No. 2). One of similar clay (No. 2), four bands below mouthpiece, which is wider than the last (diam.  $3\frac{1}{8}$  ins.). Another of light-buff clay, well moulded (No. 3, cf. *Newstead*, p. 262, No. 33; *Wr.*, i, Fig. 17, No. 3). Of the same class, but with shallow, degenerate mouldings: two examples, of which one is of iron-grey clay and lop-sided, like a "waster," but perhaps belongs to a 'nipped spout'; the other, of grey clay with buff slip (No. 4), has three shallow grooves below the mouthpiece, of which the outer diameter is  $1\frac{7}{8}$  inches (like a poor version of *Wr.*, ii, Fig. 18, No. 47).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 63, *op. cit.*; originally regarded as from a jar (or possibly a pitcher).

<sup>2</sup> Plate xxxiv and Fig. 43 were drawn for me by Mr. F. G. Simpson, to whom I am still further indebted for helpful sugges-

tions with regard to parallels, as well as arrangement, for these sections.

<sup>3</sup> Though this lacks the grooves, the profile is not far from that of our piece.

(b) One-handed jugs with other types of moulded mouthpiece: one example (No. 5), rim almost vertical, off-set from narrow neck, and slightly concave in profile. Reddish-brown clay with buff slip; outer diameter,  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inches (a poor variant of *S.P.*, Pl. lxiv, No. 123).

One example (No. 6) with off-set rim which curves inwards above; dark-red clay with chocolate-brown slip (no exact parallel found, but *Slack*, Pl. xxiv, No. 119, seems akin to it).

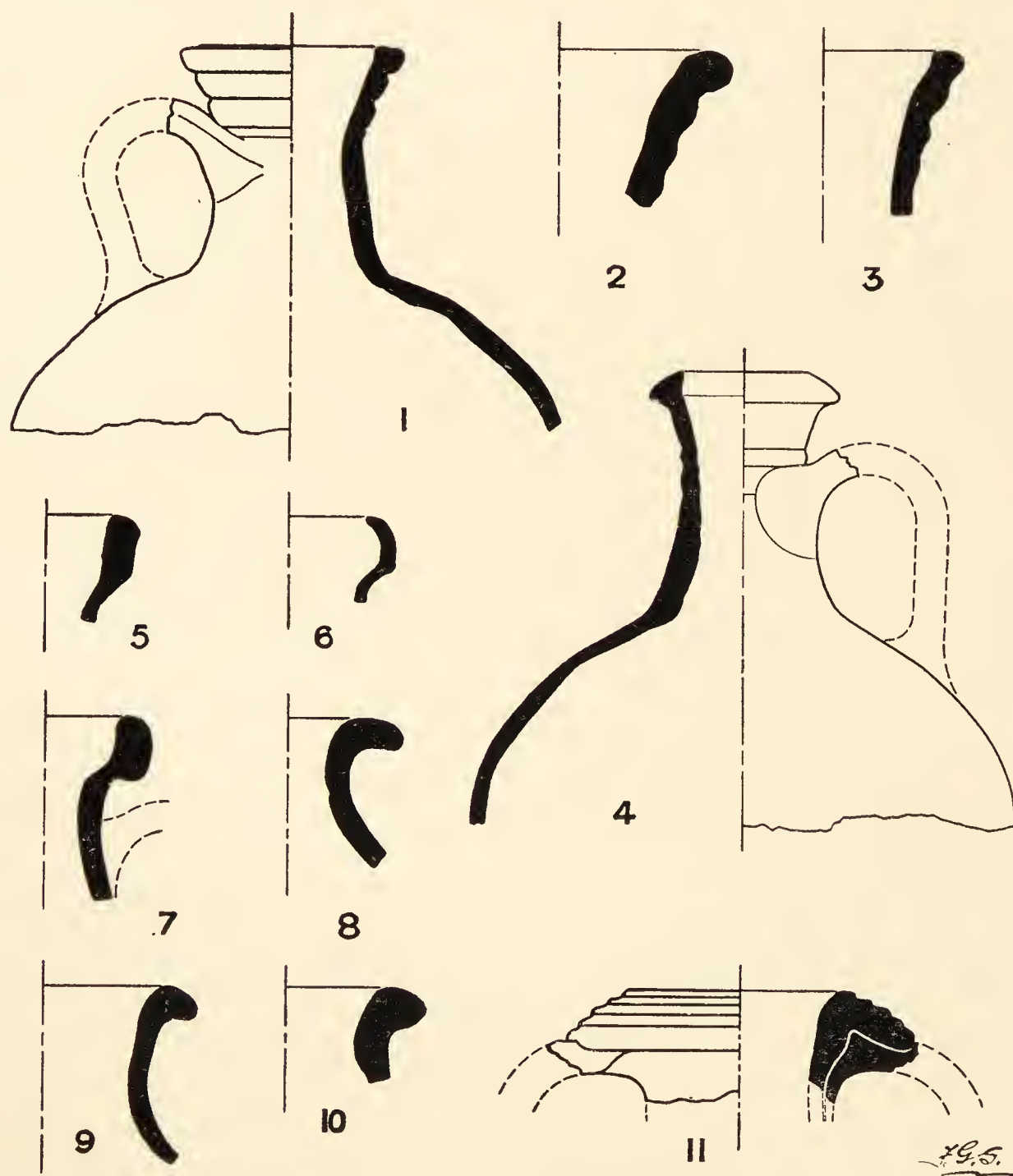


FIG. 43.—JUGS: SECTIONS OF RIMS AND NECKS  
(Scale 2:5)

One example (No. 7), in firm red clay with chalky white slip with coarse funnel-like mouth, to which the neck narrows upwards; the rim is convex in profile, and slightly undercut (*cf.* *S.P.*, Pl. lxiv, No. 122). Some fragments of a body and a base may belong.

(c) Various: one short-necked bottle in grey clay with burnished surface, out-bent rim, nearly semi-circular in section (No. 8);





FIG. 41.—JUGS. 1, FROM THE FORT; 2 and 3, IN THE MUSEUM  
(Scale *ca.* 2:9)



FIG. 42.—JARS, ALL FROM FORT: NOS. 2 AND 4 ARE EARLY,  
THE OTHERS LATER.  
(Scale *ca.* 2:9)







diameter  $2\frac{1}{8}$  inches (somewhat as *S.P.*, Pl. lxiv, No. 125; but lacks cordon at shoulder).

Wide-necked pitcher with similarly rounded lip, diameter 3 inches, and a continuous curve from neck to shoulder (*cf.* *S.P.*, Pl. lxviii, No. 148; and *York Pottery*, Pl. xii, No. 65, for a painted example of fourth-century date); one example in grey clay (No. 9), one also in coarse brown (No. 10).

Two-handled pitcher with rim slanting obliquely outwards, set on straight neck (No. 11); four beaded lines on rim; one example in coarse brown clay (*cf.* *S.P.*, Pl. lxiii, No. 111; and *Novaesium*, Pl. xx, No. 7, and p. 318, Nos. 18, 19).

The jug of white clay, lacking only its handle (Fig. 41, 3), found many years ago in a well in Brook Street, and now in the Museum, seems to fall into our first group, as it has three steps below its strongly-moulded lip, and its tall straight spout shows a strong similarity to *Wr.*, i, Fig. 17, No. 2. The other piece (2) illustrated alongside it, also in the Museum, belongs to the class of jugs of which the mouth has been elongated, and pinched up to form a 'nipped' or, as here, a bridge-spout (*cf.* *Templebrough*, Pl. xxxiiA, Nos. 202, 203; *S.P.*, Pl. lxii, No. 115). Dark-grey clay, perhaps not later than first century.

#### 6. JARS, BEAKERS, URNS, ETC. (Plate xxxiv and Fig. 42.)

Without a very much larger number of illustrations it would be hard to convey adequately an idea of all the types found, which were numerous and interesting. It seems that they include examples belonging to all stages of the period during which the Fort was occupied, but many of them do not admit of very precise dating, especially those which presumably belong to the late second and the third century. Plate xxxiv gives us, however, a fairly representative selection of rims, apart from those of the larger urns.

(a) Among the earlier forms the small pot of grey ware, blackened on one side, with dwarf rim, put together out of numerous pieces (Fig. 42, 4), is more reminiscent of the "Haltern" cooking-pots of the early first century than of any later class, and though not attributable to that date must be almost, if not quite, the earliest of our examples. We should probably be right in claiming a first-century date also for the other completed pot (*ibid.*, 2), illustrated with it—for its find-spot see above, p. 163. It is of soft greyish-buff clay, ornamented in small raised dots,<sup>1</sup> and resembles

<sup>1</sup> *Cf.* a fragment from Slack, *Report*, Fig. 43b, No. 5; *Wr.*, ii, Pl. xv, 11, 13, and 14.

in profile the truncated pear-shape of the earlier *ollae* with rustic ornament. Of this class, which was so well represented at Slack,<sup>1</sup> we obtained a few fragments, from perhaps eighteen vessels at most, some with flattened rims (*cf. Slack*, Pl. xxiii, Nos. 15, 16, 20), others with more upright (*cf. ibid.*, Nos. 17-19), but it was not possible to reconstruct a single example. The lustrous coating and fine finish of the Slack examples were scarcely ever found on our fragments. Of the rims reproduced not all in the first group preserved the rustic ornamentation, several being broken off above the shoulder, but the rim-types make it possible that Nos. 1-12 all originally were so ornamented. No. 1, with a flattened rim below which are two grooves, and with the "rustication" reaching to the lower of them, is of grey clay (diameter 5 inches)<sup>2</sup>; *cf. Slack, l.c.*, 20. Nos. 4, 8, and 10 are of the same nature (diameter, respectively,  $5\frac{1}{4}$ , 5, and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches). No. 8 resembles *R.W.*, Pl. xvii, No. 79; and No. 10, of brown clay with grey surface, is close to *l.c.*, 53. In Nos. 9 and 11 (diameter  $4\frac{3}{4}$  and 5 inches), for which I can quote no close parallels, the rim is turned sharply outwards, the former suggesting a curtailed version of No. 10, the latter being more squat and heavy.

Nos. 2, 3, 5, 6, and 7 have rims sloping inwards at angles of about 40 to 50 degrees from the highest point: for No. 2 (diameter 5 inches), of grey clay, with traces of "rustication," *cf. Slack, l.c.*, 29 and 36; for No. 3 (diameter  $4\frac{3}{4}$  inches), of fine muddy-brown clay, with *barbotine*-ornament in lumps and circles, and shallow grooves on the shoulder, *cf. R.W., l.c.*, 81, for the shape, and *Wr.*, ii, Pl. xv, 9, for the ornament. No. 5 (diameter  $6\frac{1}{4}$  inches), of grey clay with an added coating of the same colour, is coarser; No. 6 (diameter 5 inches) is rather unusual, with the curved under-surface of the rim sharply undercut, and then descending very straight to the shoulder; No. 7 (diameter  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches), of uncoated grey clay, is also unusual, with two slight grooves on the outer face of the rim, which is nearly triangular in section. No. 12 is another striking piece, of a type represented by this example only, with a very flat shoulder; it seems not to have had "rustication," and is of rather sandy clay, grey inside, red in the core, and brown outside; it suggests an exaggeration of *R.W.*, Pl. xviii, 112.

(b) With Nos. 13 ff. we seem to reach a definitely later group, for its affinities are mostly with rims from sites occupied for the first time after the end of the first century. It is worth noting that the ordinary type of cooking-pot, common at Slack (*l.c.*, 1-14), was but

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> All diameters are measured to the outside edge of the rim.



scantly represented, though this may be partly explained by the fact that the portion of the Ilkley fort which we excavated did not include more than a small corner of one of the barrack-buildings (if Site IV is correctly so interpreted), in which this type might be expected to appear more frequently. No. 13 (diameter  $5\frac{3}{4}$  inches) is of burnished gray clay, with a burnished line running horizontally round the neck; it resembles *P.B.*, Pl. iii, 12 and 13 (1st Period, from Hadrian onwards), and to a less extent *Balm.*, Pl. xlv, 7 and 8. Nos. 14 and 15 (diameter 5 and  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches), both of grey clay, suggest *P.B.*, *l.c.*, 17 and 19; for the former *cf.* also *R.W.*, Pl. xvi, 27, and for the latter, *Carlisle Pottery*, 159 (dated to late second century). No. 16 (diameter  $5\frac{1}{4}$  inches), of soft grey clay, with a very slight step at the junction of neck and shoulder, is rather thicker than the normal jars of this group; it has the graffito IVL incised close to the point of fracture (*cf.* Fig. 40, 8).

(c) With Nos. 17 to 25, selected from a large number of examples, we reach a group which admits only of dating within wide limits. The characteristic features are the tendency towards a larger size for the jar itself, and a wider and (often) more strongly out-curved rim than in the earlier group, as well as a rather flat and tasteless curve of the shoulder; the clay, on the other hand, maintains its quality—or even improves on it, and is almost uniformly of a blue-grey tint.<sup>1</sup> These tendencies can be recognised in pieces which cannot be as late as the end of the second century, and the fully-developed phase of these jars may have lasted considerably later than the end of the third. Our pieces 17–25 resemble in general *P.B.*, Pl. iv, 22–28 (2nd Period, *ca.* 180 to 270),<sup>2</sup> though earlier affinities may not unnaturally be recognised, as well as later. Thus No. 17 (diameter  $4\frac{3}{4}$  inches), of sandy-brown clay, is perhaps to be claimed as a cooking-pot rather than a jar, and seems not far removed from *Slack*, *l.c.*, Nos. 1 and 2, as well as resembling *P.B.*, *l.c.*, 22. No. 18 (diameter as last) and No. 19 (diameter  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches) are both of reddish-brown clay, the latter being unusually coarse and heavy in profile. Jars, etc., of this colour were very rare at Ilkley. No. 20 (diameter  $5\frac{3}{4}$  inches), of grey clay with lattice-pattern, reminds us of *Balm.*, *l.c.*, 3.

The rest of the group seems to look forward rather than back; and it is unlikely that they should be products of the second century. For No. 21 (diameter  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches), of grey clay, with a pronounced step below the neck, *cf.* *P.B.*, *l.c.*, 24; for No. 22 (diameter  $5\frac{1}{4}$  inches), of burnished grey clay, with an almost grotesquely prominent lip

<sup>1</sup> *Cf.* *R.W.*, p. 348, *ad fin.*

<sup>2</sup> *Cf.* *P.B.*, p. 460.

and wide step below the neck, *cf.* *P.B.*, Pl. v, 5; *R.W.*, Pl. xviii, 119; and a piece (No. 19) from Castell Collen (dated to the late third or fourth century).<sup>1</sup> No. 23 (diameter  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches), also of grey clay, seems close to *P.B.*, Pl. iv, 25 (and *cf.* *R.W.*, Pl. xxvi, 23, from Throp). Nos. 24 and 25 (diameter  $5\frac{1}{4}$  and 5 inches), the latter conspicuous for its sharp step below the neck, suggest *P.B.*, *l.c.*, 24, and *R.W.*, Pl. xviii, 120; these were among the commoner types at Ilkley.

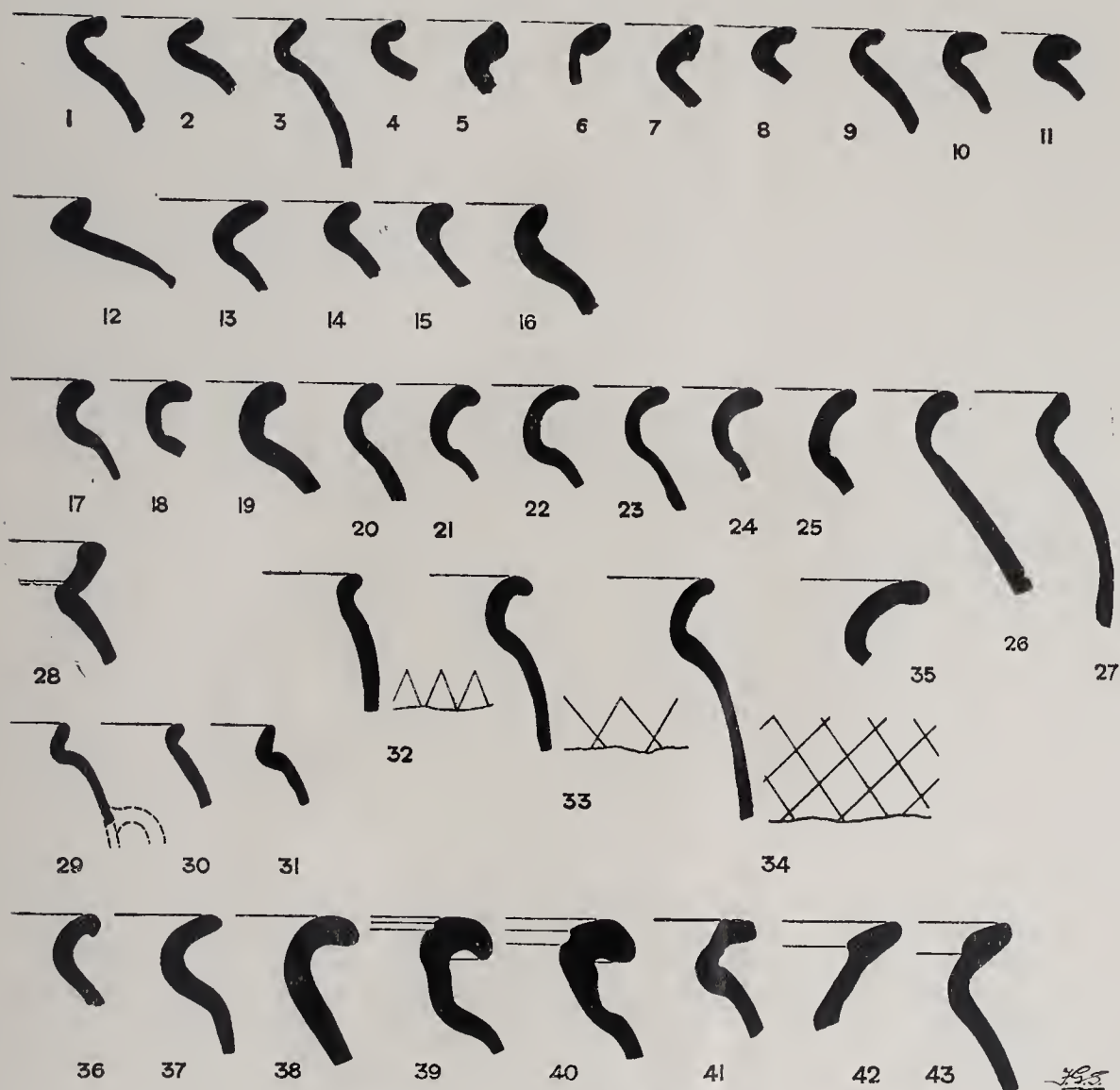
(*d*) Nos. 26–28 appear exceptional: No. 26 (diameter  $5\frac{1}{4}$  inches) has a strikingly straight shoulder-line, with two horizontal grooves about 2 inches below the lip; it was probably somewhat taller than most of our jars, and should perhaps be classed rather as an urn. No. 27 (diameter  $5\frac{1}{4}$  inches) is of dark-greyish-brown clay, full of lumps of coarse grit, in striking contrast to the finely-worked clay of the previous group. It is the only example, from the site, of this fabric, which is quite distinct from the well-known late wares (*cf.* Nos. 36–43 below), with pieces of grit intentionally inserted into the clay, and its poor quality is not easy to account for; its shape would be consistent with a date before the end of the second century, but in the absence of a known parallel, I must leave it unplaced. No. 28 (diameter 5 inches) belongs to a small group—four examples in all—of a well-worked blue-grey clay, with rather rough surface, with a concave moulding inside the rim to receive a lid. A small portion of another rim, partly reconstructed, of this class is shown on Fig. 42, 5; and the remaining two are on a slightly larger scale. The general resemblance is so close that they may well have been the contemporary products of the same potter. This seems an uncommon type, and was perhaps in use for only a short time (late second century?). Examples of other jars to take lids, though not very close to ours, are known at various sites (*cf.* *Balm*, Pl. xlv, 18, 19, 29; High House, Milecastle, *R.W.*, Pl. xviii, 116, 118, 2nd Period).

(*e*) Beakers, distinguished usually by thinner walls and smaller diameter ( $3\text{--}3\frac{1}{2}$  inches), were scarce, the four rims shown representing less than twenty specimens in all, exclusive of rough-cast and Castor wares. Nos. 29 and 31 are the best of about half-a-dozen which show a pronounced step above the shoulder; on the former, just above the line of fracture, is the place where a handle was attached, proving that its original form was very like *P.B.*, Pl. iv, 30 (2nd Period); nor need we doubt that No. 31, which is of fine grey

<sup>1</sup> *Cf. Excavations at Castell Collen, Llan-drindod Wells* (Interim Report), by H. G. Evelyn-White (reprinted from *Archæo-*

*logia Cambrensis*, Jan., 1914), Fig. 13, 19, and p. 50.





RIM-SECTIONS OF JARS, COOKING-POTS, ETC.

(Scale 2:5)





clay, highly burnished, is contemporary with it. Similarly, Nos. 30 and 32 may be grouped together; the latter is of cooking-pot ware, with grey core and fumed surface, with a small lattice-pattern, and came from a deep level in Site I. Both have rims suggestive of cooking-pots of the Hadrianic period or even earlier (*e.g.* *Slack, l.c.*, 9-11; *P.B.*, Pl. iii, 23), and with them (though perhaps of later date, in spite of similarity of fabric) we may class the piece shown partly reconstructed in Fig. 42, 1, which came from a deep level in the north of Site I.

(*f*) Nos. 33-35 represent the latest stages in the history of the jar or cooking-pot of grey ware, which at Ilkley, at any rate, seems finally to have given place to the well-known jars of gritted ware, which exhibit distinctive shapes both of rim and body (*cf.* Nos. 36-43). But it need not be assumed that the latter are all definitely later than any of the group represented by Nos. 33-35. Nevertheless No. 33 (diameter  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches) seems to be fairly close to Nos. 21 and 22 above, and No. 34 (diameter  $5\frac{1}{4}$  inches) to No. 25; for the latter *cf.* also *R.W.*, Pl. xvi, 24. The persistence of the lattice-ornament throughout the history of this type is not without interest. Fig. 42, 3, shows a partly completed example in blue-grey clay. No. 35 (diameter  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches), of black cooking-pot ware, is a solitary example of an exceptionally wide-splayed rim. More than one specimen of this type came from the Walwick Fell Camp,<sup>1</sup> and Mr. Simpson reminds me that he found the same type associated with a hammer-head mortarium at Throp Fort (*R.W.*, Pl. xxvi, 21, 22).

(*g*) Nos. 36-43 are typical of the dark ware, containing particles of white grit (or pits from which it has dissolved away), associated with the latest levels on the Roman Wall and at Huntcliff (and other Yorkshire coast-defence stations, explored since). This ware turned up in plenty at Ilkley, particularly inside the North Gateway and in the late levels adjacent, and also sporadically in Sites I and IV; it was conspicuously absent from the north-west angle. The clay is either black or coffee-brown, both occurring in about equal proportions. The commonest types of rim were Nos. 39 and 40, with one or two grooves on the inner face of the rim; No. 38 was not rare; Nos. 42 and 43 were slightly less common, but Nos. 36, 37, and 41 were exceptional pieces. For No. 36 (diameter  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches, which is unusually small in this series), *cf.* *P.B.*, Pl. v, 7; for No. 37 (diameter 6 inches), *ibid.*, 8 and 10; for No. 38 (diameter  $7\frac{3}{4}$  inches, and of abnormally heavy style, with no projecting shoulder), *ibid.*,

<sup>1</sup> P. Newbold, *Arch. Ael.*<sup>3</sup>, ix, Fig. 6, 41; found together with a hammer-head mortarium, *l.c.*, 42.

12, seems nearest; Nos. 39 and 40 (diameter  $7\frac{1}{4}$  and  $6\frac{3}{4}$  inches) are close to *P.B.*, Pl. v, 6, 14, and 15; *cf.* also the Huntcliff pieces, 17–24.<sup>1</sup> The flat top of No. 41 (diameter 5 inches) is unusual, but No. 42 (diameter 8 inches) is familiar (*P.B.*, *l.c.*, 17); in No. 43 (diameter  $6\frac{1}{4}$  inches) the inner profile of the neck suggests an intermediate stage of development between No. 37 and No. 42, as it has analogies with each.

(*h*) Urns of larger dimensions than the *ollae* were not numerous, less than a dozen in all being recognisable from fragments found.

Several pieces of a grey urn which, unfortunately, could not be made up together, found at the east end of Site I, along with the platter of Form 31, signed by [*Cob*]nertus, had a heavy rolled rim, circular in section, which indicated a vessel with a mouth approximately 12 inches in diameter, but no others were so large. At least two examples with rims not unlike that of *Balmuildy*, Pl. xlv, No. 1, had one or more horizontal grooves on the shoulder; and an example with slightly burnished surface was exceptional.

## 7. MISCELLANEOUS.

The single example of a clay lamp from the site, found just outside the north-west angle, consists of a small fragment only, which does not give a definite indication of its original type. Complete lamps have, however, been found more than once in the settlement outside the Fort, of which one is now in the Museum; its top is decorated with a simple rosette-motive, and it bears no stamp. For the knowledge of two others found in Parish Ghyll, Ilkley, in 1890, I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. B. W. J. Kent, who sent me detailed drawings of them.<sup>2</sup> They are: (*a*) red clay, length *ca.*  $4\frac{1}{8}$  inches (104 mm.), diameter of container,  $2\frac{1}{8}$  inches (71 mm.); depressed centre and long nozzle, with groove connecting them. Two knobs on rim, but no handle; filling-hole in centre of top. Stamped below, in raised letters, COMMVNIS. This maker's name, but spelt with one M, occurs on two examples of a similar type (though with handles) in the British Museum.<sup>3</sup> (*b*) Lamp-stand of greyish-buff clay, length *ca.* 5 inches (126 mm.), diameter 3 inches (76 mm.); in form of shallow bowl with almost vertical sides, rounded projecting nozzle, and ring-handle. Other examples of this type exist in the British Museum and elsewhere (*B.M. Cat.*, *Lamps*, 1416 ff.; *cf. Slack*,

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of Roman Studies* ("J.R.S."), ii, pp. 228 ff., and Fig. 40.

<sup>2</sup> The collection belonging to Messrs. B. B. and B. W. J. Kent, is preserved at

Tatefield Hall, Beckwithshaw, near Harrogate.

<sup>3</sup> *B.M. Cat.*, *Lamps*, 927, 928; *cf. C.I.L.*, xv, 6382. For the type *cf. op. cit.*, Pl. xliii, 91.



p. 79, and note 1 (*cf.* Fig. 48), for an example in lead, and other parallels).

The triple vase in the Ilkley Museum is already well known from the monograph on vases of this class by Mr. W. J. Kaye,<sup>1</sup> and need not be further discussed. The face-urn in white clay also in the Museum, and alluded to above, is another instance of a class of vase found in the settlement outside the Fort, but not represented among the finds from the Fort itself.

*Vases from Ilkley in other Collections.*

I have been reluctantly compelled to abandon my original idea of trying to compile a complete list, but the following notes may be helpful to anyone who might be disposed to follow up this subject.

1. The collection of the Messrs. Kent, above mentioned, contains a complete urn, of mottled red to grey clay, with wide mouth, and one groove on the shoulder. Height  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches, diameter at rim *ca.*  $5\frac{1}{8}$  inches.

2. In the City Art Gallery,<sup>2</sup> Leeds (Holmes Collection), is a plain, small urn.

3. In the collection of Mr. W. H. Haler, of Ilkley, are "some pieces of unglazed and rather porous pottery, together with two boars' tusks and one of the neck-vertebrae" found by himself in the edge of the cutting made through the Fort for the road to the new bridge.<sup>3</sup>

4. A collection of many small objects from Ilkley, mostly pieces of pottery, formed many years ago by Mr. J. E. Preston, of Harrogate, is believed (by my informant, Mr. Kent) to have been given to some museum in Birmingham.

5. The catalogue of the Leeds exhibition of 1875 contains more than one piece of Roman pottery from Ilkley (including, p. 119, a plain Samian bowl lent by Mr. W. Fennell, of Wakefield). Some of these pieces are now at Ilkley, but I am unable to give exact details.

<sup>1</sup> *Roman and Other Triple Vases.*

<sup>2</sup> I am indebted to Mr. Kent for a coloured drawing of this urn, as well as for the particulars given under Nos. 2, 4, and 5, above.

<sup>3</sup> From particulars kindly supplied by Mr. Haler, who adds that the base is so small that the vessel could not have stood unsupported.

## CHAPTER VII.

## OTHER FINDS.

## (a) METAL OBJECTS.

## I. BRONZE. (Pls. xxxv and xxxvi, Figs. 44, 45.)

It is not surprising that a site which enjoyed so long an occupation should have yielded a considerable number and variety of bronze objects, which had served many different purposes; but in addition to the finds of normal types, such as objects connected with dress, armour, harness (?), and household needs, three pieces stand out as deserving of special note. These are: First, the decorative mask representing Silenus or perhaps Pan, originally attached to a bronze vessel (Pl. xxxv), of which I have already published a description in the *Journal of Roman Studies*<sup>1</sup>; secondly, the finger of a statue of about two-thirds life-size, cast solid, and of a fine stylistic quality; and thirdly, a small fragment which can only be explained as having belonged to a decorated "tournament-helmet." The remainder are in no way distinctive, though the hanging-chain from a lamp, and a small bell, are well-preserved examples of objects of domestic use.

*Inventory of Bronze Objects.*

1. Mask representing Silenus or Pan, originally attached to a bronze vessel. Found in clay puddling alongside the foundations of the west side of wall F in Site IV. Height  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches, *max.* width  $2\frac{1}{16}$  inches. The extreme points of the horns are broken off, but it is clear that they originally continued on a curve so as to meet the background and thus form a pair of loops about  $\frac{5}{16}$  inch in internal diameter. A metal ring or hook was no doubt passed through the loops and formed the lower attachment of a handle, or perhaps of one of three chains, for carrying purposes; I am inclined to the latter explanation.<sup>2</sup> The type of Silenus here represented is distinctly bestial, with pointed projecting ears, small beady deep-sunk eyes, coarse lips and large mouth, and goat-like beard. {The two disc-shaped projections above on each of which is faintly incised an incomplete spiral, though by origin perhaps intended only to strengthen the fabric and facilitate its adhesion to the vessel, have been treated by the artist so as to suggest a second pair of horns, reminiscent, probably unintentionally, of the ram's horns of Jupiter Ammon. The exact type, alike in its treatment of the horns and in its

<sup>1</sup> Vol. x, 185 ff.<sup>2</sup> Cf. *J.R.S.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 188.





BRONZE SILENUS-MASK, FROM THE HANDLE OF A VESSEL  
(Scale 3:2 of actual size)

*[Reproduced by kind permission of the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies]*





expression, is not known to me on decorative bronze objects of this class. The finest example of such an object from Britain is unquestionably the Silenus mask from Colchester, originally attached to the rim of a large bucket,<sup>1</sup> but this is of a much more refined and idealised type—almost dreamy in its expression. Nearer to the Ilkley type are the following examples:

(a) Alexandria Museum (Municipalité d' Alexandrie. *Rapport sur la Marche du Service du Musée*, 1919-1920, p. 72, Fig. 3 (and on front of cover).

(b) British Museum, *Cat. of Bronzes*, No. 1405.

(c) Paris, Louvre, No. 2751. De Ridder, *Catalogue*, Pl. 98.

The last named, which is in poor preservation, bears less resemblance than the other two, but none of them quite convey the gross and leering but yet not wholly repulsive expression of our example.

Its original position was either below the vertical handle of a jug, or, as I am inclined to believe more confidently, upon the shoulder of an urn, shaped somewhat like that in the Naples Museum, which has three heads—in this case of Apollo—terminating above in rings, in each of which is fixed the end of a metal chain.<sup>2</sup> These chains are united at their other ends in a large carrying-handle. The curved inner surface of our mask admits of it having belonged to this shape of vessel as easily as to a jug, though in neither case is the method of attachment obvious, as there are no traces of rivets. Presumably some form of soldering was used for the purpose. We may go further, without undue rashness, and suggest that the friction or pull of the end of the chain passing through the ring formed by the horns, caused or at least facilitated the breakage at their weakest point. Had the object which it supported been a jug-handle, it would not necessarily have had the same strain.

It is hard to date our piece exactly, though we can hardly imagine it as later than the early second century of our era. Its whole spirit is Hellenistic rather than Roman, but it may well have been made in Italy in the first century by a craftsman who was conversant with Greek originals; and that it came to Ilkley among the belongings of some Roman officer of rank and culture seems more likely than that it could have come in the course of trade.

2 (Fig. 44, No. 1). Fibula, with plain bow and fin-like plate of which the edge is bent over to catch the pin. At the plate-end is a small

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Mr. A. G. Wright, Director of the Colchester Corporation Museum, for a photograph of this attractive object. It has not, I believe,

been reproduced or republished since Newton's account of it, *Archaeologia*, xxxi (1846), 443 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *J.R.S.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 188, and note 1.

bead-moulding, at the other end a short cross-bar with remains of a projecting ring (broken). The butt-end of the iron pin is preserved, as also the hinge-rivet. Found on flagging of latest period, east of north gateway. Length  $1\frac{7}{8}$  inches. This belongs to a common type, lasting perhaps from the first to the third century. It occurs at Newstead (Pl. lxxxvi, Nos. 17, 18), and is not unlike one from Wroxeter (*Wr.* ii, Fig. 4, 1 and p. 11).

3 (*Ibid.*, No. 2). "Celtic" ornament in the form of a circular flat disc with vandyked openwork design; in the centre is a small knob and a pin projecting from the centre at the back, broken away. Found by Mr. F. G. Simpson on his "level 2" at the north of Site I. Diameter,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches; about one-third is missing.

Objects of this kind are far from rare, though the designs vary over a wide range. Not unlike it is the object from Corbridge (*Report*, 1910, p. 46 f., Fig. 35).

4 (*Ibid.*, No. 3). Buckle or clasp from strap, in the form of two small rings cast side by side, and joined behind by a bar projecting from their outer edges, leaving a space about 1 inch by  $\frac{5}{16}$  inch for the strap to pass through. One ring is complete, the other broken, and incomplete. Found outside centre of north wall of Site III, at deep level. Original length,  $1\frac{5}{8}$  inches, diameter of ring,  $\frac{13}{16}$  inch. For a similar buckle, but with only one ring, *cf.* *Newstead*, Pl. lxxvii, No. 14.

5 (*Ibid.*, No. 4). Buckle, cast in one piece, with straight bobbin-like bar in front, the other sides curved; the pin is made of a bent piece of stout wire. Dimensions, 1 inch by  $\frac{7}{8}$  inch.

6 (*Ibid.*, No. 15). Belt-clasp, consisting of a flat plate,  $2\frac{5}{8}$  inches square, with outer surface tinned. At the back are metal strips secured by rivets. At the sides the strips extend from top to bottom, and are held by a single rivet at each end; at the top (?) are three small strips (of which the central one is missing), each held by two rivets; at the bottom (?) the strip, which fits inside the long side-pieces, is held by six rivets. Small semi-circular tongues project above and below to hold the rivets in front. Traces of disintegrated leather were still adhering, retained by the rivets, when found. Found at west end of Site III.

7 (Fig. 45, No. 5). Belt-clasp, consisting of a rectangular flat plate, with outer surface tinned, in which are cut two small T-shaped holes side by side; and a rivet hole near each corner, in two of which small round-headed rivets are preserved. Found deep down in hypocaust at south-west corner of Site I. Height,  $1\frac{5}{8}$  inches; breadth,  $2\frac{1}{8}$  inches.



A very similar clasp from Newstead (p. 162 and Pl. xxv, No. 43) with six rivet-holes was found accompanied by a circular disc to which was attached a T-shaped catch, which, passing through one of the slots, and being pulled tight, would thus secure the fastening. No doubt the same system would have been used on our piece.

8 (Fig. 44, No. 7). Small fastener from a garment, in the form of a strip *ca.*  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inches long, bent double and secured by a rivet; in the bent end is a small cutting, about  $\frac{1}{8}$  inch wide. A small piece of leather remains fixed between the folds of the metal. Found at west end of Site III.

9. Tag, probably a scale from coat of scale-armour. The top is slightly curved, the lower edge and sides straight. A suspension hole, 4 millimetres wide, is pierced close to the top, and there is a row of tiny punctured dots close to each side and the upper edge. Found at north-west angle of Fort. Height,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches; breadth,  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch. (Not illustrated.)

Numerous scales from Roman scale-armour were found both at Newstead<sup>1</sup> and at Ham Hill in Somerset, but the normal size is less than that of our piece, and, moreover, it is usual for the scales to have two holes for attachment at the top, and two more to secure their attachment to the adjoining scale, near the top on one side. The larger size of our example—if correctly identified—may be due to it having belonged to a shoulder-piece, as is perhaps the explanation of some even larger scales from Ham Hill, in the Taunton Museum. It should be noted that Newstead yielded also some very small scales, with no holes in them, which were found among some pieces of chain-mail,<sup>2</sup> though it is not clear how they were attached to it.

10 (*Ibid.*, No. 6). Similar tag, but not pierced. There are, however, two small angular cuts in the sides near the top, and a small rectangular projection near the bottom. Found at the west end of Site III, lowest level. Height,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches; breadth,  $\frac{7}{8}$  inch. In spite of the obscurity of the method of attaching this to either a backing or to its neighbours, this is also presumably from scale-armour. See the previous item.

11 (*Ibid.*, No. 13). Small fragment of thin plate, complete below only. The upper half of the front surface is modelled in *repoussé* to represent hair, in short clustered locks, the lower part being plain. The lower edge forms an obtuse angle, at a point almost exactly below the point of parting of the hair, which indicates the centre prior to breakage. Found at lowest level in Site I,

<sup>1</sup> *Newstead*, pp. 158 ff., and Pl. xxiv.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 161, and Pl. xxxviii, Fig. 8.

north side. Height,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches; breadth,  $1\frac{15}{16}$  inches; thickness *ca.* 1 millimetre.

This must have belonged to the upper part of the visor of a bronze "parade" or "tournament" helmet of the type found, in Britain, at Ribchester and Newstead. It is obviously cast too thin to have been part of a statue, apart from the fact that the lower edge is complete and consequently the portion from the eyebrows downwards must have formed a separate piece. This is not the usual mode of construction in the visors of these helmets, for they have the visor complete in one piece up to and including the commencement of the hair above the forehead (*e.g.* *Newstead*, Pl. xxix), but a well-known example from Germany (found at Wilberg, now at Stuttgart)<sup>1</sup> exhibits just this feature. The style of the hair is strongly reminiscent of the Trajanic era, and even of the portraits of that emperor himself; in any case it is difficult to allot an appreciably later date to our fragment from this standpoint, and it may be even of the Flavian era. In either case we obtain welcome confirmation of Mr. Curle's evidence from Newstead that these helmets can hardly be dated later than the mid-second century, and may well be earlier. The realistic treatment of the hair makes us regret that so little has survived from what must have been a particularly interesting example of this attractive class of object.

12*a* and *b* (*Ibid.*, Nos. 14, 16). Two pieces of ornamental strips, of uncertain use, with rows of small dots along each edge, and ovolo pattern along the centre in repoussé work. Both show a distinct curve, suggesting attachment to a curved surface. Each is broken at one end, and complete at the other, but they do not, unfortunately, join. No. 12*a* was found in the lowest level in Site I, north side; 12*b* in the hypocaust at the south-west angle of Site I. Length, *a*  $3\frac{1}{2}$ , *b*  $2\frac{5}{8}$  inches; breadth,  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch; thickness, about 1 millimetre.

13 (*Ibid.*, No. 5). Top of button with round convex surface, originally tinned on both sides. At the back, traces of a loop for fastening to a garment. Found at north-west angle above the main drain. Diameter,  $1\frac{3}{16}$  inches.

14. Plain disc-shaped pin-head, attached to iron shank. Found outside west end of Site III, deep level. Diameter, 1 inch; shank broken off short.

15. Round pin-head, with raised centre and beaded edge; hollow at back. Found near north-west corner of Site I. Diameter,  $\frac{7}{8}$  inch.

<sup>1</sup> *Germania Romana*, Pl. 94, 1.



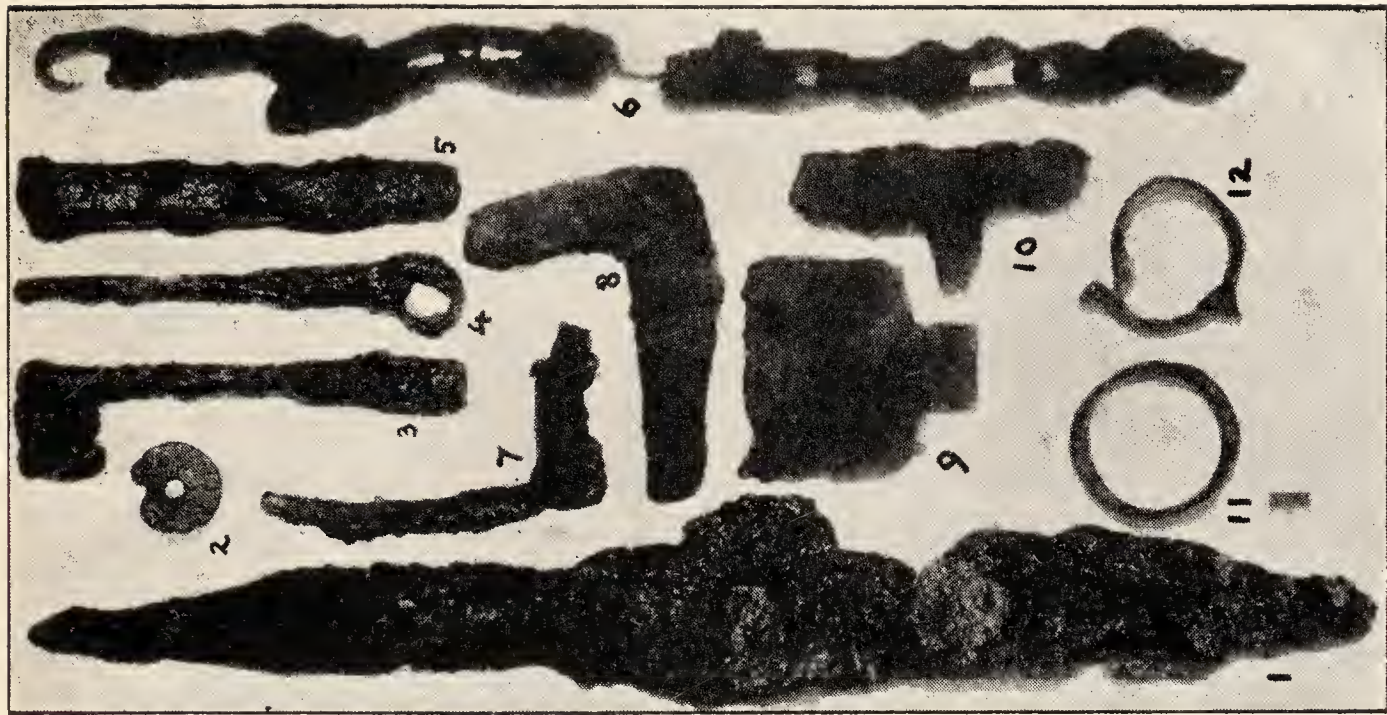


FIG. 46.—IRON OBJECTS

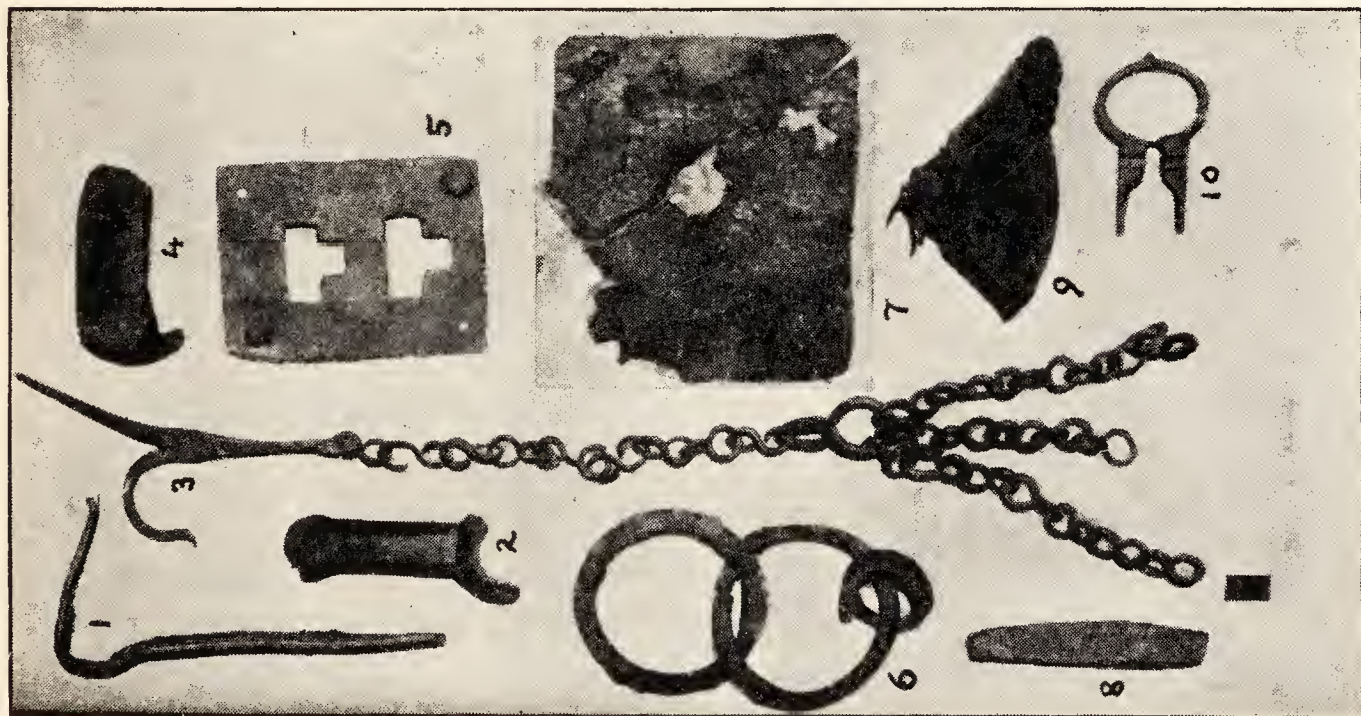


FIG. 45.—BRONZE OBJECTS  
(Scale *ca.* 3:8)

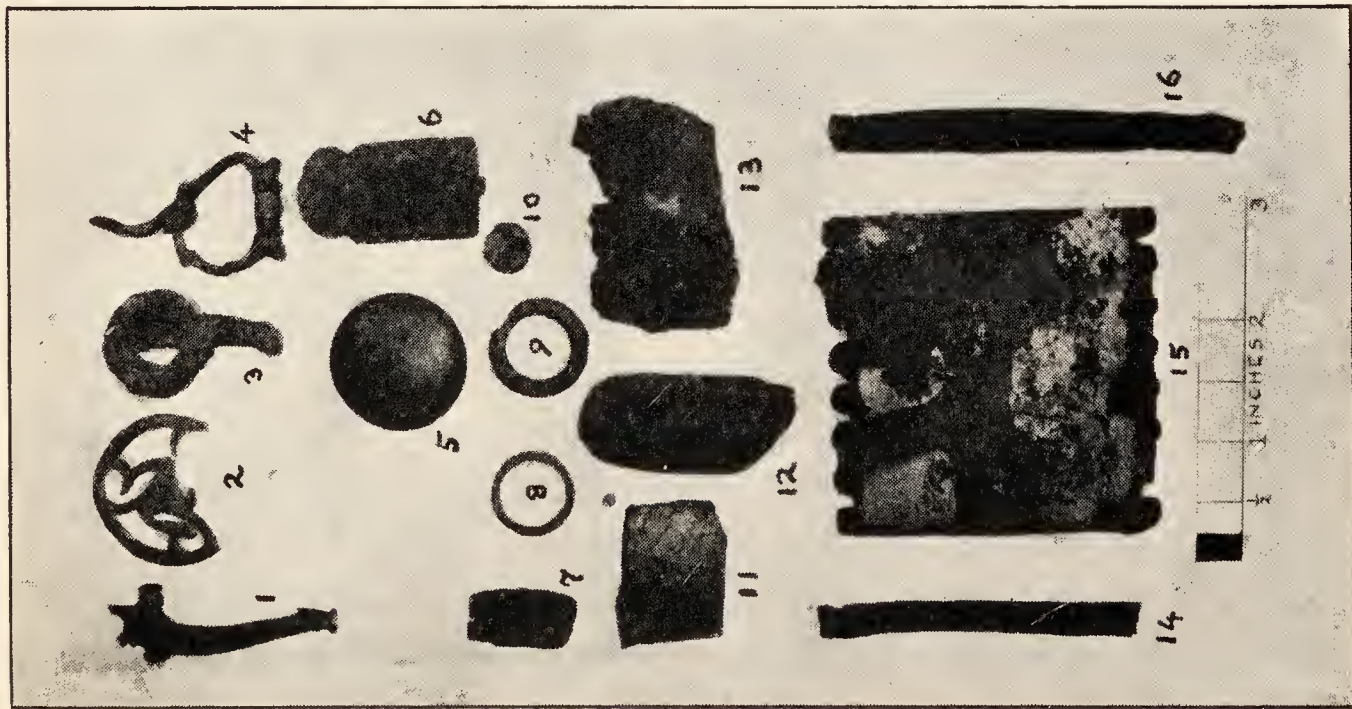


FIG. 44.—BRONZE OBJECTS







16*a* and *b* (*Ibid.*, Nos. 8, 9). Two plain bronze rings, each with inner diameter of  $\frac{9}{16}$  inch. Both found in Site III: *a*, in top soil at east end; *b*, in deep level at west end.

17 (Fig. 45, No. 6). Two bronze rings linked together with open ends; through one of them is coiled a smaller ring made of a double coil of thinner wire. Found at west end of Site I. Diameter of larger rings,  $1\frac{5}{8}$  inches. Purpose uncertain, perhaps from harness.

18 (*Ibid.*, No. 3). Suspension chains and hook from a hanging-lamp. The hook-piece terminates above in a spike, which could be set horizontally in a wall if the hook were not used. A single chain of ten links, of which one is broken, ends in a large link from which hang three shorter chains, two of seven links, one of five. Each link is in the form of two rings set at right-angles, but made out of one piece of metal. Found in disturbed level near north gate. Length over all,  $10\frac{1}{2}$  inches. Such chains are not seldom found still attached to their lamps. Cf. *Germania Romana*, Pl. 80, 1, from Trier, with hook above; and Pl. 80, No. 7, from Stockstadt (=O.R.L., 33, *Stockstadt*, p. 53, Fig. 7).

19 (*Ibid.*, No. 9). Bell with iron chain and tongue. A band of slight incisions decorates the stepped shoulder, and above is a (broken) handle of thin wire. Found in Site IV, near the flue. Height,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches; original diameter,  $1\frac{5}{8}$  inches; pressed out of shape.

20 (*Ibid.*, No. 10). Key with small loop-handle and two short arms. Found in Site II, low level. Length,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

21 (*Ibid.*, No. 1). Strip, broken at both ends and below, from the edge of some straight-sided object (casket?) with angular bend, but slightly rounded at the angle. The upper edge is thickened, with a suggestion of a moulding. Length over all,  $4\frac{5}{8}$  inches; *max.* height,  $\frac{5}{8}$  inch.

22 (*Ibid.*, No. 2). Handle, incomplete, perhaps from a *patella*; a four-sided shaft with edges rounded, terminating in a ring (broken) and showing traces at the other end of attachment to an iron object. Found in Site III, lowest level. Length, 2 inches.

23 (*Ibid.*, No. 4). Handle, incomplete, consisting of a thick strip with convex outer surface, bent to form a right-angle. Found in Site I, west end. Length over all,  $2\frac{3}{8}$  inches; breadth,  $\frac{5}{8}$  inch.

24 (Fig. 44, No. 10). Small nail with hemispherical head, hollow. Diameter of head and original length of shank, *ca.*  $\frac{3}{8}$  inch.

25. Similar, but head only, much bent and split. Diameter, *ca.*  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch. This might, however, have been a small bell.

26 (*Ibid.*, No. 12). Finger from a statue, apparently about two-thirds life-size. It is bent at right angles and has traces of an iron dowel at the end of the third joint, and is, moreover, cast solid. The type is male, being thick-set and strong, with the nail and wrinkles on knuckles carefully indicated. Although it is possible that this may only be the top of a staff, or other object with a "fancy" handle, the use of one or more fingers, sometimes a whole hand, in bronze being not uncommon for such purposes, the high quality of the modelling seems to make it possible that we have in fact a portion of a statue. In this event we must admit that it is strange for it to be cast solid; and the iron dowel-pin suggests that the sculptor faced with the difficulty of casting a bent finger, made it separate and solid, and so attached it. Found in disturbed soil, above east wall of Site I. Length,  $1\frac{5}{8}$  inches.

*Miscellaneous Pieces.*

27 (Fig. 45, No. 8). Small ingot, roughly rectangular in section, with one side slightly "whale-backed"; the ends seem to have been cut off after casting. Found at west end of Site III. Length,  $1\frac{15}{16}$  inches; thickness,  $\frac{3}{8}$  inch tapering to  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch.

28 (Fig. 44, No. 11). Small fragment of plate, roughly rectangular, with the top edge slightly bent over. Apparently complete, perhaps "scrap." Height,  $\frac{15}{16}$  inch; length,  $1\frac{3}{16}$  inches.

29 (Fig. 45, No. 7). Small square of very thin sheet-bronze, tinned on one side, with extreme corners rounded off. Much broken, and lacking some small portions. It has perhaps been roughly hammered to form an irregular surface, probably for inlay, as there are no means of attachment visible. Found at the north-west angle, above the main drain. Dimensions,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  by  $2\frac{5}{8}$  inches.

The following are not deserving of illustration:

30. Strip, bent and broken, rounded at one end, perhaps half a forceps. Length,  $2\frac{1}{8}$  inches; breadth,  $\frac{3}{8}$  inch.

31. Strip, bent along long axis; broken at one end (only?). No traces of attachment, but possibly from the edge of a scabbard or shield. Length, 2 inches; breadth,  $\frac{7}{8}$  inch.

32. Small fragment of a ring, originally *ca.*  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches in diameter.

33. Piece of bent wire, broken at both ends. Length, 4 inches; diameter,  $\frac{1}{8}$  inch.

34. Small thin and shapeless fragment with remains of turned-up rim,  $\frac{15}{16}$  by  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch.



## 2. LEAD.

The only leaden object found was a small disc-shaped seal, roughly striated on the upper surface, with a hole pierced in the centre. Found unstratified in Site I, north-west (Fig. 46, No. 2). Perhaps post-Roman.

## 3. IRON. (Fig. 46.)

The iron objects found were numerous but seldom important or interesting. Nails, of course, were plentiful, and a few of the other damaged pieces were no doubt hooks or holdfasts used for structural purposes. Of tools a chisel is recognisable (No. 5), and two knives, one represented by a small bit from the base of the blade only, and the other merely by part of a coarsely-ornamented bone handle; of weapons there is a spear-head, broken, but practically complete (No. 1), and the butt-end of a large dagger or sword. A selection is illustrated, but it is not proposed to try to describe all the fragments found.

1 (Fig. 46, No. 1). Spear-head with flat tapering blade. The socket is shown as ending in a point, but this is perhaps an error as pointed sockets are very unusual (though not unknown). If so, the pointed piece is the butt, united—by a tempting, but not quite certain, join—for the purpose of the photograph, and the socket, which is, of course, hollow, ends at the point indicated. Length of spear-head, *ca.* 8 inches; of butt (?), *ca.*  $3\frac{3}{8}$  inches. For an iron butt from a spear-shaft, *cf.* *Germania Romana*, Pl. 93, 14 (No. 28).<sup>1</sup>

2 (*Ibid.*, No. 3). Key with rounded handle ending in loop and plain rectangular head. Found in Site I, north. Length,  $3\frac{5}{8}$  inches.

3 (*Ibid.*, No. 4). Handle only of similar key. Length and finding-place as of the previous object.

4 (*Ibid.*, No. 5). Chisel, four-sided, with plain end. Length,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches; breadth of blade,  $\frac{3}{8}$  inch.

5 (*Ibid.*, No. 6). Chain of eight links, one of which is broken away, and two others have rusted together. Each link is  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inches long, and formed of two loops set at right-angles to each other, thickened at the point of junction. Found in Site I, north. Length,  $11\frac{1}{4}$  inches.

6 (*Ibid.*, No. 7). Hook, rectangular in section, with arm slightly curved and tapering. The shaft is broken off short. Found in Site I, north, at deep level. Length of hook, 3 inches; of shaft,  $1\frac{3}{8}$  inches.

= Jacobi, *Römer Kastell Saalburg*, p. 484, Fig. 77.

7 (*Ibid.*, No. 8). Fragment of large hook or bolt, forming a right-angle, and broken at both ends. Length,  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches; max. diameter,  $\frac{5}{8}$  inch.

8 (*Ibid.*, No. 9). Fragment of butt-end of large knife or dagger, with short broad tang, curled over. Found in Site I. Length,  $1\frac{7}{8}$  inches; breadth of blade, ditto.

9 (*Ibid.*, No. 10). Fragment of a tool (?) in form of a four-sided shaft which tapers to a wedge at one end, the other being broken; a tooth, like those of a rake, projects at right angles (also broken off). Length,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

10 (*Ibid.*, No. 11). Plain ring, circular in section. Inner diameter, 1 inch.

11 (*Ibid.*, No. 12). Penannular brooch with knob at one end; the pin is broken off short. Found in Site I, north. Diameter, *ca.*  $1\frac{3}{8}$  inches.

Among objects not illustrated we may note two lynch-pins, with four-sided shafts and broad convex tops, the former  $6\frac{1}{8}$  inches, and the latter, much bent,  $4\frac{3}{4}$  inches long.<sup>1</sup> A fragment, U-shaped in section, probably the socket of a tool, split longitudinally, 4 inches long; a piece of a knife-blade with part of its tang,  $1\frac{15}{16}$  inches long, and several even more unrecognisable pieces. The bone knife-handle, mentioned above, is described among the bone objects.

Nails were found at various points of the site, notably at the north-east corner of Site I, in Site II near the middle, and close to the flue in Site IV. The average length of the well-preserved ones was  $3\frac{1}{4}$  inches, one example,  $4\frac{1}{4}$  inches long, being exceptionally large.

(b) OBJECTS OF BONE AND HORN. (Pl. xxxvii, and Fig. 49.)

These comprise, in bone, a broken object like a paper-knife with an incised inscription, a knife-handle with incised linear ornament, two small tools, apparently an awl and a gouge, made by cutting down the bones of some small animal, and finally, a single boar's tusk, of which the use was perhaps merely for ornament. In horn we have two large antler-fragments, and one smaller, which may have served as picks, and two massive knife-handles cut from the same material.

1 (Figs. 47, No. 1, and 49). Bone object, resembling a modern paper-knife, broken at both ends, with one side flat and the other slightly convex. On the former is incised in tall letters, faintly

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Jacobi, *Saalburg* (1897), Pl. xxxxii, 6.



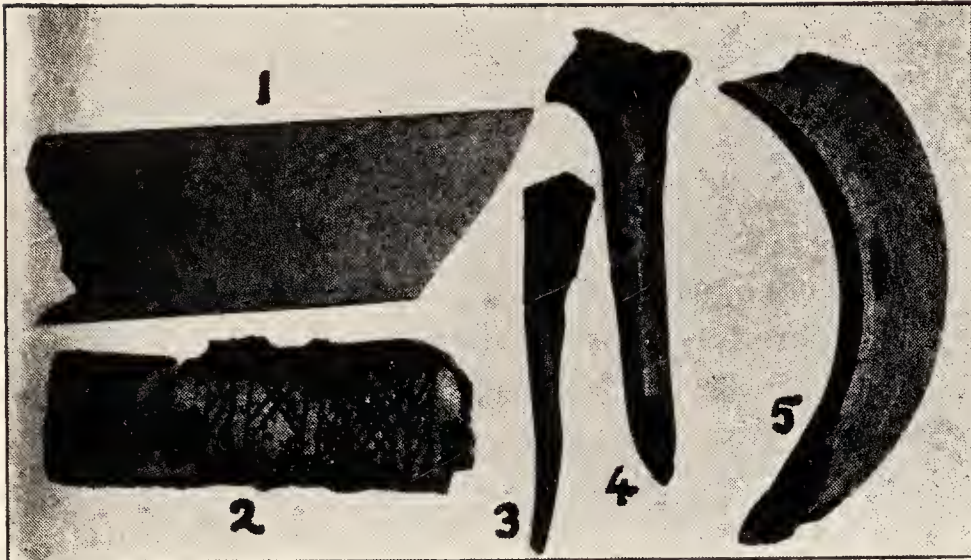


FIG. 47.—BONE OBJECTS: 1, PIECE OF INSCRIBED SPATULA; 2, KNIFE-HANDLE; 3, 4, BONE IMPLEMENTS; 5, BOAR'S TUSK  
(Scale *ca.* 1:2)



FIG. 48.—STAG-HORN. 3, KNIFE-HANDLE; 4, PERHAPS A PICK  
(Scale *ca.* 1:6)





scratched, IHISCONICILLI IKI. The last three are smaller, and perhaps the K is the only one that is intentional, as there are other scratches, ignored in the reproduction, which are clearly accidental. The first three signs leave some room for doubt, being incomplete, and, moreover, the cross-stroke of the H may possibly not be original though it seems no less (and in fact somewhat more) firmly scratched than the rest of the letters. I feel almost sure that it is intentional, but in any case no restoration readily suggests itself. Accepting the H, we have thus *ihis Conicilli iki* (?); rejecting it, we have *i* (or *l*)*uis*, which might be read as *ieis* or *leis*, II being here as often, in *graffiti* and formal inscriptions alike, written for *e*. *Conicilli* is surely the genitive of a proper name, *Conicillus* belonging to the numerous group of Celtic names with the *-illus* termination; and the inscription is presumably a mark of ownership, with which we may compare *L. Restituti spata*, incised on a bone object of somewhat similar type from Trier. (Cf. *Germania Romana*, Pl. 82, 16.)

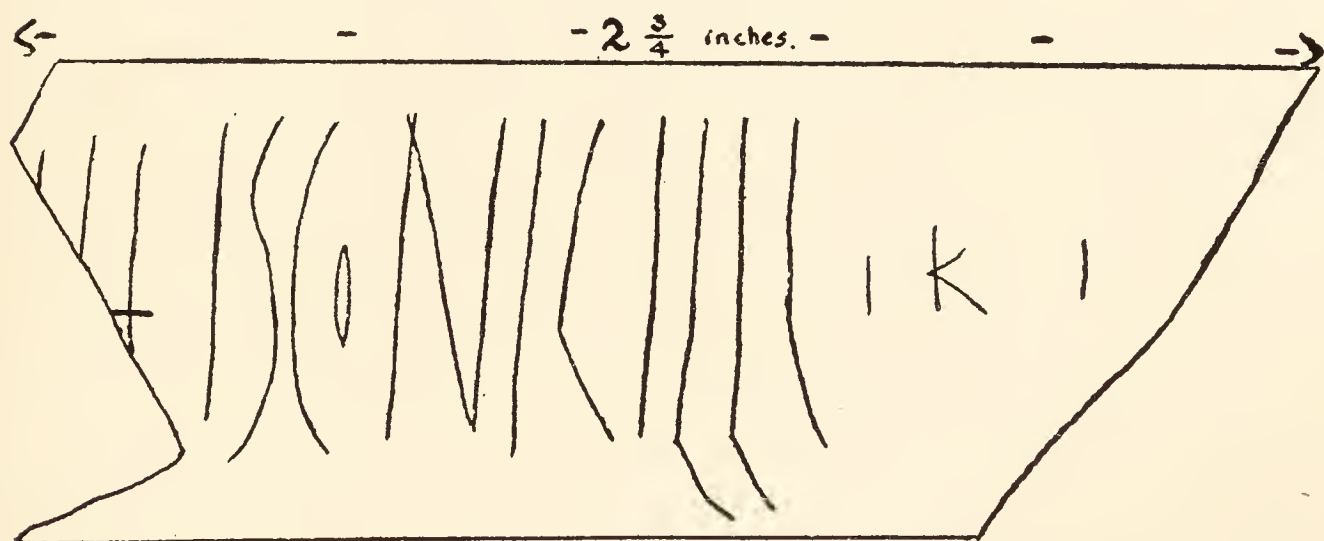


FIG. 49.—BONE SPATULA, WITH INSCRIPTION  
(Enlarged)

Found at deep level outside north wall of Site III. Length,  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches; breadth, 1 inch.

2 (Fig. 47, No. 2). Knife-handle with incised pattern in bands of hatching, in the form of two bone strips riveted together with an iron plate in the middle. Broken at one end and much rusted, so that it is not plain if the blade was hinged to close into the handle or not. Found in Site I in deep level at east end. Length,  $2\frac{3}{8}$  inches. For a similar knife-handle from the ditch of the early fort at Newstead, cf. *Report*, Pl. xciii, No. 7, and p. 281.

3 (*Ibid.*, No. 3). Awl, made from small bone sharpened to a point. Length, *ca.*  $2\frac{1}{8}$  inches.

4 (*Ibid.*, No. 4). Gouge, similar, with the joint serving as handle. Length,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

5 (*Ibid.*, No. 5). Boar's tusk, broken at base. Length, *ca.* 3 inches.

6 (Fig. 48, No. 4). Antler, of large size, broken above; part of the base remains. The lowest tine seems to have been used as a tool, two others above it being broken off short. Found in late level above the road east of Site I. Length,  $16\frac{1}{2}$  inches; diameter above first tine,  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches.

7 (*Ibid.*, No. 1). Similar, broken above, but part of two lowest tines preserved. The base has been cut off. Length, 12 inches. Found, broken, along with No. 6.

8 (*Ibid.*, No. 2). Similar, but smaller fragment from the tip of an antler, with one branch. Found with Nos. 6 and 7. Length,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

9 (*Ibid.*, No. 3). Knife-handle, cut from a large antler near the base, with circular sinking to hold the tang of the knife. Found near Nos. 6-8. Length,  $6\frac{3}{4}$  inches; diameter,  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches.

10 (not figured). Half of similar handle, split lengthwise. Found at west end of Site I, in small hypocaust. Length, *ca.* 6 inches.

We need not doubt that these objects are of Roman date; certainly Nos. 9 and 10 are above suspicion, and there is no obstacle to our dating Nos. 6-8 with them, in spite of their having been found at a late level in which certain pieces of mediaeval pottery also occurred. The confusion of strata alluded to above is more than enough to account for this association, and the majority of pottery found with them was certainly Roman. Moreover, such finds are not rare on Roman sites in Britain and elsewhere.

#### (c) ARCHITECTURAL FRAGMENTS, STONE AND CLAY.

(Figs. 50, 51.)

A few dressed stones with some form of mouldings, showing that they had served some structural purpose, were found in various regions of the site, but it was obvious that none of them was in its original position, and we have no ground for attributing them to any particular building, with one possible exception. Four are shown on Fig. 50, and three others are shown incidentally in views of various parts of the site (Figs. 20, 23, 30).

No. 1. Found at north-west corner of Site I (*cf.* Fig. 20). Possibly from a door-jamb. The rebate might, however, indicate that it was from a threshold, but there are no signs of treading.



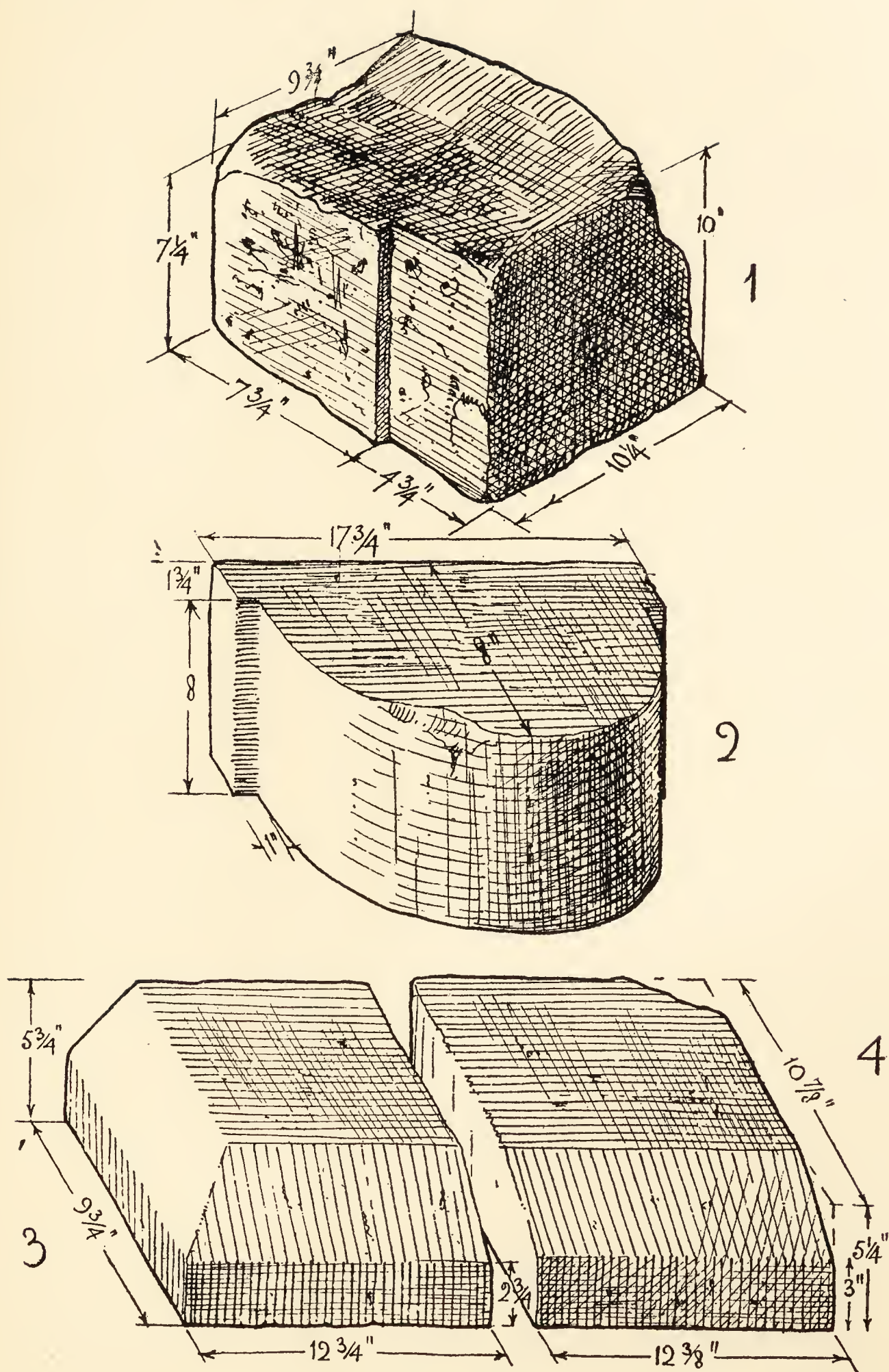


FIG. 50.—WORKED STONES FROM THE FORT

No. 2. Found alongside No. 1. Clearly from a pilaster of roughly semi-circular section. Broken above and below, but shown as if upper surface was complete, for the sake of clearness.

Nos. 3 and 4. Chamfered blocks, possibly from the same structure, in spite of a slight difference in height ( $\frac{1}{4}$  inch) of face below chamfering; nor do the other dimensions agree, though this seems an even less serious objection. No. 3 was found at the north-west corner of Site III, and No. 4 close to Nos. 1 and 2. These might, for instance, have come from the plinth-course of the towers at one of the gates, a common architectural feature (*cf.* the masonry found *in situ* at High House, Milecastle, *R.W.*, Pl. x, No. 17; *Balm.*, Pl. vii A). Yet another chamfered block, found lying on the foundations of the north wall of Site II, at the edge of the pit referred to (p. 187), has three of its four faces bevelled, and might have come from the *spina* of a gate, or have crowned a battlement on the stone wall of the Fort.

A rectangular block with rebated and moulded front edge, and much worn above by treading, was found in Site IV, in the flue, having apparently been supported on the stone pillar on to which it projects in the photograph (Fig. 30). It probably belonged to a plinth-course, and it may have become foot-worn during re-use, perhaps to bridge the flue where it was found. Another curious block, which was found serving as one of the pillars in the larger hypocaust in Site I (Fig. 18), has a shallow groove between two slightly-rounded surfaces along its long axis. A slight curve, if not accidental—for it is a very roughly-cut stone—might suggest that it belonged to a moulded archway, though the curve implies a larger span than one would expect in any structure in a small fort. The ornate column-base now in the Ilkley Museum, which was, I understand, found many years ago in the churchyard, justifies us in assuming the presence of a colonnade in the Headquarters Building (Site III). It has a triple *torus*-moulding, and carried a shaft 14 ins. in diameter below.

### *The Stamped Bricks.*

Five stamped bricks were found, of which two gave the complete stamp COHILING (reversed), Fig. 51.<sup>1</sup> The other three pieces gave either the end (2) or the beginning only (1) of the same inscription. Except the last named, found in 1919 at the north-west angle, all came from the south-west hypocaust of Site I. One of the two complete bricks (11½ inches square) served as base for the only pillar

<sup>1</sup> This seems more likely than that it should read from left to right, with the L inverted.



found to north of the small partition-wall on the north of this hypocaust. The other pieces were all lying loose.

Clay roofing-tiles were curiously rare, and the few which were found, to the south of the west guard-chamber at the gateway and in Site IV, came from definitely deep levels; mention must also be made of a few incomplete bits with oblique scorings, which came from box-tiles belonging to the hypocausts. We must assume that the buildings of the Fort were, perhaps after the original occupation, all roofed with the thin slabs of white or yellow freestone, of which numerous pieces were found, especially in Site IV, and at the east end of Site III, and many of these had nail-holes pierced in them.

The only other structural remains noted were several pieces of fallen wall-plaster in the small north-west hypocaust, painted a dull red. Other features of the buildings have been described above.

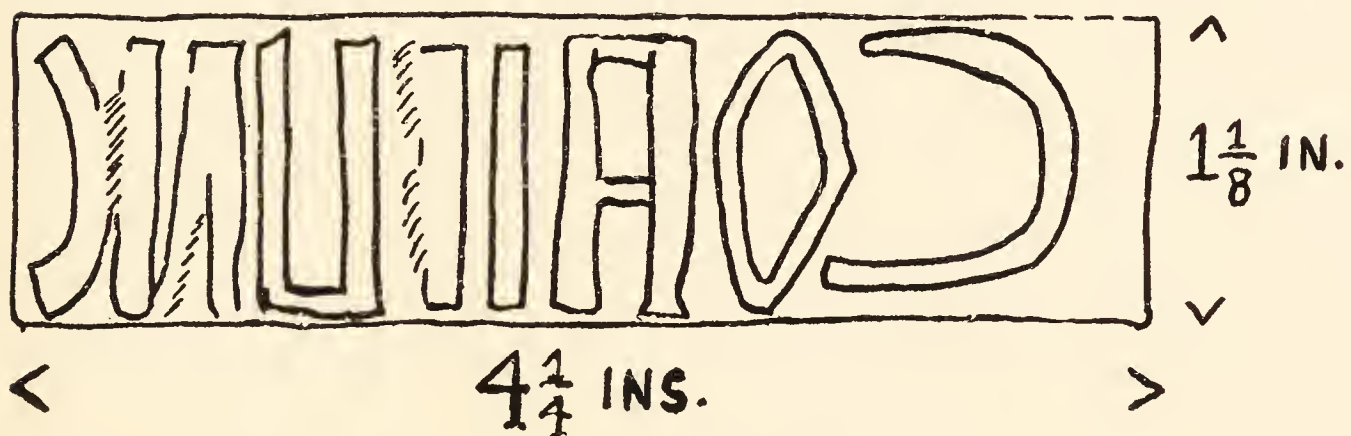


FIG. 51.—BRICK-STAMP  
(Scale 5:6)

Of other stone objects we need only note the discovery of three fragments of circular mill-stones of volcanic tufa ("Andernach Lava"?) with parallel striations, and of two or three small whet-stones with straight sides and rounded ends, none of which showed much sign of use.

(d) GLASS.

The finds of glass may be briefly dismissed, as they were nearly all small and unimportant fragments. Of window-glass only eight small bits were found, scattered over a wide area. Two pieces came from the hypocaust at the west end of Site I, and three pieces from the east end of this building; Site II yielded one piece, and Site IV two. In colour one bit was of an unusually intense blue, the rest being pale blue or pale green, which are the normal shades.

Of vessels about ninety fragments were found, of which Site I yielded about forty, Site II twenty-three, Site III three only, the remainder coming from Site IV and the north-west angle about

equally. Owing to their broken condition few give sure indication of their original shape, though some of the flat pieces must come from the sides or bases of large four-sided jars, and one of the three-handle pieces probably belongs to this type. The only vessel represented by more than one or two small pieces was a beaker with a rolled rim and sides vertical towards the top, but narrowing below to a base  $2\frac{7}{8}$  inches in diameter. This was of thin, semi-opaque, white glass, and was found to the east of Site I. Another similar base of the same colour also occurred. Other unusual colours represented were amber (four pieces), rose-pink (one piece), deep blue (one piece), transparent rusty brown (one piece), the remainder being all pale blue or pale green, or practically colourless.

*Beads, etc.*

These were not very common, as the following list shows:

1. Glass, melon-shaped, deep blue, semi-opaque. Diameter, 1 inch.
2. Glass, melon-shaped, not ribbed, light green, opaque. Diameter,  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch.
3. As last. Diameter,  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch.
4. Glass, melon-shaped, opaque blue. Diameter,  $\frac{1}{8}$  inch.
5. Glass, three small chips of hard light-green with dark veins.
6. Glass, tessera of light blue, opaque,  $\frac{3}{8}$  inch square,  $\frac{3}{16}$  inch thick.
7. Vitreous paste. Fragment of large ribbed melon-shaped bead. Diameter, 1 inch.
8. Vitreous paste. Bead, complete, shape as last. Diameter,  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch.
9. Vitreous paste. Bead, same shape but not ribbed. Diameter,  $\frac{1}{8}$  inch.
10. Coral. Cheese-shaped bead, pierced with small thread-hole, perhaps post-Roman. Diameter,  $\frac{5}{16}$  inch.

(e) THE COINS.

(a) *Roman.*

Considering the small extent of the ground excavated, the number of coins found was alike surprising and gratifying. Twelve were found in 1919, ten in 1920, and thirty-four in 1921. It would be a quite impossible task to trace the coins found on the site of the Fort prior to our excavations, but there is good reason to believe that



they were numerous.<sup>1</sup> In the circumstances we must confine our attention to the fifty-six discovered during the digging, a number sufficiently large to be regarded as representative of the coinage in circulation at Ilkley during the period, or periods, when the Fort was occupied.

Mr. G. F. Hill, Keeper of the Coins and Medals of the British Museum, and Mr. H. Mattingly, Assistant in that department, have kindly helped in examining and identifying some of the obscurer specimens, but I am alone responsible for the descriptions, and for the conclusions drawn from the evidence of the coins as a whole. [References are given, where possible, to H. Cohen, *Médailles Impériales*, 2nd edition.]

#### Domitian (A.D. 81–96).

1. *As*: CAE[SAR] AVG FIL DOM[ITIA]NVS [COS (?)]. Bust, laureate, to r. Rev.: (No legend). *Spes* moving to l. in long robe, holding flower in r. and robe with l. In field, s.c. (Cohen, 449 ff.) A.D. 74–81. Struck before his accession.

2. *Dupondius*: IMP CAES DOMIT AVG [G]ERM COS XV CENS [PER P P]. Bust, radiate, to r. Rev.: VIRTVTI [AVG]VSTI. *Virtus* standing to r. with l. foot on helmet, holding spear and *parazonium*. In field, s.c. (Cohen, 656.) A.D. 89. The second figure in the date is not very clear, and XII (A.D. 86) is not impossible.

#### Trajan (A.D. 98–117).

3. *Sestertius*: IMP CAES NERVAE TRAIANO AVG GER DAC P M TR P COS V P P. Bust, laureate, to r. Rev.: S P Q R OPTIMO PRINCIPI. *Salus*, seated to l., feeding a snake coiled round an altar. In exergue, s.c. (C., 485.) A.D. 103–111. [A magnificent specimen, with brownish-green patina; by the absence of signs of wear, it cannot have been long in circulation. Found in the lowest level at the west end of Site III (*Praetorium*).]

4. *As*: [IMP CAES] NER[VAE TRAIANO (?) . . ]COS VI P P. Bust, laureate, to r. Rev.: FELICIT[AS] AVGVST. *Felicitas* standing, with caduceus in r. and cornucopiae in l. In field, s.c. (C., 144.) A.D. 112–116. [Much worn, and consular year not quite certain.]

#### Hadrian (A.D. 117–138).

5. *Sestertius*: HADRIANVS [AVG COS III P P]. Head, laureate, to r. Rev.: (Legend obliterated). Female figure standing to r., with

<sup>1</sup> In addition to a few preserved in the Museum, the late Mr. Isaac Dean showed me some which were found many years ago during grave-digging in the churchyard, including specimens of Vespasian, Trajan, Antoninus Pius and Valens, and

I have been informed that many were found and parted with by workmen at the time the road was made to the New Bridge, through the east end of the Fort; cf. p. 152.

uncertain attributes, perhaps *Fides* holding ears of corn and basket of fruits, as on C., 720 (legend FIDES PVBLICA). In field, s.c. [Much worn and surface corroded.]

6. *Dupondius*: IMP TRAIANVS HADRIAN[VS AVG P M TR P COS III]. Bust, radiate, to r. Rev.: (Legend obliterated). Female figure standing to l., with scales and cornucopiae, perhaps MONETA AVGVSTI type, as C., 976. In field, s.c.

#### Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138–161).

7. *Denarius*: ANTONINVS AVG PIVS P P TR P XVII. Head, laureate, to r. Rev.: LIBERALITAS VII (?) COS III. *Liberalitas*, in long robe, standing to l., emptying a cornucopiae. (Cf. C., 519; this date seems unknown to him with this type of reverse. Moreover, the legend seems blundered, and looks like *Liberatilas* (sic). Date, A.D. 154.) [Found together with No. 12, of Julia Domna, in Site IV.]

8. *Denarius*: [ANT]ONIN[VS AVG P]IVS P P. Head as last. Rev.: TR POT [XXI (?) COS III]. *Abundantia* standing to l., holding two ears of corn, and a rudder on a prow with *modius* at her feet (?). (C., 1038.) Ca. A.D. 158. [Found together with Nos. 14–16 in Site IV. In poor preservation.]

9. *Sestertius*: ANTONINVS AVG PIVS P P TR P COS III. Head as last. Rev.: IMPERATOR II. *Victoria* moving to r., with trophy held in both hands. In field, s.c. (C., 433.) A.D. 140–142. [Found in north gateway on second period level of road. Discoloured by burning, but shows no signs of wear.]

10. *Sestertius*: Legend as on last, but COS IIII. Head as last. Rev.: SALVS AVG. *Salus* standing to l., supporting rudder with l., and with r. feeding a snake coiled round an altar. In field, s.c. (C., 718.) A.D. 145 or later.

#### Septimius Severus (A.D. 193–211).

11. *Denarius*: L SEPT [SEV PERT] AVG IMP III. Head, laureate, to r. Rev.: [APOLL]INI [AVGVS]TO. Apollo in female attire standing to l., with lyre and patera. (C., 42.) A.D. 194–195. [Found at east end of Site I together with No. 13.]

#### Julia Domna (wife of Severus).

12. *Denarius*: IVLIA AVGVSTA. Bust, draped, to r. Rev.: VENVS FELIX. Venus standing to l., holding apple in r. and lifting robe on to shoulder with l. (C., 198.) [Found, together with No. 7 of Antoninus Pius, in Site IV.]



Julia Mamaea (mother of Severus Alexander, A.D. 222–235).

13. *Denarius*: [IVLIA MAM]AEA AVG. Bust, draped, to r. Rev.: IVNO CONSERVATRIX. Juno, diademed and veiled, holding patera and sceptre, standing to l., with a peacock at her feet. (C., 35.) [Obverse encrusted and partly scaled away; reverse in good condition. Found together with No. 11.]

*Other Denarii, probably of Second or Early Third Centuries.*

14. - - - AVG G[ER (?)] - - -. Traces of head, laureate, to r. Rev.: (Legend obliterated). Traces of altar or arch. Perhaps Trajan, in view of legend on obverse.

15. (Legend obliterated). Bearded head to r., perhaps Hadrian. Rev.: - - - [C]OS - - -. *Abundantia*, or similar figure, standing to l., with cornucopiae in l. and r. raised. Much corroded.

16. - - - - VS - - - - - IVS - - -. Head to r., perhaps bearded. Rev.: (Legend obliterated). Standing figure (?). Possibly [*Antonin*]us [*Aug. P*]ius, etc., though the spacing makes even this doubtful.

17. (Legends on both sides obliterated.) Beardless head to r. Rev. hopelessly corroded. Large size, suggestive of a third-century emperor, but before A.D. 250, *e.g.* Severus Alexander or Philip.

Of these Nos. 14–16 were found in Site IV together with No. 8, of Antoninus Pius, and close to No. 10, of the same Emperor; No. 17 was rescued from the tip-heap whither it had journeyed without discovery in earth from the same portion of the same site, and almost certainly is to be associated with Nos. 14–16 as having formed a small, and perhaps previously disturbed, hoard. Cf. the description of this site, p. 195 f., above.

Valerian (A.D. 253–259).

18. Æ 3: [IMP C P L]IC VALERIANV[S P F AVG]. Head, radiate, to r. Rev.: ORIENS AVGG. *Sol* standing to l., with r. raised and whip in l. (C., 135.)

Gallienus (A.D. 253–268).

19. Æ 3: GALL[IEN]VS AVG. Bust, radiate, to r. Rev.: SOLI C[ONS] AVG. Pegasus to r. Mint mark, A. (C., 970.)

20. Æ 3: GALLIENV[S AVG]. Bust as last. Rev.: VICTORIA AVG. *Victoria* moving to r., holding wreath in r. and palm in l. Mint mark, T|R. (C., 1094.)

## Claudius II. Gothicus (A.D. 268–270).

21. Æ 3: [IMP C CLAVD]IVS AVG. Bust, radiate, to r. Rev.: AEQV[IT]AS AVG. *Aequitas* standing to l., holding scales and cornucopiae. (C., 6.)

22. Æ 3: Obv. as last. (Legend almost complete.) Rev.: FELICITA[S AVG]. *Felicitas* standing, holding thyrsus and cornucopiae. (C., 79.)

23. Æ 3: Obv. as last. Rev.: MARS VLTOR. Mars walking to r., holding spear in r. and trophy in l. (C., 160.)

24. Æ 3: Obv. as last. Rev.: [SAL]VS AVG. *Salus* standing to l., holding sceptre in l. and feeding a snake with r. (C., 262.)

25. Æ 3: Obv. as last. (Legend nearly obliterated.) Rev.: (Legend obliterated). *Securitas* standing with legs crossed, leaning against a low column, holding *caduceus* in l. and short staff pointing downwards in r. (C., 269 ?)

26. Æ 3: [I]MP C CLA[VD]I[VS AVG]. Bust as last. Rev.: Indecipherable. [Badly bent.]

*Struck posthumously by Quintillus (A.D. 270).*

27. Æ 3: DIV[O CL]AVDIO. Head, radiate, to r. Rev.: CONSECRATIO. Altar with fire on it. (C., 51.)

28. Æ 3: Obv. as last. (Legend lost except initial D.) Rev.: as last.

29. Æ 3: Obv. as last. (Legend complete.) Rev.: as last. (Worn and badly centred.) (C., 51 ?)

## Tetricus Senior (A.D. 268–273).

30. Æ 3: [IM]P TETR[ICVS P] F AVG. Bust, radiate and cuirassed, to r. Rev.: [F]IDES MI[LITVM]. *Fides* standing to l., holding two standards. (C., 37.)

31. Æ 3: [IMP (C ?)TE]TRICVS AVG. Bust, radiate and draped, to r. Rev.: [SAL]VS AVG. *Salus* standing to l., feeding snake with r. and holding vertical sceptre in l. (C., 148.)

32. Æ 3: [I]MP C TRICVS P F AVG (*sic*). Bust, radiate, to r. Rev.: SPES PVBLICA. *Spes* advancing to l., with flower in r. and holding up skirt with l. (C., 170, variant.) Probably a local imitation, which accounts for the blunder in the name on obverse.

33. Æ 3: As last. (Legend obliterated after IMP.) Rev.: (Legend lost). *Victoria* advancing to l., with wreath in r. (and palm in l. ?). (C., 186 ?)



34. Æ 3: As last. [I]MP TE[*tricus, etc.*] Rev.: VIRTVS AV[GG]. *Virtus*, helmeted, standing to l. (C., 207 ?) Local imitation (?).  
 35. Æ 3: As last. IMP C [*Tetricus, etc.*] Rev.: Obliterated.

Tetricus Junior (A.D. 270–273).

36. Æ 3: (Legend obliterated.) Bust, radiate and draped, to r. Rev.: (Ditto). Pitcher and other sacrificial implements (the former alone is visible). Type indicates legend to have been *Pietas Augg. (vel sim.)*. (C., 48 ff.)

Tacitus (A.D. 275–276).

37. Silvered: IMP CL TACITVS AVG. Bust, radiate, draped and cuirassed, to r. Rev.: FIDES MILITVM. *Fides*, standing to l., holding two standards. Mint mark doubtful. (C., 47.)

Probus (A.D. 276–282).

38. Æ 3: [IMP] C PROBVS AVG. Bust, radiate and draped, to r. Rev.: [S]A[LVS AVG]. *Salus* standing to l., with sceptre in l. and with r. feeding a snake coiled round an altar. (C., 566, probably.) [Much worn, bent, and a small piece broken off.]

*Attribution doubtful, but circa A.D. 270.*

Nos. 39–46 may be grouped together, as being too badly preserved for the obverse type to be identified with any confidence, though style and fabric, and in some cases the reverse type, indicate the above as their approximate date. The suggested attributions are of rather various degrees of probability.

Obverse type in each case: Bust, radiate, draped and sometimes cuirassed, to r. (except No. 45, where it is impossible to distinguish even rev. from obv.).

39. Æ 3: Rev.: VIC[TO]RI[A AVG]. *Victoria*, advancing to l., holding wreath (and palm ?). Perhaps Claudius II (as C., 301).

40. Æ 3: Rev.: [VIR]TVS A[VGVSTI]. Mars, standing to l., holding spear and branch. Mint mark in field, doubtful. Perhaps Claudius II (as C., 323).

41. Æ 3: Rev.: (Legend obliterated). Standing figure, attributes uncertain. Perhaps Victorinus (?). [Found outside north-west angle of the Fort, cf. pp. 167 ff.]

42. Æ 3: Rev.: - - - AVG. Pitcher, etc., as on No. 36 (?). In this case, Tetricus II.

43. Æ 3: Rev.: CO - - AVG. Female figure standing. Perhaps COM IMP AVG type of Tetricus II. (C., 7.)

44. Æ 3: Rev.: Quite uncertain.

45. Æ 3: Both sides obliterated, and broken in half.<sup>1</sup>

46. Æ 3: Rev.: - - - AVG. Female figure standing to l., with cornucopiae in l. and uncertain object in r. Perhaps Aurelian, type *Provident. Aug.* (C., 188.)

Carausius (A.D. 287-293).

47. Silvered: IMP C CARAVSIVS P F AVG. Bust, radiate, draped and cuirassed, to r. Rev.: LAETITIA AVG. *Laetitia*, standing to l., holding wreath and anchor. Mint mark, s|c. (Webb, 510.)<sup>2</sup>

48. Æ 3: [IMP] CARAVSIVS P F AVG. Bust, radiate and draped, to r. Rev.: LEG II P[ARTH]. Centaur, advancing to l., holding globe and rudder. Mint mark,  $\overline{\text{ML}}$ . (Webb, 70.)

49. Æ 3: IMP CARAVSIVS P F AVG. Bust as last. Rev.: PAX AVG. *Pax*, standing to l., holding olive-branch and sloping sceptre. Mint mark,  $\frac{\text{FIO}}{\text{ML}}$  (Webb, 144.)

50. Æ 3: IMP CARAVSIVS P F AV. Bust as last. Rev.: PAX [AV]G. *Pax*, as last, with upright sceptre. Mint mark as last. (Webb, 128, variant.) Barbarous fabric.

51. Æ 3: [I]MP CA[RAVSIVS P F AVG(?)]. Bust as last. Much worn and legend nearly obliterated. Rev.: As last. Mint mark, s c (?). (Webb, 526 ?)

52. Æ 3: Legend as No. 49. Bust, radiate, draped and cuirassed, to r. Rev.: [PRO]VIDENT. AVG. *Providentia*, standing to l., with globe and sloping sceptre. No mint mark. (Webb, 1069.)

The following is perhaps likewise to be ascribed to Carausius:

53. Æ 3: Bust, radiate and draped, to r. (Legend obliterated.) Rev.: P - - -. Bust, radiate, to r. Large, thin flan, 26 mm. Much corroded, and small portions missing from the edge. The first letter of the rev. legend suggests the rare *Pacator Orbis* type, the head in this case being Apollo. (Webb, 971 ?)<sup>3</sup>

Nos. 47-50 and 52 are all well preserved, and show little signs of wear, though No. 48 bears traces of burning, and the lamentable condition of No. 53 is perhaps due to the same cause; but No. 51 is much worn as well as corroded. It is noteworthy that five of the seven were found in the surface soil, Nos. 47, 50, 52, and 53 at various spots in the northern area of Site I (the Commandant's House), and No. 48 at the north-east corner of Site III (*Praetorium*); No. 51 also comes from Site I, only a little below the top soil, and No. 49 was

<sup>1</sup> Size, thickness, and place of discovery alike indicate it as a late third century type.

<sup>2</sup> P. H. Webb, *The Reign and Coinage of Carausius* [London, 1908].

<sup>3</sup> The profile on obv. suggests Carausius. The radiate head on rev. makes it impossible for this to be Aurelian (obv.) and Vaballathus (rev.), as tentatively suggested by Mr. Mattingly.



found in the roadside drain east of the *Via Principalis*. The chronological importance of this distribution is touched on above, p. 184.

The mints represented are London (Nos. 48-50) and Colchester (Nos. 47 and probably 51); No. 52, which has no mint mark, should probably be attributed also to London (*cf.* Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 67).

#### Constantine, Dynasty of.

54. Æ 3: Indecipherable. Head to r., apparently diademed. Rev.: Ditto. (Possibly winged Victory type.)

#### Valentinian I (A.D. 364-375).

55. Æ 3: D N VALENTINIANVS P F AVG. Bust, diademed and draped, to r. Rev.: [SECVRI]TAS REIPVBLICAE. *Victoria*, advancing to l., with wreath. Mint mark, ≡II. (C., 37.)

#### Valens (A.D. 364-378).

56. Æ 3: D N VALENS P F AVG. Bust as last. Rev.: As last. (Legend mutilated at beginning and end.) Mint mark,  $\frac{\text{OFII}}{\text{CON}}$  (Arles). (C., 47.)

An analysis of the above fifty-six coins was published in the *Transactions of the Yorkshire Numismatic Society* (Jan., 1922), p. 161 f., before I had submitted the obscurer specimens to the authorities of the British Museum. As a result of their aid, and of further efforts of my own, the number of "illegible" has been considerably reduced,<sup>1</sup> but the general historical conclusions to be drawn from the coins as a whole are scarcely affected. The fact that one (No. 54) of the doubtful pieces must be ascribed to the fourth century instead of the late third, does not by itself, in view of the difficulty of exactly dating so worn a specimen, prove a continuous occupation of the site during the interval of some 70 years between Carausius and Valentinian; in fact it may still have been in circulation after the accession of the latter.

#### (b) *More recent Coins.*

Leaving out of account British coins of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, of which a considerable number, amounting to over two shillings' worth in small change, were found in the surface soil, we found only the following, all in poor condition:

<sup>1</sup> Of 15 coins described as "probably of third century, in fact, 250-293," one has been now ascribed to Claudius II (No. 25), two to Tetricus Senior (Nos. 34, 35), one to Tetricus Junior (No. 36),

one certainly (No. 51) and one possibly (No. 53) to Carausius, and one (No. 54) to the fourth century, leaving eight as of still doubtful attribution.

1. James I. Half-groat, silver, of second issue (1604–1625); mint mark, rose (1620–1621). Cf. H. A. Grueber, *Handbook of the Coins of Great Britain* . . . , p. 105, No. 559.

2. Charles II. Farthing (1672 or later, the last figure illegible). Cf. Grueber, *op. cit.*, p. 133, No. 737.

3. Nuremburg Counter. Legend obliterated, and corroded to extreme thinness. Obv.: Three open crowns and three *lys* arranged alternately round a rose, within inner circle of rope-pattern. Rev.: Imperial orb in ornamental frame. Apparently as F. P. Barnard, *The Casting Counter and the Counting Board*, p. 222, No. 84. (Date, *circa* 1600.)<sup>1</sup>

## CHAPTER VIII.

### CONCLUSIONS.

#### I. THE DATE OF THE FORT.

It remains to consider what conclusions can be drawn from the material contained in the preceding chapters with regard to the dates when the Fort was originally occupied, and when the various reconstructions took place, both of its defences and of the buildings within it. It is worth while repeating that our conclusions rest on evidence which is regrettably incomplete, for the total area of the Site which it proved possible to examine represents barely a quarter of the whole; and that in this portion destruction and disturbance, alike in Roman times and later, made the task of interpreting the remains found even more difficult than it would otherwise have been.

With these reservations we may consider our evidence under three headings: (*a*) that from the structure; (*b*) that from the finds, from the Fort and its neighbourhood; and (*c*) external evidence, from general historical probabilities, and from particular *data* furnished by other Roman remains in the district.

(*a*) We have seen that the Fort as originally built was defended with a rampart of clay resting on a stone bedding, and with apparently an entirely wooden structure for the gateways (on the assumption that all four were in this respect alike, which seems highly probable). Contemporary with this was a *Praetorium*, of which only scanty remains survived, but sufficient to indicate by the associated finds a destruction by fire probably during the reign

<sup>1</sup> For help in identification of the above I am indebted again to the Keeper, and to Messrs. G. C. Brooke and E. S. G.

Robinson, Assistants in the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum.



of Trajan. Whether the earliest version of the Commandant's House (Site I) was, as I am disposed to believe, a wooden structure,<sup>1</sup> or whether the earliest building in stone on that site should after all be regarded as contemporary with the clay, and not with the later stone rampart, must remain uncertain. Of the original form of the Granary (Site II) no trace remains, though possibly the later building rests on the original foundation, and east of the North Gate we were unable to explore any area south of the *intravallum* road which might have revealed remains of the first period.

(b) The reasonable inference from the structure of the rampart that the occupation began in the first century is strongly supported by the finds from the deep levels. The presence of two coins of Domitian (one of which was struck before his accession) and of a few typical first-century pieces of South-Gaulish *Terra Sigillata*, as well as of a few examples of coarse pottery, such as *ollae* with rustic ornament, and of bowls with reeded rims and carinated sides, would be most improbable in a fort founded later than the end of the first century. When we add to this the evidence of finds of the same nature (including first-century coins), discovered accidentally outside the Fort, we are justified in concluding that not only was the Fort itself established before the end of the first century, but that a civil settlement sprang up almost at once outside it.<sup>2</sup>

(c) In what circumstances the Fort was originally built we cannot hope to decide, but the most likely explanation is that it belongs to the series of forts established in the West Riding by Agricola, to which Slack, amongst others, almost certainly belongs.<sup>3</sup> Nor need we feel any hesitation in regarding it as contemporary with the neighbouring fort at Elslack with which it is connected by the important road which runs from Tadcaster up the valley of the Wharfe, and partly on the high ground to the south of it, passing the presumed fort at Adel, of which the exact location has long been disputed,<sup>4</sup> and then traversing the Otley Chevin before it passes through Burley and so reaches Ilkley.<sup>5</sup> West of Elslack this road crosses the Pennines and terminates in all probability at Ribchester. It is not only from their connection by road that Ilkley and Elslack may be grouped together, but also on the ground of similarity of structure, for, as we have already seen, Elslack (which was slightly larger than Ilkley) was also defended in its original stage with a clay

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 172, above.

<sup>2</sup> For details of the extent of this settlement see chapter I.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Slack*, pp. 83 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Y.A.J.*, xxii, 287 ff.; xxvii, 320 f.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Codrington, *Roman Roads*, pp. 100 ff.

rampart of the same type, on a stone bedding 18 feet wide, with wooden structures at the gates; and among the finds from the Site were some interesting pieces of *Terra Sigillata* of the Flavian period.<sup>1</sup> Thus we may legitimately regard these two forts and the road on which they are situated as belonging to a single scheme of defence which it is not unnatural to attribute to the strategy of Agricola.

Another important piece of evidence must not be overlooked in this connection. The well-known "pig" of lead, found in the eighteenth century on Heyshaw Moor at the site of the old lead mines, bears a date early in the reign of Domitian (A.D. 81).<sup>2</sup> These mines, or rather their products, would not have been available for Roman use until the neighbourhood was pacified and securely held. It is not improbable that the well-known road which reaches Ilkley from the south, after crossing the moors from Airedale, and continues at first north and then north-east over the moors north of Wharfedale, apparently heading for Aldborough, and passing within a very few miles of these lead-mines, should be brought into connection with the original settlement of the Fort.<sup>3</sup> If so, the importance of Ilkley as the point of junction of two essential highways becomes evident.

It has been suggested already that this first period of occupation terminated in the disaster in which the *Praetorium* was destroyed by fire in the second century, the latest dateable object from the burnt layer or below it being a *Sestertius* of Trajan, struck in his 5th Consulate (between A.D. 103 and 111). Though the evidence is slight, I am strongly tempted to connect this destruction with the rising of the Brigantes to which is ascribed the extermination of the IXth Legion some time towards the end of the reign of Trajan.<sup>4</sup>

How soon the Fort was re-occupied and the damage repaired it is not easy to say with confidence. The coin series shows no real interruption, for we found two bronze coins of Hadrian, both indeed showing clear signs of use and neither exactly dateable; and of his successor, Antoninus Pius, we found at least four specimens, including a *Sestertius* belonging to the period A.D. 140 to 142, which showed practically no signs of wear and was found on the second level of the roadway at the North Gate.<sup>5</sup> Nor does the pottery suggest that a long interval elapsed between the destruction and the re-

<sup>1</sup> *Elslack*, p. 154 f., Pl. xiii.

<sup>2</sup> *C.I.L.*, vii, 1207; cf. Besnier in *Revue Archéologique*, 1921, pp. 36 ff., and No. 41 in his list.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Codrington, pp. 90 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Hübner's note on *C.I.L.*, vii, 241, the last dated inscription (found at York) recording *Leg. IX*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. pp. 161 and 296, No. 9.



occupation, for we found several pieces of *Terra Sigillata* of Lezoux fabric which seemed typical of potters working at the middle of the second century, though perhaps none which required to be dated to the reign of Hadrian. The evidence of the coarse pottery, which admits of only approximate dating, falls into line with these indications, but a lucky find of a stamped *amphora* handle, which can be dated with considerable exactitude, shows that this piece probably reached the Site shortly before the middle of the second century, for other examples of it have been found in Rome bearing also inscribed on them the names of Consuls who held office between A.D. 140 and 150.<sup>1</sup> It is safe to conclude that the Fort had been re-occupied at latest by the middle of the second century, but whether under Hadrian or Antoninus Pius the internal evidence does not permit us to say. It is to this date apparently that we must ascribe the fortifications consisting of the stone rampart-wall and guard-chambers at the gateway, unless possibly the guard-chambers existed before the stone wall; but on the whole it seems simplest to connect them. With this rebuilding, in view of similarity of structure, there seems good enough ground for associating the earliest building in stone of the Commandant's House, and presumably the reconstruction of the *Praetorium*, though not in its final form. The levels of the streets were raised at the same time, and, as we shall see, the main drain along the *intravallum* road must belong to the same period of rebuilding. This activity must be distinguished from that of the next phase, when Site I was extended to the north and south, Site II rebuilt, and Site III altered to its final form. The presence of a group of Antonine coins in that portion of Site IV which is extended on to the street to the northward, suggests that this extension belongs, on the other hand, to the earlier phase, but can scarcely be held to prove it, as they may represent the remains of a hoard, slowly accumulated, and deposited on the spot much later.<sup>2</sup>

We must, I think, inevitably conclude that the rebuilding of the fortifications at Elslack, with a stone wall so strongly resembling that at Ilkley, must belong to the same period, and the same policy. Mr. Thos. May, on the evidence then available (1909), had good grounds for attributing it to the reign of Severus.<sup>3</sup>

It is this second reconstruction which should, I think, be brought into connection with the well-known inscription, now unfortunately

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 259, No. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 196.

<sup>3</sup> *Elslack*, pp. 144 ff., relying on the testimony of the well-known building

inscriptions, dating from Severus' reign, found at Ribchester, Brough, and Ilkley itself.

lost, which alludes to rebuilding carried out under the charge of Virius Lupus in the year 197.<sup>1</sup> We have no clue to its nature or extent, but it is reasonable to suppose that it comprised reconstruction and repair of damage caused in one or other of the disturbances which came in rapid succession in the north of England towards the end of the second century.<sup>2</sup> It is impossible to say whether the stone rampart was repaired to some extent at the same time, but the scattering of various moulded stones, which it seems reasonable to connect with the gateways, suggests that either now or possibly later they suffered extensive damage. The former alternative would account for our finding the chamfered block referred to above,<sup>3</sup> which was re-used in the north wall of the Granary, if we accept the two suggestions that this stone belonged to a gateway and that the Granary was rebuilt in the time of Severus.

That the inscription cannot be brought into connection with the building of the stone rampart, as was our original impression, is proved by the following considerations. In the first place we have the evidence of three separate finds of objects dating from about the middle of the second century which must have been deposited after the wall was built. These are: (1) the *Sestertius* of Antoninus Pius, found on the roadway of the second period at the North Gate, which was raised to that level when the guard-chambers were built; (2) the piece of *Terra Sigillata*, Form 31, suggestive of a mid-second-century date, from the burnt-floor level in the west guard-chamber; (3) the discovery of most of the fragments of the bowl of Form 37, signed by *Severus*, which seemed to have had very little use before it was broken, on the cover-slabs of the main drain at the north-west corner of the *intra-vallum* road. This finding-place is utterly inconsistent with the possibility of the drain having been dug later than the discarding of the bowl, which can hardly be dated later than the middle of the century. In the second place it is very difficult to believe that the Fort, after a disaster in the reign of Trajan, continued with no other defence than its original clay rampart right through the second century, which is, above all, as we noticed in Chapter II,<sup>4</sup> the period when stone ramparts were coming into pretty general use to replace or reinforce those made of clay or turf. On the other hand, certain forts seem to have had their turf-ramparts standing without stone walls, down

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 314, No. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dio Cassius, lxxii, 9; *Vita Commodi*, C. 13, 5; *Vita M. Antonini*, C. 22, points to still earlier unrest in Britain,

in A.D. 169. And cf. *Balm.*, p. 105.

<sup>3</sup> p. 292.

<sup>4</sup> p. 159.



to the reign of Severus, both in Britain and elsewhere, as inscriptions show us.<sup>1</sup>

The history of the Site in the third century is very obscure; structurally, the chief event was the extension of the Commandant's House towards the west by the addition, perhaps in two successive stages, of an elaborate system of baths and heated rooms. It has also been suggested that, if we are right in distinguishing two stages of this extension, the second one belongs to a period when the garrison had been withdrawn and the Commandant's House had become the villa of a civilian.<sup>2</sup> When this took place it would be impossible to say, but our *terminus ante quem* is the total destruction of the house by fire shortly before the year 300.<sup>3</sup> We have noticed already, in considering the inventory of coins found, that there is no certain specimen to be attributed to the period between Julia Mamaea and Valerian, a period of some twenty years, but it is not necessary to assume that the Site was abandoned during this interval. On the other hand, much more than half of the total number of coins found belong to the period from Valerian to Carausius inclusive, and more than sixty per cent. of these come from Site I. The coarse pottery, though admitting of much less exact dating in the third century, is a further proof of the occupation of Site I in this period, but cannot be used to prove or disprove any break in that occupation.

We cannot claim to establish on the internal evidence either the exact date when the garrison was withdrawn, still less in what circumstances this took place nor whither it was sent. As will be seen below, the only unit which we know to have garrisoned the Fort was the Second Cohort of the *Lingones*, but whether they had been replaced by some other unit by the time of Severus or even earlier it is impossible to say. We must content ourselves with the generalisation that, unless military operations necessitated it, auxiliary units were seldom moved from place to place within the province in which they were stationed.<sup>4</sup>

For the fourth century our evidence is even more unsatisfactory. We have noted already signs of re-occupation, apparently in two stages, of which the later comprises also scanty remains of a renewal of the fortifications.<sup>5</sup> We have seen also that we have only one fourth-century coin, of uncertain attribution, which seemed clearly connected with the first stage of this re-occupation, and one

<sup>1</sup> e.g. *C.I.L.*, vii, 269, Brough by Bainbrigg; Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.*, 9179, a fort in Dacia.

<sup>2</sup> p. 183.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 184.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Cheesman, *Auxilia of the Roman Army*, pp. 144 ff.

<sup>5</sup> pp. 159 and 163 f.

coin each of Valens and Valentinian I. which should apparently be connected with the second stage.<sup>1</sup> The coarse pottery, typical of the fourth century, seemed to occur almost exclusively in the neighbourhood of Sites I and IV, the north-west angle yielding none at all. It seems reasonable to conclude, alike from the nature of the remains, the distribution of the finds, and the date of the coins, that the fourth-century occupation did not follow immediately on the destruction at the end of the previous century; moreover, that it was only partial and, in its second phase at any rate, military. If our two latest coins from the Site are correctly ascribed to this period of re-fortification, we can hardly avoid identifying it with the military operations of Theodosius in his endeavour to re-establish the hold of Rome on the north of the province.<sup>2</sup> How long this final occupation lasted cannot be stated with certainty, and in any case the exact date of the final withdrawal of the Roman garrisons from the north is still in dispute.<sup>3</sup>

## 2. LATER REMAINS.

It is worth while briefly summarising the remains of post-Roman date which the Site has yielded. The most interesting is the portion of the head of a cross (Fig. 57), which is regarded by Mr. W. G. Collingwood as of post-Conquest date, though it preserves some pre-Norman features.<sup>4</sup> This was found in use as a building stone in the topmost surviving course of a wall of presumably mediæval date which was built almost exactly on top of the remains of the south wall of Rooms M and O in Site I. Perhaps even earlier than this—and certainly earlier if we accept their Saxon origin—are the two window-heads made out of two Roman altars which are described below.<sup>5</sup>

It is, unfortunately, impossible to ascribe an exact date to the numerous pieces of coarse mediæval pottery found in almost every region of the Site. The majority of it seems to belong to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, though a few pieces may be later still.<sup>6</sup> The small building at the north-west angle cannot be dated

<sup>1</sup> pp. 184, 194, and 301.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. 25.

<sup>3</sup> Professor J. B. Bury, in *J.R.S.*, x (1920), pp. 131 ff., argues that from "the evidence of the *Notitia* it is quite clear that Britain as a whole was still held by the Empire in A.D. 428." But Mr. R. G. Collingwood (*op. cit.*, xii (1922), pp. 74 ff.), seems to have triumphantly vindicated the established view (that Britain was lost by 410). His marshalling of the

numismatic evidence appears unanswerable.

<sup>4</sup> From a personal communication on receipt of a photograph of the stone.

<sup>5</sup> p. 318 f.

<sup>6</sup> I am indebted to Mr. E. T. Leeds, F.S.A., Assistant-Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, for this information concerning a few typical pieces submitted to him. It has not seemed worth while to describe or reproduce any of this ware.



exactly, but some of this mediæval pottery was found near and in it, and some even below its floor. The presence of such a large amount should perhaps be connected with the building of the Parish Church which, as we have seen, occupies the southern portion of the site of the Fort, for it is not unlikely that the builders of it "squatted" among the ruins of the Fort, which naturally yielded them a valuable supply of ready-cut stones. The Parish Church, it should be said, is a typical fourteenth-century structure, with a Norman porch on the south, surviving from the building which preceded it. It is possible that the wall which we found parallel to the churchyard wall, and crossing at a higher level the east and west walls of the *Praetorium*, represents the earlier wall of the churchyard and dates also from the fourteenth century. The Site yielded us no mediæval coins, though I understand that they occasionally were turned up during the process of digging graves in the churchyard. Our solitary finds of post-Roman coins are represented by a half-groat of James I, a farthing of Charles II, and a Nuremburg token, described above.<sup>1</sup> No record was kept of currency of the nineteenth century. The picturesque Elizabethan house known as "The Castle," which occupies part of the western area of the Site, has, presumably (like the Parish Church), in its walls many stones abstracted from the Fort. Small wonder that with these vicissitudes the masonry of the Site has suffered so severely; we may count ourselves lucky that any has survived at all.

### 3. THE GARRISON.

Prior to our excavations our sole evidence for the garrison of the Fort consisted of the inscribed altar dedicated to *Verbeia* by Clodius Fronto, *Praefectus* of the Second Cohort of the *Lingones* (*C.I.L.*, vii, 208=Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.*, 4731; No. 1 of those collected below); thus the finding of bricks stamped with the name of the same unit afforded most welcome confirmation. With the aid of particulars gleaned from other inscriptions we can compile the following information concerning it.<sup>2</sup> In the first place there were five cohorts of *Lingones* in all, levied originally from the Gaulish tribe of this name, who dwelt in the region of the Marne, and gave their name to the city of Langres. All were *Cohortes Equitatae*, i.e. of infantry with a few mounted men attached, and *Quingenariae*, i.e. with an approximate strength of 500.<sup>3</sup> For the second Cohort this knowledge

<sup>1</sup> p. 302.

<sup>2</sup> The evidence is collected by Cichorius, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*,

s.v. *Cohors*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Cheesman, *Auxilia of the Roman Army*, pp. 25 ff.

is derived from an inscription (*C.I.L.*, xi, 6123) from *Forum Sempronii* in Umbria, which records the *cursus honorum* of one C. Hedi<sup>1</sup> Verus, who had at some time (not before the reign of Trajan, for he had also been *tribunus militum* in *Leg. II Traiana Fortis*) commanded this unit. When it first came to Britain is unknown, for it cannot be traced earlier than in the "Diploma," dating from the year 98,<sup>1</sup> which mentions it among the *auxilia* serving then in the island, but it is not known from any source as having served on the continent before it came. Its name appears again in the "Diploma" of the year 124,<sup>2</sup> and we need not doubt that it was in Britain during the interval between these two dates, and indeed from 124 onwards probably down to the end of the Roman occupation. It clearly served also in Cumberland, for its presence there is attested by two inscriptions, neither of which is, unfortunately, dateable; the former, from Moresby, on the coast north of Whitehaven (*C.I.L.*, vii, 359) is a dedication *Deo Silvano* by *Cohors II. Lingonum cui praeest G. Pompeius M--Saturninus*: the latter, probably also from Moresby, is part of an inscribed altar, mentioning a *Praefectus* of this Cohort, "who has some such name as *Rubrius* or *Rabirius Etruscus*."<sup>3</sup> Our final mention of this unit comes in the *Notitia* (*Dign. Occ.*, xl, 48), where it is located at *Congavata*, of which the identification is uncertain.<sup>4</sup>

On grounds of general historical probability we are justified in assuming that its service in Cumberland followed after that at Ilkley, but it would be rash to assign an exact date to the move. In the lack of any indication of the presence of any other unit at Ilkley we must assume that the garrison, as long as the Fort was occupied as such, was the *Cohors II Lingonum*, though some other unit may well have been sent to garrison it in the temporary re-occupation late in the fourth century. We need hardly doubt therefore that the *Praefectus Cohortis* who made the dedication (*C.I.L.*, vii, 209), in honour of M. Aurelius and Lucius Verus, was the commanding officer of the same Cohort, and that after the rebuilding carried out by order of Severus, it was the original unit which continued to hold the Fort, until at some uncertain date in the third century the pacific state of the neighbourhood permitted the garrison to be withdrawn, to meet a more urgent need in the defence of the

<sup>1</sup> *Eph. Epigr.*, vii.

<sup>2</sup> *C.I.L.*, vii, 1195 (= *C.I.L.*, iii, 872 f., xxx).

<sup>3</sup> *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, vii, 969; cf. *Transactions C. and W. Ant. and Arch. Soc.*, O.S., ix, 294; N.S., xv, 148, No. 53, from which I quote a note by Professor

Haverfield. (Now at Netherhall, Maryport.)

<sup>4</sup> Identified with Moresby by Hübner, *C.I.L.*, vii, 83; possibly Mawbray, slightly to the north of Maryport. Cf. *J.R.S.*, xi (1921), 202.



coast of Cumberland against invaders from beyond the Irish Channel or the Solway.<sup>1</sup>

There is one difficulty which our evidence does not allow us to solve. The Fort is surprisingly small for a *Cohors Equitata*, which at the lowest computation contained a "paper strength" of 360 infantry, and 120 mounted men and their horses.<sup>2</sup> Even if all the space available outside the row of official buildings were given up to barracks, there must have been no small amount of congestion. We need not wonder that, to gain space in the Fort, buildings came to encroach materially on the *intra-vallum* roadway.<sup>3</sup>

#### 4. THE ROMAN NAME OF ILKLEY.

It has been generally assumed that the Site at Ilkley corresponds to the town *Olicana*, which is the Latin version of the name given by the geographer Ptolemy (ii, 3, 16), situated in this region. As we have no other mention of this place and as the latitude and longitude approximate fairly satisfactorily to the actual situation of Ilkley,<sup>4</sup> there is no inherent objection to this identification, which was first suggested by Camden. Whether or no some element of the ancient name survives in the modern, need not be discussed at length here, especially by one who makes no claim to be a philologist, for we cannot even be quite certain that Ptolemy's version of the name is accurate.<sup>5</sup>

A recent denial of this identification cannot, however, be passed over. The late Mr. W. H. Stevenson, in publishing in the *English Historical Review* (xxvii (1912), page 17, note 115) a document dating from the middle of the eleventh century which alludes to Ilkley as *Yllic-leage*, refers also to another version *Hyllicleg* and claims that the correct form of the name should have *ll* in its first syllable.<sup>6</sup> On this ground he denies that it can be derived from *Olicana*, and proceeds, quite unwarrantably, to say that therefore *Olicana* must be situated elsewhere, and suggests that it should be looked for lower down the valley at Burley, in which name the element "Burh" would indicate the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *J.R.S.*, *loc. cit.* I had come independently to the same conclusion.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Cheesman, *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> It is not worth while speculating on the possible size and arrangements of the barrack buildings: the remains in Site IV may have included the north end of one, which clearly ran north and south.

<sup>4</sup> The bearings of *Olicana*, *Isurium* (Aldborough), and York, given by Ptolemy, are as follows: *Olicana*, Long., 19°, Lat. 57° 30'; *Isurium*, Long. 20°, Lat. 57° 40'; York, Long. 20°, Lat. 57° 20'.

*Olicana* is thus a degree west of a point midway between the other two towns. Actually it is about 30 miles from York and 22 from Aldborough; the latter is north-west of York, and not, as Ptolemy thought, due north.

<sup>5</sup> The MSS. reading is either 'Ολίκανα, 'Ολικάνα, or 'Ολόκανα. Cf. *Cl. Ptolemaei Geographia*, ed. C. Müller, Paris (Didot), 1883, i, p. 97 f. The first version is preferable.

<sup>6</sup> See the note on the various forms of the name in Appendix II.

presence of a Roman site. This fallacious reasoning would hardly call for refutation if it had not gained the approval of the late Prof. Haverfield in his review of the latest edition (1918) of Codrington's *Roman Roads in Britain*.<sup>1</sup> We must not allow this philological evidence, which I am not competent to criticise, to outweigh definite evidence afforded by archæology. In the first place there is no need to insist on the survival of the Roman name in the mediæval and modern forms, and in the second place Burley has yielded no evidence whatsoever for a Roman fort there; it would, in fact, be surprising to find another fort so close to Ilkley, in spite of the inference which the name permits, even if it does not compel, us to draw. We may continue accordingly, unless some overwhelming proof appears to the contrary, to regard *Olicana* as the ancient name for our Site.<sup>2</sup> The fact that it is referred to as a town is consistent with this identification for, as we have seen, an extensive settlement grew up outside the Fort early in its history, and Ptolemy's *data* must have been accumulated before A.D. 150.<sup>3</sup>

Two other possible references to the Site cannot be ignored, though it is impossible to discuss here the complicated questions involved by them. In the *Notitia*, c. xl, 55, comes the entry, "*Praefectus alae primae Herculeae, Olenaco*." Seeck, in his comprehensive edition of this treatise, follows Boecking's conjecture that *Olenacum* is the same as *Olicana*;<sup>4</sup> and this gains a certain weight from the position of *Olenacum* in the list here, immediately after *Bremetenracum*, which, on the evidence of *C.I.L.*, vii, 218, it is not unnatural to identify with Ribchester, at the west end of the road on which stands Ilkley. This is regarded by Müller (*Ptolemy, l.c.*) as "*porro probabile*"; but I prefer not to commit myself to approval or the reverse. It is not sufficiently clear in what order the units in this list are arranged, after those described as "*per lineam Valli*," and if we could get a satisfactory identification for *Virosidum*, which follows *Olenacum* in the order, the question of *Olenacum* would be simplified. It is, however, worth while pointing out that it would be surprising to find that an *Ala* of cavalry—unless much reduced from its normal strength under the early Empire—could be accommodated in so small a fort as Ilkley. The question of the date of

<sup>1</sup> *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, xxxiv (1919), p. 246; and cf. *Archæol. Journal*, lxii (1915), p. 80, note.

<sup>2</sup> The exactitude of Ptolemy's reckoning is uncertain, but the position becomes less exact if we try to put *Olicana* at any

point further east.

<sup>3</sup> See G. Macdonald, on Ptolemy's Scottish topography in *J.R.S.*, ix, pp. 135 ff.

<sup>4</sup> P. 212 of 1876 edition (Berlin).



this portion of the *Notitia* is a further source of controversy, which cannot be opened here.<sup>1</sup>

The other possible reference is in the list of the Ravenna Geographer, where we have the name *Olerica*. Horsley's suggestion that this is to be identified with *Olicana*, seems to have found considerable favour, for Seeck accepts it without question.<sup>2</sup> Müller, on the contrary, would prefer to connect *Elconio* in the list with *Olicana*, leaving the other alternative uncertain. The notoriously corrupt text of Geogr. Ravennas makes such speculations dangerously alluring, and seldom profitable. Even if one of these identifications were correct, it would not prove either that we have the name of our Site correctly spelt by Ptolemy as *Olicana*, or that we are entitled to identify *Olenacum* with it.

## APPENDIX I.

### INSCRIPTIONS AND SCULPTURED STONES.

1. On an altar of fine-grained sandstone; complete, but with the inscribed surface badly corroded. On the right-hand side a *patera* in relief, and a small (modern) cutting as though for a bolt. Height, 4 feet 10 inches; breadth, 1 foot 3 inches; thickness, 1 foot 2 $\frac{3}{4}$  inches. Now at Myddleton Lodge in the north garden. Nothing is legible after line 1, though faint traces of line 2 can be seen in a favourable light. A copy made in 1608, on a stone of the same dimensions, stands a few yards away; this erroneously reads P for II in the last line.

(*C.I.L.*, vii, 208=Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.*, 4731).<sup>3</sup>

<i>Verbeiae</i>	That this is a dedication to the per-
<i>Sacrum</i>	sonified River Wharfe, as was sug-
<i>Clodius</i>	gested by Camden, is by far the most
<i>Fronto</i>	probable explanation of the name
(5) <i>Praef(ectus) Coh(ortis)</i>	Verbeia. Fronto cannot be identi-
<i>II Lingon(um).</i>	fied elsewhere, so we have no exact
	indication of the date when this
	altar was dedicated.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bury, *J.R.S.*, x (1920), 131 ff., who dates it as late as the rest of the work (*i.e.* ca. 428-437!); and the reply by R. G. Collingwood, *op. cit.* xii (1922), pp. 74 ff., with the fruitful suggestion that the section "*per lineam Valli*" is a mu-

tilated fragment of two lists.

<sup>2</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> No attempt is made to cite the full bibliography of these inscriptions, prior to the publication in *C.I.L.*, vii, or *Eph. Epigr.*

2. Seen by Camden and Horsley, built into a buttress at the south-east corner of the Parish Church. If still *in situ*, which seems doubtful, it is not recognisable; and perhaps it was removed during some work of repairs.

(C.I.L., vii, 209.)

(*Pro Salute*)

(*Imperato-?*)

*rum Caes(arum)*

*Aug(ustorum) N(ostrorum)*

(5) *Antonini*

*et Veri*

*Iovi Dilect(i)*

*Caecilius*

*Lucanus*

(10) *Praef(ectus) Coh(ortis)*

(*II Lingonum*).

The restorations are practically certain,<sup>1</sup> but not all previous editors indicated that the beginning was lost; the insertion of the name and number of the Cohort in the last line is a legitimate conjecture in view of the previous stone. The elaborately ligatured letters cannot be adequately represented in type.

For *Iovi dilectus* as applied to Lucius Verus I know no parallel from any British site.<sup>2</sup>

3. On a stone seen by Camden, who described it as "*nuper iuxta ecclesiam effossa*," but long since lost.<sup>3</sup>

(C.I.L., vii, 210.)

IM SEVERVS

AVGETANTONINVS

CAESDESTINATVS

RESTITVERVNTCV

RANTEVIRIOLVPO

LEGEORVMRPR

(*Imp. Caes. L. Sept-?*)

*im(ius) Severus*

*Aug(ustus) et Antoninus*

*Caes(ar) (Imp.) Destinatus*

(5) *restituerunt, cu-*

*rante Virio Lupo*

*Leg(ato) eorum Pr(o) Pr(aetore).*

This restoration, attributing his fuller name and title to the Emperor, assumes that a line is lost at the beginning. The simpler alternative, to read merely *Im(p.) Severus* (as in C.I.L., *l.c.*) may, however, perhaps be correct, in view of the abbreviated form in which the name of his son (Caracalla) is given. In the latter's title it seems that the letters IMP have been omitted in error by the stone-cutter. We need not attribute this omission to Camden's careless copying, as the regularity of spacing with four successive lines of fourteen letters each make it almost certain that his copy is correct.

<sup>1</sup> Other variants such as *Pro Salute et Reditu*, or *Pro Victoria et Reditu*, are, of course, possible, and the name of a deity as recipient may have come at the beginning.

<sup>2</sup> Dessau, *op. cit.*, gives no example at all.

<sup>3</sup> The illegible stone preserved at Mydleton Lodge, which is mentioned in *Ilkley, Ancient and Modern*, as possibly identical with this, seems mediæval.



*Imperator Destinatus* is not rare in inscriptions relating to Caracalla, none of which can be later than his association with his father, Severus, in the Empire, in the year 198. This title of Emperor elect was apparently conferred on him in 197, to which year, or possibly early in the following, this inscription must belong.<sup>1</sup> Strictly, therefore, Lupus should be *Legatus* of Severus only (*i.e.* “*eius*,” not “*eorum*”), as Caracalla was still only Caesar; similar technical inaccuracies are not rare (*e.g.* Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.*, 446).

The same *Legatus* appears on an inscription from Bowes, where the rebuilding of a bath is commemorated, and his title is more correctly given as *Leg. Aug. (i.e. Augusti)*.<sup>2</sup>

4. Small cippus with moulded base. Complete on left and below, cut down on right and perhaps above. Height, 11½ ins.; breadth, 9 ins.; thickness, 9 ins. Found soon after 1800 (?), and at one time in the possession of the late Rev. Canon Boyd, of Arncliffe; now in the Ilkley Museum.

(*Eph. Epigr.*, iii, 121, No. 76; vii, 298, No. 921.)

*Pudens*

*Tesser(arius)*

*Leg(ionis) II A(ugustae).*

The copy given by the authors of *Ilkley, Ancient and Modern*, shows a first line in a small pediment with the letters *D.M.*, of which now no trace is preserved. This is in any case the tombstone of a soldier of *Legio II Augusta*, who held the rank of *Tesserarius*, or soldier in charge of the pass-word in each *centuria* of the Legion.

We should expect him, being a legionary, to be a Roman citizen, and it is strange that in this case there is no mention of either his *praenomen*, *nomen*, or tribe, on the stone, assuming that very little is lost on the right. This brevity is perhaps a sign of an early date. There is no reason to suppose that he died while on service at Ilkley, though had he served his full time it might have been expected that he would have attained a higher rank. The Second Legion Augusta was normally, of course, stationed at Caerleon in South Wales, but its contingents can be traced as building the wall of Hadrian and the Scottish Wall.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Liebenam, *Fasti Consulares Imp. Rom.*, p. 110; Atkinson, in *J.R.S.*, xii (1922), p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> *C.I.L.*, vii, 273; for literary references to his career see *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, s.v. *Virius*, iii, 446.

<sup>3</sup> For the former, *C.I.L.*, vii, 517 ff. *passim*, and p. 102; for the latter, *ibid.*, 1088, 1111-14, 1126, 1130, 1136, 1138, 1139, and G. Macdonald, in *J.R.S.*, xi (1921), pp. 1-24.

5 (Fig. 52). Inscribed and sculptured tombstone, found built into a rubble wall, about two feet below the present surface, in the yard behind the "Rose and Crown Inn," on November 8th, 1884.<sup>1</sup>

(*Y.A.J.*, ix, 127; *Eph. Epigr.*, vii, 298, No. 922.)

*Dis Manibus.*

*Ve . . ic . . . . . riconis filia*

*Annorum. xxx. C(ivitate) Cornovia*

*H(ic) S(ita) E(st).*

Above the inscription is carved in a large niche the seated figure of a woman in a round-backed chair; she wears a long cloak with sleeves, which ends below in a point, just above her ankles, showing a long wide skirt in broad folds. Her hair is rendered in two long plaits reaching to her lap, and she holds in her right hand the plait which falls in front of her left shoulder; her left hand holds an uncertain object.

The slab is much damaged on the right, and a small piece is also missing on the left. The chin and part of the left cheek of the figure have been chipped away. The features seem to have been carved with no little skill, to judge by the eyes, which are carefully rendered; the other features are further damaged by weathering. The name is uncertain, but from the indications on the stone the third letter seems to have been L and the fourth v or possibly N; as there also seem traces of the top of A from the seventh letter it looks as if the name should be read VELVICA or VELNICA. Of the father's name nothing can be deciphered before a doubtful R followed by -ICONIS; this seems alike more correct and more likely than NCONIS, as the upright stroke before the c appears definitely not to be joined to the previous letter. For the daughter's name the former alternative seems the more probable, and we may then compare it with *Velva* (*Velua* ?) on the newly-found tombstone from York, and in general with other Celtic names beginning *Vel*-.<sup>2</sup>

6 (Fig. 53). Sculptured tombstone, uninscribed, found in digging the foundations of the Congregational Church, Green Lane, Ilkley, on October 11th, 1867. Now at Myddleton Lodge, in the Chapel of the Calvary. Height, 5 feet 11 inches; breadth, 3 feet 4 inches; thickness, 9 inches; broken through and mended.

<sup>1</sup> From a contemporary account of the discovery, by Mr. Romilly Allen, it seems that no trace of a grave was found in the vicinity, but many bones thought not to be human, several large stones, and in particular "two of a circular character,

as if originally used as an arch," were discovered adjacent to the sculptured stone (from a local paper published soon after the discovery).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *J.R.S.*, xi (1921), 235 f., No. 4.





FIG. 52.—TOMBSTONE FOUND IN 1884  
(Scale *ca.* 1:18)

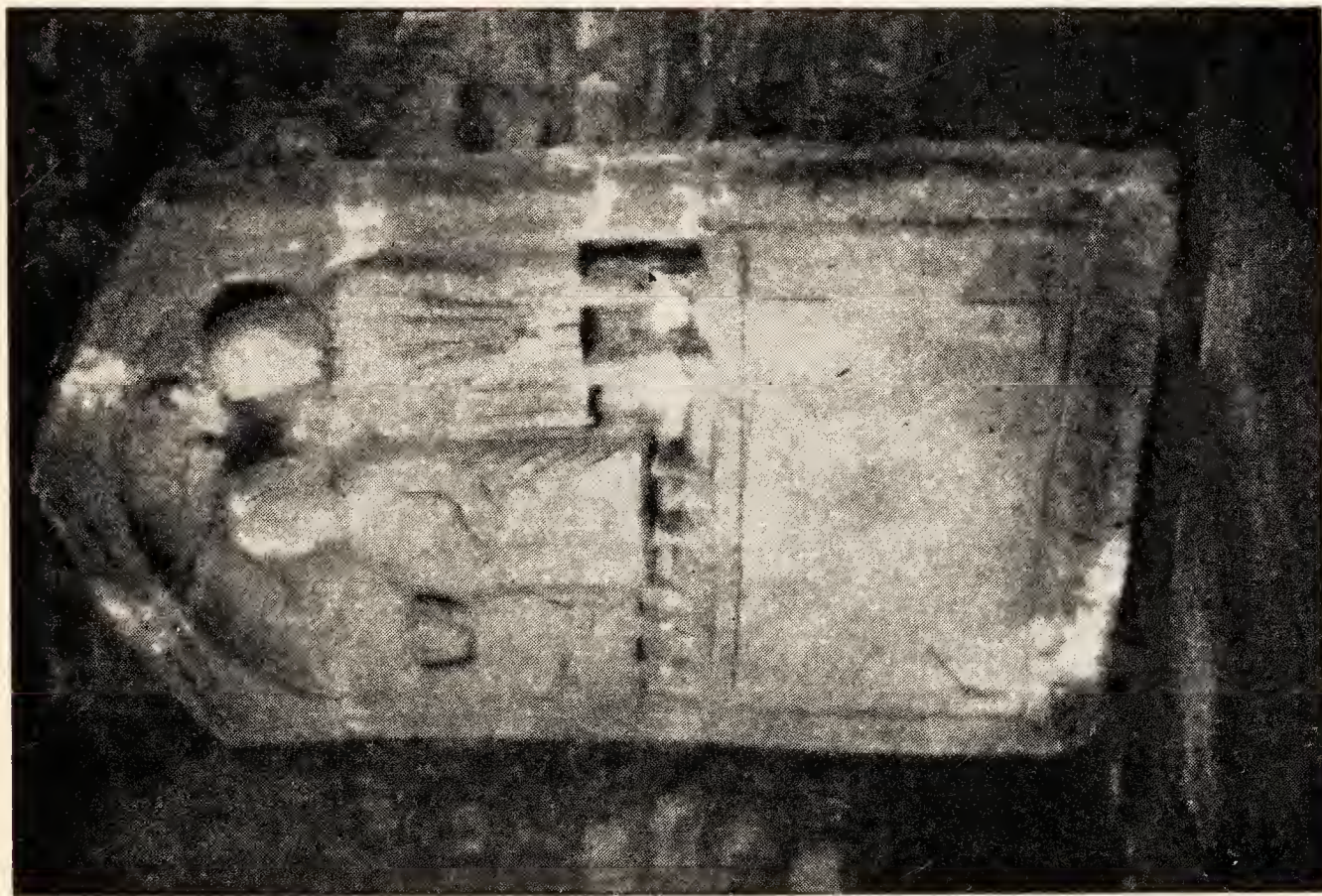


FIG. 53.—TOMBSTONE FOUND IN 1867  
(Scale 1:21)







The subject carved in relief is three standing figures, a woman in the middle with a man on her left and a child on her right. All are wearing stiff cloaks, conventionally rendered in coarse folds. The features are almost entirely worn away, but it can be seen that the woman has her hair rendered in short, crisp curls, and that the man is bearded. She holds two objects which cannot be recognised, and the child holds a small hoop or wreath in its right hand, and a casket (?) with curved handle in the left;<sup>1</sup> the man holds nothing. He is clearly represented as a civilian, as there is no suggestion of any military accoutrement about him.

This is much poorer and more conventional work than the other sculptured stone (No. 5). The large “*ansate*” panel below is, unfortunately, blank, never having been inscribed, but we need not doubt that this is the tombstone of husband, wife and child.

7 (Fig. 54). Altar, of close-grained sandstone.<sup>2</sup> Formerly built into the north wall of the tower of the Parish Church, inside; now preserved in the nave of the church.<sup>3</sup> Height, 3 feet 6 inches; breadth, 1 foot 8 inches; thickness, 1 foot 2½ inches. Remains of *focus* on upper surface. As is shown in the drawing a large curved piece has been cut out of the stone, in connection with some subsequent use to which it has been put. No trace of an inscription survives, but on the one undamaged face is carved in low relief a female figure of uncertain interpretation. This is not well preserved, but we can see that she wears a long robe reaching to her feet, and holds two long wavy objects, somewhat suggestive of snakes, which rise above each shoulder.

The popular explanation, that this is Hercules holding the two snakes, is ruled out by the figure being clearly feminine, and some other must be sought for. By the end of the eighteenth century a tradition was current locally that this represented Verbeia, the Goddess of the Wharfe, to whom the dedication No. 1 above was made, and no better explanation has to my knowledge been offered. At the same time there is little to suggest a personification of a river in the figure. The objects held in the hands are possibly meant for *cornucopiae*, rather than snakes, but it is difficult to feel much confidence where the art is so poor and the surface so much worn, and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. that on the tombstone from Trier (*Germania Romana*, Pl. 42, No. 3); the figures on this interesting relief are seated in chairs very like that on our relief above (No. 5).

<sup>2</sup> The sketches which illustrate this and the next item aim only at showing the

dimensions and present appearance of the stones.

<sup>3</sup> The thanks of the excavator and of the Committee are due to Canon C. J. Hamer, Vicar of the parish church of All Saints', Ilkley, for his ready consent in allowing a faculty to be obtained for the extraction of these two stones.

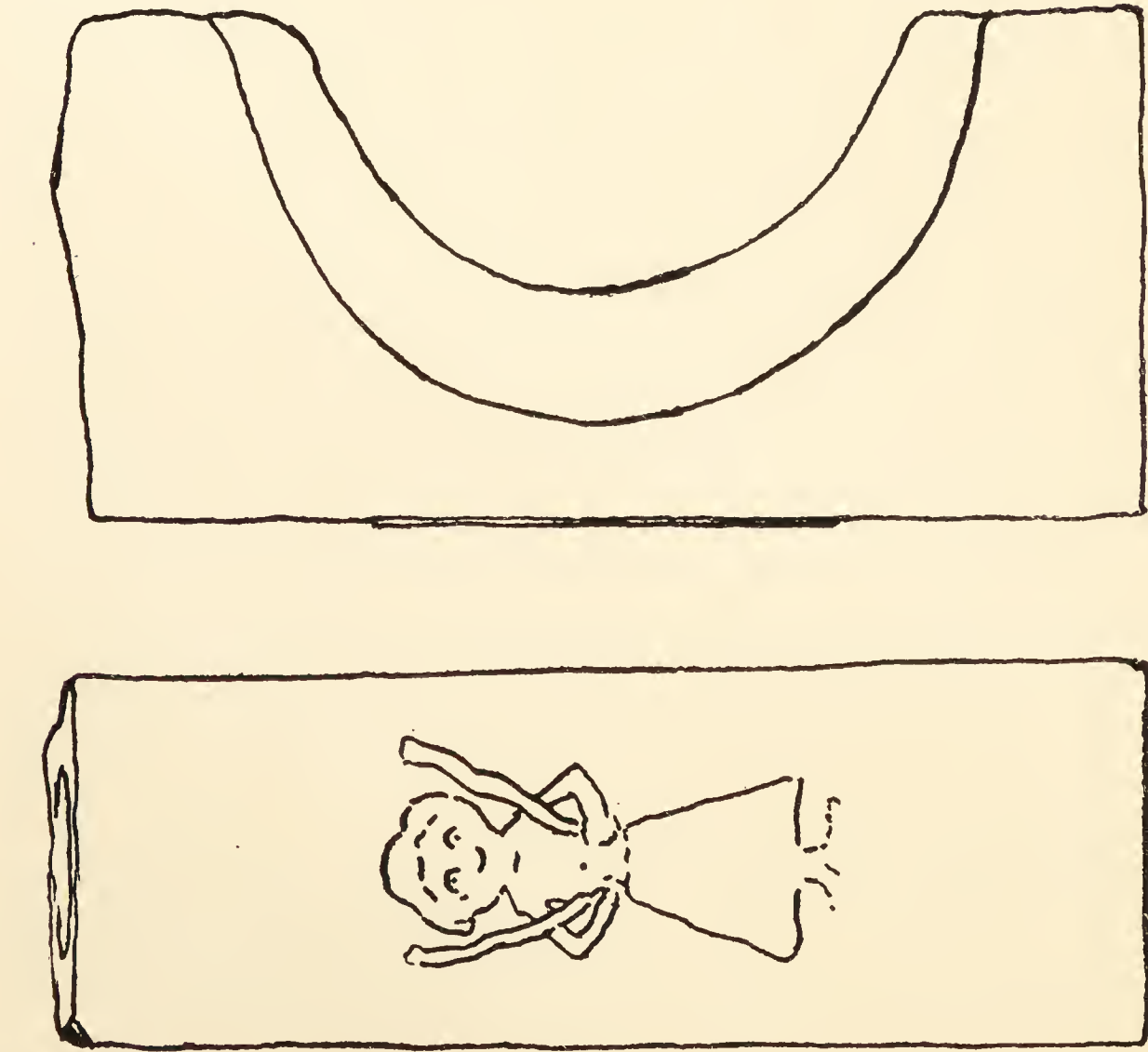


FIG. 54.—ALTAR, WITH RELIEF REPRESENTING VERBEIA (?),  
EXTRACTED FROM WALL OF PARISH CHURCH

(Scale of each, 1 inch = 1 foot)

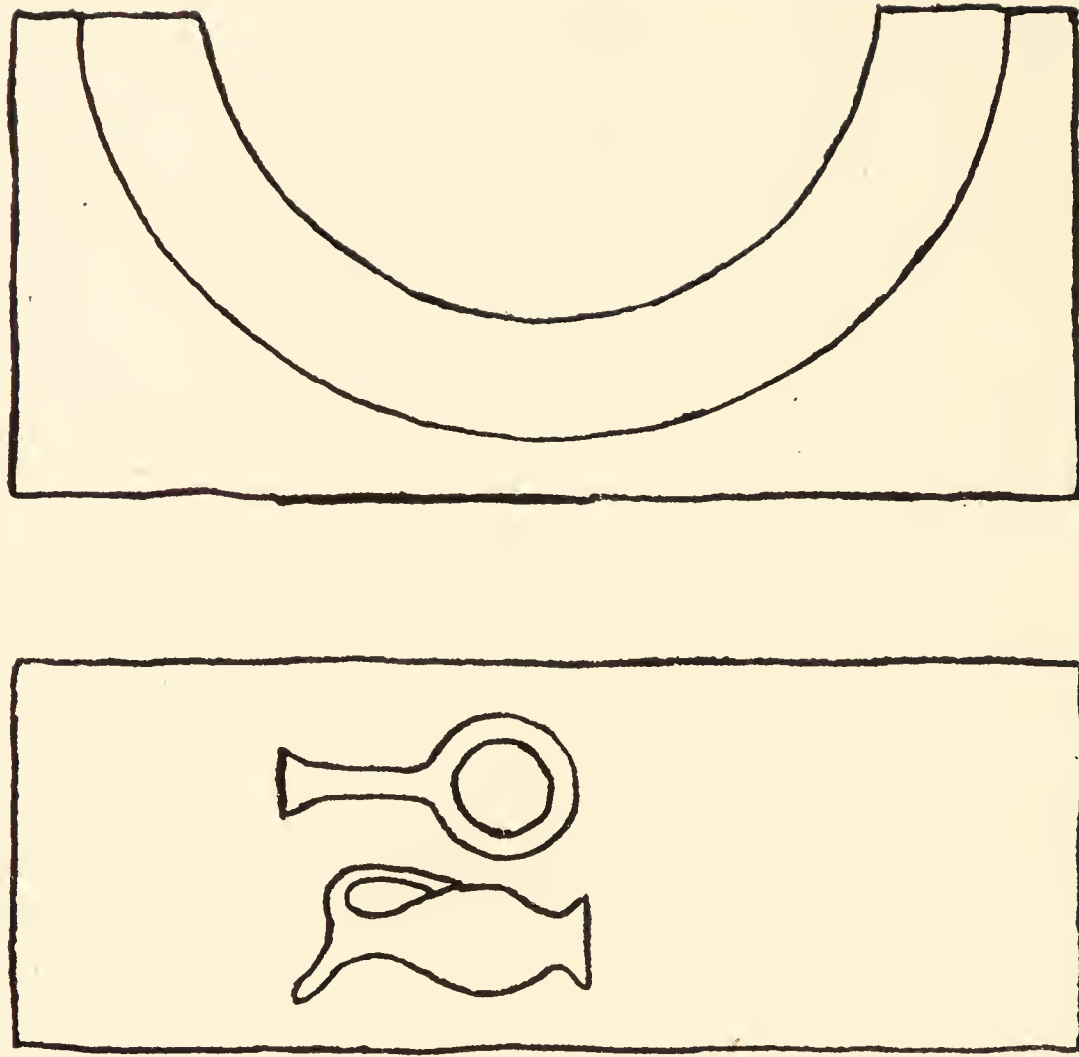


FIG. 55.—ALTAR, WITH SACRIFICIAL IMPLEMENTS CARVED IN  
RELIEF, ALSO EXTRACTED FROM WALL OF PARISH CHURCH



for a figure to bear two *cornucopiae* seems most unusual. Moreover, one might rather expect a river-goddess to be seated, with a stream of water flowing from an urn.<sup>1</sup> In the circumstances it is perhaps safer to leave the identification in doubt, with the admission that if this is Verbeia, it is an unusual way of representing a river-goddess.

The cutting, which is perhaps also responsible for the loss of the presumed inscription, is of interest for itself. As shown on the drawing, it is roughly semi-circular, with an arc of 2 feet long on one side of the stone, and 2 feet 8 inches on the other. This feature is not easy to account for, unless on the supposition that the stone had subsequently been used as a window-head, which was so placed that it was intended to throw the light downwards. As will be seen, No. 8 exhibits a similar cutting, and in each of them the curved surface bore remains of fine white wall-plaster, quite distinct from the mortar with which they had been built into the wall of the existing church. The scale of the windows indicated with an aperture of 2 feet 10 inches at most in width, seems more appropriate to a Saxon than to a Norman edifice.<sup>2</sup> Nor need we feel much hesitation in assuming that the building to which they belonged was in fact the Parish Church of the time, and that these stones were found more or less on the spot by the builders of it.

8. (Fig. 55). Similar altar with corresponding cutting. The stone is now broken in half, at the point where the cutting attains its maximum depth. Height, 3 feet 3 inches; breadth, 1 foot 6½ inches; thickness, 1 foot 2 inches. The cutting is slightly larger than on the other stone as it is 2 feet 2 inches on one face and 2 feet 10 inches on the other. All trace of *focus* and faggots have been cut away.

On the one undamaged face is a carving in low relief, representing a sacrificial pitcher and *patera*, about 11 inches high. That this was used later for the same purpose as No. 7 is obvious. It is regrettable that neither has any trace of its inscription preserved.

9. Small altar, now standing in the south rose-garden at Myddleton Lodge. Height, 2 feet 2 inches; breadth, 1 foot 1 inch; thickness, 10 inches. There is a simple moulding above and below

<sup>1</sup> We might compare the relief from the *Coventina* dedication at *Procolitia* on Hadrian's Wall, and countless personifications of reclining river-gods on coins, especially among the Imperial series of cities in Asia Minor.

<sup>2</sup> Professor G. Baldwin Brown was kind enough to communicate the following, in reply to my enquiry concerning these stones: "It seems to me quite possible that Anglian Builders cut out a

window-head in a Roman worked stone, and it does not follow that the depth inwards of the stone represented the whole thickness of the wall. For this, 1 foot 2½ inches would be rather exiguous. Bardsey, in the distant neighbourhood, has walls less than 2 feet thick, but I think there are none known much thinner than this . . . . . Single splayed arches are characteristic of *early* Saxon work. The double splay comes in later."

on three sides, the other being plain, as though it had originally stood against a wall. There is no *focus* above, and on the right side is a *patera* in low relief; the face does not seem to have been inscribed, but owing to its weathered condition, this is not quite certain.

10 (Fig. 56). Small domestic altar, found in 1914, at a depth of nine feet below the present surface, during excavations for Mr. W. Lawson's engineering shop in South Hawkesworth Street, not far from the finding-place of No. 5 above. Height, 12 inches; breadth, and thickness, 5 inches. Mouldings around top and bottom, and a circular *focus* above. A small square panel on the front, presumably intended to contain an inscription or relief, appears to have been left plain. Now in the Ilkley Museum.<sup>1</sup>

Among other objects in stone, of which I am unable to furnish exact particulars, are an altar formerly in the garden of the house of the late Mr. J. Hainsworth, at the top of Wells Road; and "a stone found in making the street west of Castle Hill, representing three animals and a few Roman letters below them."<sup>2</sup> A mutilated fragment of a slab with remains of figures of animals (?) in relief, in the Museum, hardly calls for detailed description.

APPENDIX II.

THE ORTHOGRAPHY OF ILKLEY.

In connection with the question whether or no Ilkley is derived from Olicana (if that be indeed the correct version of the ancient name), it may be of interest to tabulate here in approximately chronological order the various recorded versions of the name from the eleventh century down to the early seventeenth. For this list, which is much fuller than any published list known to me, I am indebted entirely to the kindness of Mr. Walter J. Kaye, F.S.A., of Harrogate.

Date	Spelling	Source
Mid. 11th cent.	Yllic-leage	W. H. Stevenson, <i>Engl. Hist. Review</i> , 1912, p. 17
„	Hyllicleg	„ „ „ „

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Mr. H. B. McCall, F.S.A., for calling my attention to this stone, and for the photograph here reproduced.

<sup>2</sup> "Lately in the hands of Mr. J. E. Preston of Gilstead." The above are cited from *Ilkley, Ancient and Modern*.





FIG. 56.—DOMESTIC ALTAR, FOUND SOUTH OF  
THE FORT IN 1914

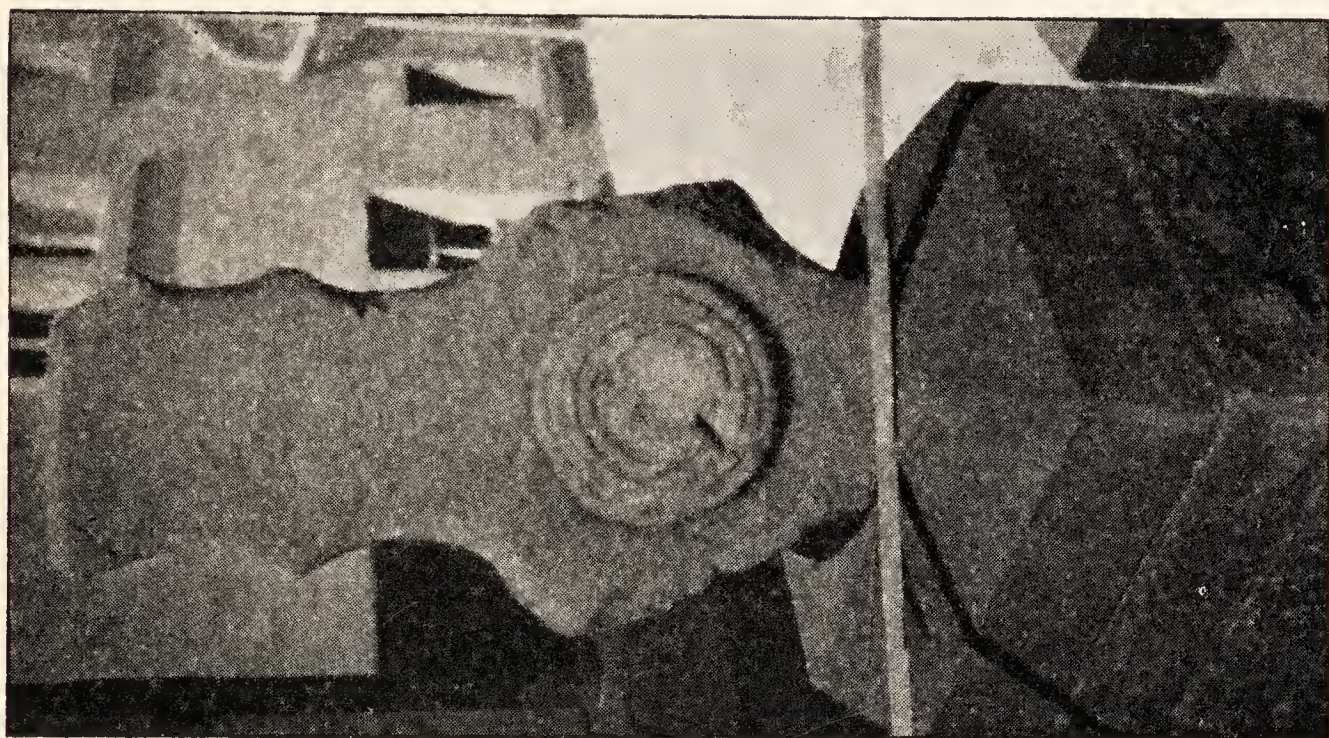


FIG. 57.—HEAD OF MEDÆVAL CROSS, FOUND ON  
THE SITE OF THE FORT  
(Scale *ca.* 1 : 10)







<i>Date</i>	<i>Spelling</i>	<i>Source</i>
1085	Illeclive	Domesday Book; <i>cf. Kirkby's Inquest</i> (Surtees Soc.)
„	Ileclive	„ „ „ „
„	Illecleia	„ „ „ „
<i>n.d. (ante Hen. III probably)</i>	Hillecley	W. T. Lancaster, <i>Chartulary of Fountains</i> , pp. 863–864
„	Ilkeleya	„ „ „ „
1245–6	Illeclay	„ „ „ „
<i>n.d. (temp. Hen. III)</i>	Ilkelay	„ „ „ „
„ (?)	Hylkele	„ „ „ „
1268	Hilkelay	<i>Reg. Archbp. Giffard</i> (Surtees Soc.)
1280	Elkelay	<i>Reg. Archbp. Wickwane</i> „ „
1284–5 ( <i>ca.</i> )	Ilkeley	<i>Kirkby's Inquest</i> „ „
„	Ylkelay	„ „ „ „ „
1303	Ilkeley	W. T. Lancaster, <i>op. cit.</i>
1366–7	Ilkelay	Plumpton Charters ( <i>Ilkley, Ancient and Modern</i> , pp. 102 ff.)
„	Ilklay	„ „ „ „ „
„	Ilkley	„ „ „ „ „
1415	Ilkelay ( <i>bis</i> )	„ „ „ „ „
1415–6	Ilkelay	<i>Knaresborough Court Rolls</i> (3 Hen. V)
1446–56	Ilklay	Canon Fowler, <i>Memorials of Fountains</i> , vol. iii (Surtees Soc.)
1456–7	Ilkelay	„ „ „ „ „
„	Ilklay ( <i>bis</i> )	„ „ „ „ „
1457–8	Ilkela	„ „ „ „ „
„	Ilkelay	„ „ „ „ „
1458–9	Ilkelay	„ „ „ „ „
1593 ( <i>ca.</i> )	Ilekel(e)y	Camden, <i>Britannia</i> <sup>1</sup>
1625–6	Eakeley	Slingsby, <i>Reg. of Allerton Maul-everer</i> , pp. 13, 28

The following may also be consulted: F. W. Moorman, *West Riding Place-names* (Thoresby Society Publications, xviii (1910), p. 108 f.).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ch. I, above, p. 148.

## THE DISPERSION OF THE WHEEL-CROSS.

By W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A., F.S.A.

Yorkshire, more than any other part of Britain, is the home of the pre-Norman type of monument which has the wheel-cross head standing out free against the sky. Cumberland comes next in the number of examples it can show of early forms of this design. There are such crosses round about Chester and—of a later kind—in the Midlands. Groups occur in South Wales and Cornwall; very few north of the Solway, and those of Western Scotland and Ireland are rare and late. But it is in the Isle of Man that the earliest seem to be found; there, as this essay is intended to show, the type originated. Thence it came into Yorkshire, spreading later to other districts by the Viking routes of the tenth century.

This is the kind of cross popularly known as Celtic. It is never found with ornament of the earlier Anglian type, that is to say, the finer leaf-scrolls, symmetrical plaits and fairly-drawn figures and animals of the period before the Danish invasion of 867. In some cases this head surmounts debased scrolls, the survivals and dregs of Anglian tradition; but that is only in the districts where Danish or Norse style never entirely prevailed. Therefore to join a wheel-head with a shaft of Bewcastle character would be a blunder.

We must also distinguish the free wheel-head from the same form incised or in relief on a slab, as often seen in Scotland in very fine examples of grave-covers and headstones. The design itself was no doubt derived from the Chi-Rho monogram or Chrismon known in Britain even under the Romans, and used in the sixth century on rude stones in Galloway and Wales. Wheel-cross slabs were in use, plain and unornamented, in the ninth century; ornamented examples in Ireland are dated in the ninth and tenth centuries, when a date can be fixed by the names of historical persons commemorated on them. Not without reason these wheel-cross slabs are called Celtic; but the same form, cut out in the round, is actually found most frequently in England. It might be supposed that Whithorn contributed to this evolution, but there are no free wheel-heads in Galloway; the old Chrismon is there, and probably started the idea at the first, but the Whithorn crosses are penannular, not annular. We have to look for some other place where we can



see the process of turning the slab into a tall cross by cutting its margins away and leaving the design in silhouette, creating a new type of monument. We find this process in the Isle of Man, and we hope to show that the period when it developed was the close of the ninth century.

In Mr. P. M. C. Kermode's *Manx Crosses* there is figured a group, Nos. 25, 27, and 117, all from Maughold parish, which shows the first stage in the transition. These are slabs in which the Galloway Chrismon is imitated with a little added elaboration, No. 27, inscribed in Anglian lettering with the forked serif that connects it with the LOC STI PETRI APVSTVLI stone at Whithorn. This stone must mark the adoption at Whithorn of St. Peter as patron. In Scotland that movement took place in the early part of the eighth century. The Manx slabs are no doubt later than that, but hardly far into the ninth. One other stone (Kermode 28) is a further elaboration of the same design, and the circular head has been roughly trimmed round with notches at the neck. This seems to be the first step towards the free-standing wheel-head.

Pretty certainly of the ninth century is the Manx group of wheel-cross slabs without interlacing and with crosses of Celtic form; that is to say, the rectangular Latin cross with a round bite taken out of the "arm-pits" or re-entrant angles, so that the inner edge of the wheel and these bites together form the four round holes characteristic of the Celtic wheel-cross. Kermode's 29, 30, and 32, from Maughold parish, show this form; but alongside of them, Nos. 36 and 37, from Braddan, show the Northumbrian cross set in a wheel. No. 38, also from Maughold, hesitates between the Celtic and the Anglian shape of the cross, proving that the two influences contended in the island at a time when we know practically nothing of its history except that the Anglian king, Osred, had taken refuge there at the end of the eighth century, and no doubt there must have been other relations between Man and Northumbria. Now from slabs of the type just described free-standing crosses have been produced by cutting away the margin in Nos. 40, 41, and 42, from Lonan. The result is exactly like some Yorkshire examples, such as Old Malton (*Y.A.J.*, xxiii, 257), which is a "Celtic" cross, explicable only as an imported idea, though the absence of ornament makes it difficult to date.

We get nearer to finding datable material in the group of slabs with early kinds of the Viking Age ornament, which Danish and Scandinavian antiquaries call "Jellinge," and now assign to the late ninth and early tenth century (Dr. J. Brøndsted, *Early English*

*Ornament*, p. 239). In this style is Kermode's 52 from Maughold, with its "Maltese" (non-Celtic) cross and knots of the earlier Viking art. Along with this we have No. 53 from Lezayre and No. 58 from Maughold, showing the wheel-head freed of its frame and turned into the regular tenth-century form which we find in Yorkshire at Kirklevington (*Y.A.J.*, xix, 353) and Otley (*ibid.*, xxiii, 230). These two seem to be the earliest of a long series, such as Kirby Moorside (*ibid.*, xix, 342), with rather later details, and North Frodingham (*ibid.*, xxi, 263), with further elaboration. But the form in its first stage has nothing to explain it as a development of any earlier Yorkshire type; it must have been an imported idea, and an import from the Isle of Man.

To support this contention we know that there were Norse settlers in Cleveland, in which is Kirklevington, and in the West Riding, where is Otley. There is evidence, in the similarity of place-names in Man and Cumberland, that some at least of the Norse settlers in northern England came from Man. As to the date, Professor Ekwall infers that they arrived as settlers in Lancashire soon after 900 (*Place-names of Lancs.*, p. 255-6) and in Cumberland a little later (*Scandinavians and Celts in N.W. England*). The historical statement tallies with the typological, and gives us a starting-point of about 920-930 for the first introduction of the style—the earlier Viking Age style, for this is not the advanced art of Gaut Bjarnarson, the Manx carver, whose date Dr. Haakon Shetelig fixes at 930-950. The interlaced wheel-head came to us before his work was generally known to his contemporaries.

In considering the dispersion of the type we cannot expect that places nearest to the Isle of Man will show the earliest examples in anything like a regular order. We have a considerable amount of remains, but by no means the sum total of monuments once existing; and we can argue only from the facts as we now see them. But even these suggest that, on the whole, earlier examples are found within easily accessible distances from the island, by the usual ancient routes; and the further we go the later are the crosses. In Cumberland and Yorkshire and on the North Wales and Cheshire coast there are many early imitations of Manx forms; towards the east and south and in the north the relics are later. And this argues the spread of the influence from the Isle of Man as the original centre.

Referring to the Sketch-map, which sets out the lines and groups of known sites, we find in the Isle of Man, first: at Maughold parish five examples of the free wheel-head, running through the tenth





SKETCH-MAP  
THE DISPERSION OF  
WHEEL-CROSSES

W.S.C. 1924

St. Vigean's

Iona

Kildalton

Barochan

Lesmahagow

Bothal

GALLOWAY

Rockcliff

Bromfield

Aspatia

Gilerux

Dearham

Penrith

Brigham

Gosforth

K. Stephen

Gilling

Stanwick

Kirklevington

Brompton

Moorside

St. M. Middleton

Ellerburn

Malton

Driffild

N. Frodingham

Leeds

K. Wharfe

Conisbro'

Winwick

Disley

Neston

Chester

W. Kirby

Hilbre Id.

Diserth

Maen

y-chwyfan

Penmon

Rolleston

Barnack

Helpston

Mears Ashby

Willingham

Cambridges

Stapleford

Fulbourn

Whissonsett

Nevern

St. Davids

Carew

Penally

Gnoll

Margam

Coychurch

Merthyr mawr

Llantwit

St. Teath

Cardynham

St. Neot

Lanivet

Lanherne

Phillack

Sancreed

century, early to late; in Lezayre, one early; in Braddan, one fairly early and two (at least) late; in Lonan, three of the middle period and two late; in Ballaugh and Michael, one each of the middle period; and in Conchan, three late.

Within sight of the island is Muncaster. There we have a free wheel-head with a shaft bearing the Scandinavian chain-pattern used by Gaut at Michael (Kermode's 74B) and elsewhere. A little inland is Gosforth, with one well-known wheel-head cross and two other such heads; these resemble the Thorleif head at Braddan, and are not of the earliest type but perhaps within the tenth century. Leaving for the present the southern route to Yorkshire and going by the Roman roads which lead to Stainmoor, we find wheel-heads at Brigham, Dearham, Gilcrux, Aspatria, Bromfield (the head now at High Aketon, but from the church), and as an outlier from the main road, at Rockcliffe. Passing Carlisle, which was in ruins at this period, we come by the main road to Penrith with its "Giant's Thumb." A little to the north-east is Addingham, with a grotesque and very late development of the wheel-cross (not named on the map). By Kirkby Stephen, which has two wheel-heads, we cross Stainmoor for Yorkshire, a very well-trodden route in all early times. The alternative route into Yorkshire leads south of the Lake District by Urswick, where a tenth-century shaft shows the remains of a wheel-head, and Burton-in-Kendal, with a very late example; and so to Craven.

On entering Yorkshire from Stainmoor the Viking influence would come first to Gilling (West); the example here, with nearly all of the Yorkshire crosses mentioned, are already illustrated in this *Journal*, and it is enough to refer to volume and page: Gilling has (xix, 322) two examples. Stanwick (xix, 395) has a late and rude crucifix head, and a late shaft with traces of a wheel-cross. Kirklevington (xix, 353) has an early example and one with a crucifix, later (p. 350). At Brompton are two wheel-heads (xix, 300), and from this place there are four more with a (late ?) kind of rudimentary wheel, at the Cathedral Library, Durham (Nos. LII-LV). Northallerton has three such heads (xix, 373), and North Otterington (not named on the map but just south of Northallerton) has one with a wheel and a crucifix (xix, 376).

West of the main road going southwards there are three places with late wheel-heads: Thornton Steward, with two crucifixes (xix, 403); Thornton Watlass, with two crucifixes (xxiii, 257)—these two places marked with crosses south of Finghall; and Finghall

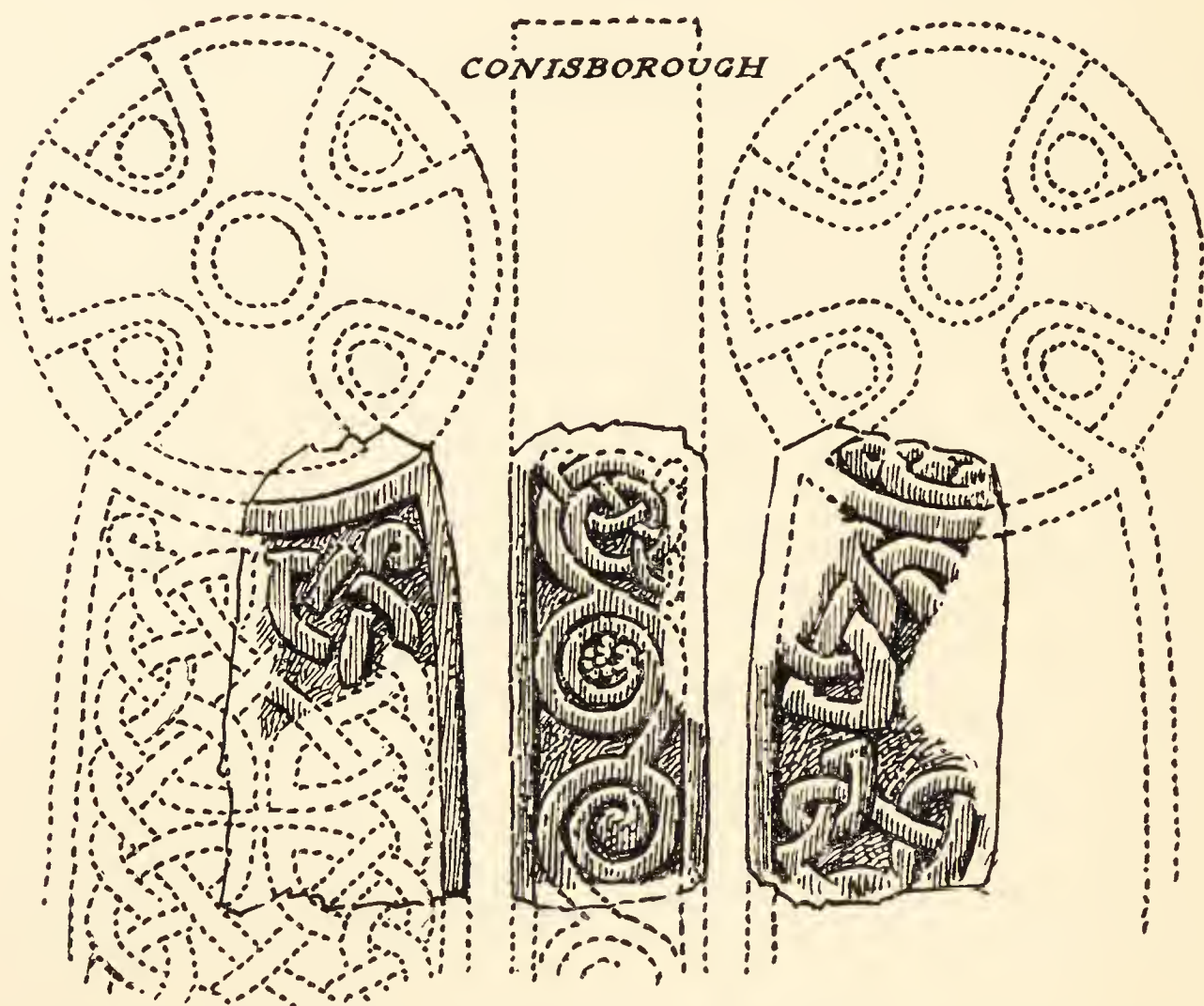


(xix, 320) very late. East of the road there is a Manx-looking example at Topcliffe (xix, 403), and then we go over into Ryedale, where the type flourished.

At Stonegrave is the remarkable open wheel-head (xix, 398) on a shaft showing connection with Scotland at a rather late period. At Kirby Moorside (xix, 342) a simple wheel-head. The fragment *b* (xix, 387) at Sinnington seems to have been a four-hole cross. At Middleton are fragments of a wheel-head (xix, 370) and two interesting examples (xxi, 298), one of which Dr. Brøndsted was unable to see lately (*op. cit.*, 201). The Ellerburn head (xix, 314) is a good late specimen of the Celto-Norse type, and there is another, with a crucifix, at the same place (xxiii, 255). South of the valley there is the head, already mentioned, at Old Malton (xxiii, 257); at Hovingham an unornamented (? late) example (xxiii, 255), and at Amotherby a very rude attempt at a wheel-cross (xix, 296). These last two places, west of Malton, are not named on the Sketch-map, and another site is also crowded out—Lythe, near Whitby, where there is a normal wheel-cross of doubtful date (xxi, 287). At Little Driffield a fragment (xxi, 261) seems to preserve traces of the wheel, and North Frodingham, with its fine cross (xxi, 263) ends the series eastward. If we go north from Gilling along the old road we come towards Bothal, in Northumberland, whence there are two examples of the type, now at the Blackgate museum in Newcastle; otherwise wheel-crosses are absent in the country north of the Tees, which was a district with strong Anglian traditions, and settled only here and there by Norse and Danes, as the place-names show. But in Yorkshire we have early examples, apparently under Manx influence, and the gradual elaboration of the type for a hundred years following until some extremely fine results were attained. It is only because these are imperfectly preserved that they are not generally known to the public; a collection of carefully made restorations would do great service to the cause of early English decorative art.

But we have still to add to the credit of Yorkshire its southern group, found along the line of approach from the west through Craven. At Gargrave there are three wheel-heads (xxiii, 174); at Otley one of Celtic form, very likely to have been suggested by Manx work (xxiii, 230). The head now fixed on the Leeds parish-church cross (xxiii, 210) is rather late in the tenth century, and that gave a reason for doubting that it belonged to the shaft as long as the shaft was thought to be of some time about 925 (xxiii, 216).

But as Dr. Brøndsted (*op. cit.*, 294) rightly points out, there is Ringerike pattern on this shaft, making it at least late in the tenth century. Kirkby Wharfe is an interesting site, because on its wheel-head (xxiii, 206) occurs the peculiar interlacing which Gaut Bjarnarson used in Man; and as two of the free-armed heads at Kirkby Wharfe bear this pattern, and seem to be rather older than Gaut's period, it looks as though he had been either here or somewhere in the West Riding, as at Aberford, where the pattern was used. If that was so, Yorkshire made a contribution to the art of Man of a very notable character. Close by is Bilton, where the interesting wheel-head has four human figures, joining hands, on



the cross-arms (xxiii, 140), probably a late afterthought of a follower of this school. And at York there is the equally curious wheel-head of St. Mary's, Castlegate (xx, 176), with beasts on the cross-arms, for which we have to look far for a parallel, but find it at Kildalton in Islay. At York, however, there is an earlier wheel-head (xx, 202) like those of Man. And finally at Conisborough is the fragment of a cross, placed in the church from the churchyard wall where it had been until 1917; as it has not been illustrated with others in this *Journal* a sketch is here given showing the forms which prove it to have had a wheel-head.



Leaving Yorkshire, but to complete the survey of this type of monument, we have next to follow a route of Viking settlement of which we know that the first beginnings were made in 900, and from Ireland, in Anglesey and Cheshire. Once the settlements were formed, intercourse with Man and Yorkshire was probable, and there are traces of connection in both directions. The Welsh crosses are sufficiently illustrated in Westwood's *Lapidarium Walliae* for reference, though better figures are given in more recent works.

Penmon cross (*Lap. Wall.*, plate 84) has the Scandinavian chain-pattern and perhaps a group from the story of Sigurd, as well as a rather late wheel-head: it is not Celtic but Norse. The Maen-y-chwyfan in Flintshire (*Lap. Wall.*, plate 88) is another good example of the same type, and at Diserth (*ibid.*, plate 90) is a much later head. Chester has three wheel-heads, in the Grosvenor Museum, from St. John's; Neston, two; West Kirby, two; and Bromborough (at the cross on the map between Neston and West Kirby) has one. There are also interesting and apparently early wheel-cross slabs at West Kirby and Hilbre Island. The fragments from Disley represent a late wheel-head, and not far off, in Lancashire, is Winwick, with its very remarkable stone, part of a great Celtic wheel-cross of which the pattern must have come from a Gaelic region in the eleventh century. From Chester there was the old road south-eastwards, along Watling Street; and though we cannot point to known Norse settlements on the line, we can see that the idea of the wheel-head travelled in that direction to Rolleston, Staffs.; Barnack, Helpston, and Mears Ashby, Northants.; Whissonsett, Norfolk (*Norfolk and Norwich Archæol. Soc.*, xv, 316); and that it died out in a group of headstones in Cambridgeshire.

The Norse also settled in South Wales, where St. David's was probably their first and chief resort. In the cathedral there a wheel-head with great resemblance to the Leeds parish church head is preserved (*Lap. Wall.*, plate 65). At Nevern, Carew, and Penally (*ibid.*, plates 62, 57, 56) are well-known later crosses of Celto-Norse type, not directly of Manx derivation but with Gaelic affinities. Then we come to the second group, that of Glamorganshire, of which Coychurch (*ibid.*, plate 23) and two at Margam (*ibid.*, plate 19) seem to be oldest and least debased from the imported pattern. Those of Margam (*ibid.*, plates 15, 16), Llantwit (*ibid.*, plates 5, 6), Merthyr Mawr (*ibid.*, plates 11, 12), and Gnoll (*ibid.*, plate 25) show ornament so debased from the normal that they must be put well on into the eleventh century. This classification is confirmed by the wheel-cross

slab of Hed and Isac, at St. David's, which is dated by the name of bishop Abraham, who was killed in 1078. A student of the series as a whole must agree that some of the Welsh monuments have been supposed to be much earlier than they really are, and that they show considerable influence from the Viking settlements of the north.

The same must be said of the Cornish wheel-crosses, illustrated in A. G. Langdon's *Old Cornish Crosses*. Most of them, as works of art, are very rude, which does not mean very early, for they carry their date on their faces, by the debased patterns. Many of these are as decadent as the Cawthorn and Ecclesfield stones, which belong to the overlap between pre-Norman and post-Conquest. But taking at present only those with plaits and scrolls, headed with wheel-crosses, the series is instructive: Cardynham (Langdon, p. 356), like a Yorkshire cross of the late tenth century; Sancreed and Lanherne (*ibid.*, pp. 364, 358), of the same style, with crucifixes; Lanivet (*ibid.*, p. 384), with debased scrolls like a West Riding monument; Phillack (*ibid.*, p. 391), with crucifix and angular plait; St. Neot (*ibid.*, p. 388), with the debased scroll still surviving, but very late design on the faces of the shaft; St. Teath (*ibid.*, p. 393), with a very decadent tree-scroll; Sancreed (*ibid.*, p. 361), with a crucifix but no plaits—only a bald zigzag and key-pattern—carrying us into the post-Conquest age. And then at Padstow (*ibid.*, p. 397) and Quethiock (*ibid.*, p. 399) are openwork wheel-heads in which the holes are cusped, marking the thirteenth century, although the shafts have plaits and scrolls as if they were merely late works of the pre-Norman West Riding. Some connection with Yorkshire seems to be evident; but the style took root in Cornwall and was continued by native carvers in monuments to natives whose Celtic names are sometimes inscribed upon them.

Turning at last to Scotland, which is popularly supposed to be the home of the Celtic wheel-cross—and is so, when the pattern is simply in relief on a slab—we find very few examples of the free wheel-head. At Lesmahagow (J. R. Allen, *Early Christian Monts. of Scotland*, fig. 502) is one which might be tenth century. At St. Vigean's (*ibid.*, fig. 286) is one of the Brompton form, but Celticised with a re-entrant spiral and key-pattern. At Barochan (*ibid.*, fig. 475) is a true Gaelic head with Gaut's Kirkby Wharfe pattern in its centre. At Iona, St. Martin's Cross (*ibid.*, fig. 397) carries this wheel-head into the twelfth century, and the restoration of the fragments at St. Oran's (*ibid.*, fig. 403) shows an open wheel, as at Stonegrave, but larger, resembling Kildalton (*ibid.*, fig. 410). And



in this last we have already noted the animals on the cross-arms, as at St. Mary's, Castlegate, York. Some considerable intercourse among all these districts in the tenth and following centuries is obvious. The map suggests that this is explained by Viking settlement.

The great Irish monuments with wheel-heads are admittedly late. Rivoira is not alone in assigning the Monasterboice crosses to the twelfth century (*Lombardic Architecture*, English edition, ii, 255 f.). The Tuam cross with crucifix and key-pattern (*ibid.*, 257) dates, by the man who set it up, 1150-61. It may have suggested late Cornish types, but these Irish free wheel-heads played no part in the origination of the style. We have seen how it was invented in the Isle of Man, developed in Yorkshire, and thence dispersed along the lines of Viking travel.

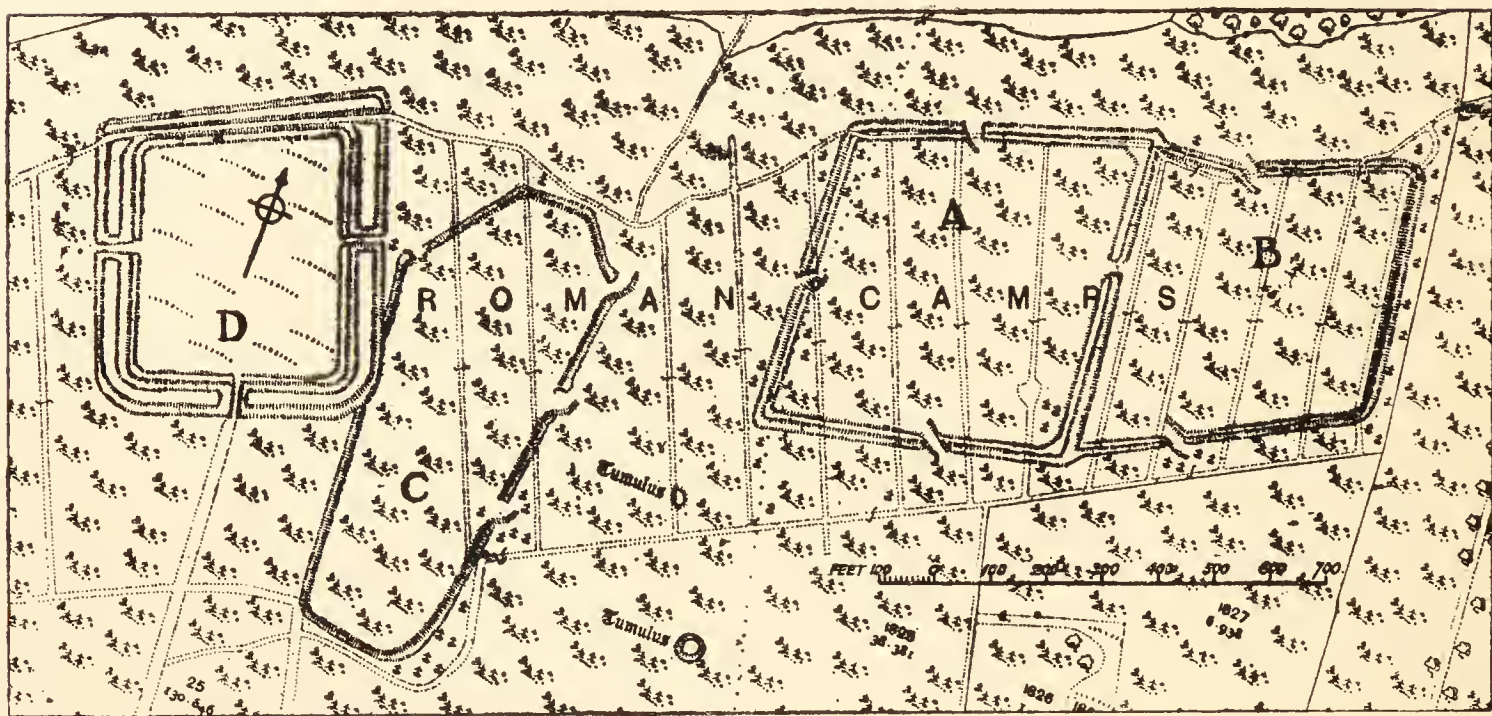
## THE ROMAN CAMPS AT CAWTHORN, NEAR PICKERING.

FIRST INTERIM SUMMARY, 1924.

By IAN A. RICHMOND, B.A.(OXON.).

In the Preliminary Report, 1923, Mr. F. G. Simpson, Hon. F.S.A.Scot., gave a general description of the Roman site at Cawthorn, and deduced what was possible from former explorations of the possibly unfinished fort D, from detailed observation, and from his trial trenches in camps A, B, and C. The work here summarised

Plan of Cawthorn Camps. Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey Map, with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.



Approximate areas (measured from rampart centre-lines): A, 6.47 ac.;  
B, 5.62 ac.; C, 5.36 ac.; D, 3.67 ac.

was conducted from June 16th, 1924, until July 5th, by the late Mr. H. G. Evelyn White, M.A.; from July 5th until July 23rd he had the help of the writer, who then worked until the end of the season (Aug. 27th). There is nothing new to be added to Mr. Simpson's report on the fort D and camp C, except that within the southern half of C there are turf mounds, and that a road may be traced from C's central gate to A's west gate. Excavation has been confined almost entirely to the defences of A and B.



Concerning the interior of A and B the following facts have become plain, and it is hoped that air-photography may soon produce more.

It is no longer possible to doubt that the turf-built mounds, described in the Preliminary Report, are Roman and belong to some kind of buildings: for the bracken in B was low enough early in July to allow the plotting of a definite system of buildings indicated by turf mounds. Between these ran thinly metalled alleys and streets, and they contain many pits, of which two were excavated, but were filled only with peaty soil about three feet deep. A rock-cut step, with stone tread, hewn in the side of one of them, helped to suggest that they were used for storage. Similar pits and buildings appear in A, and harmonise with the street-plan, of which our knowledge has been extended by tracing completely the road from the north to the south gate. At both gates the road avoids the internal defensive mounds (*claviculae*) by a double curve, of which the cambered inner sweep at the south gate is ballasted by laid turf. The average width of this road, whose edges are not always definite, was twelve feet. The south-west angle of A was searched in vain for a drain.

Interesting points have emerged in connection with the defences. It had been planned to examine those of A and B in one season. But to section the seven-foot rampart and eight-foot ditch of A was slow and heavy work: while only four workmen were employed under a maximum of personal supervision. Some problems therefore await solution until next season.

The rampart of A was found standing seven feet high and twenty feet wide, with variations due to denudation and spreading. It was composed almost entirely of loose rubble or sand (hence its great width), thrown up from an eight-foot ditch, which was V-shaped, with a small squared channel at the bottom. At the top the ditch was about fifteen feet wide.

The relation of the contents of the ditch to those of the rampart was curious. On the north, east, and west sides of the camp the bottom of the ditch was found to contain about two feet of loose rubble filling (*cf.* Fig. 1). On the south side the filling is sand, or rubble further decomposed than on the north: and, since the rock strata dip, the ditch has been dug through similar material, which makes the differences between filling and virgin sand difficult to demonstrate by photography, although this ideal may be reached next year. As for the rampart, while on the north, south, and west

sides it remains capped with turf (carried down the outer face of the north rampart by a step, apparently to prevent weathering), on the east front it is largely levelled down (see Preliminary Report).

Supposing, therefore, that the east rampart, after being capped with turf as were the others, had been thrown back into the ditch (as was surmised in the Preliminary Report), we should have expected the demolished turf to appear near the bottom of the ditch. On the contrary it occurs nowhere therein. Again, on the north, where turf-capping protected both the top and much of the outer face of the rampart, contrary to expectation, no washed turf was deposited in or near the bottom of the ditch. A probable explanation of this evidence would be that on A's east side the turf-capping never existed: and that on the other sides it was not added until *somehow* a good deal of the rampart had been returned into the ditch. This would imply two periods of activity in A's occupation.

Further evidence suggesting two occupations appeared at A's north and south gates. At the south gate the ditch was found filled up to carry the road and the outer defensive mound (*clavicula*), which was discovered to ascend the face of the rampart by a series of steps until it united with the turf-capping. This evidence showed that the *clavicula* was a secondary construction, and that the turf-capping apparently was added at the same time. And it was discovered in addition that the inner *clavicula* also climbed up the rampart, but with fewer steps.

Yet, if the *claviculae* were secondary, so should have been the road which avoided them. Proof of this was obtained by finding beneath the road a post-hole and a squared stone used to support a post, five feet apart. Apparently these were situated respectively at the butt-ends of the original rampart, of which reduced remains can be seen, upon which the edges of the oblique later road are now stranded owing to settlement of its centre.

Thus at A's south gate two periods may be discerned. The first gateway was only five feet wide, and was fronted by the open ditch, as was common in early Roman fortifications. In the second period its width was increased to nearly twenty feet; it received a road and turf-built *claviculae*, resembling those at B's south gate, which included within their curves turf-platforms built up to road level. Probably the west gate also was treated thus, for its outer *clavicula* has subsided over a filled-in ditch.

The north gate still awaits complete examination. It has no outer *clavicula*, owing, no doubt, to the proximity of the steep escarp-





FIG. 1.—SECTION OF DITCH AT NORTH JUNCTION  
OF A AND B.

*F.G.S.*

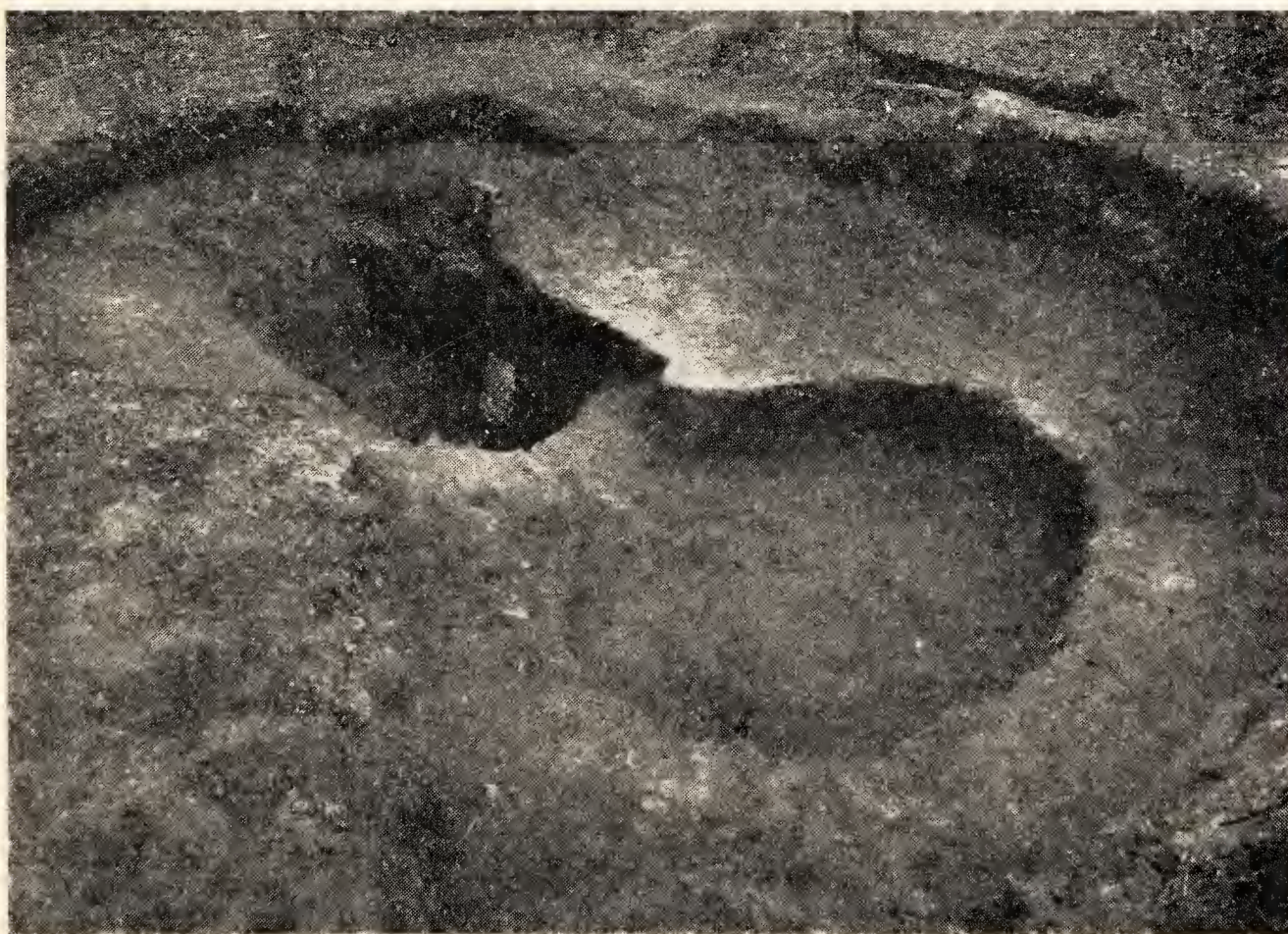


FIG. 2.—OVEN NEAR WEST GATE OF A.

*F.G.S.*







ment. The turf-capping at the west side, however, was found not to continue to the butt-end of the rampart, but to curve off and unite with the inner *clavicula*. This continuity of turf structure proves, as at the south gate, that the turf-capping and the *clavicula* are contemporary. Outside the gate the causeway which carried the road across the ditch was found to be separated from the two feet of loose rubble, referred to above, by four inches of vegetable deposit. This indicates not only two occupations, but a considerable interval between them. Furthermore, since the road above the causeway avoids the *clavicula* by a double curve, both it and the *clavicula* must be secondary, as at the south gate. But with this road are connected all the main roads yet known to exist in A, and with these are aligned the internal turf buildings. It is thus reasonable to expect future evidence of sequence from inside the camps to corroborate that given by their defences.

But it is already clear that the first occupation of A was an unexpectedly stern affair. Neither in this nor in the second period was there an east gate, and thus both armies of occupation feared an eastern attack. The first occupants, however, made their south gateway very narrow as if face to face with danger, and their ditch larger than Vegetius prescribes for a crisis, evidently bridging it only by those planks which a legion carried for the purpose (Veget. II, 25). The occupation also was not long, for no road was found in the early gateway, and roads elsewhere are secondary: also the weathering of the ditch was very slight.

Evidence from the defences also hints at another significant episode in the first occupation. It has appeared already that some seasons separated the two occupations and that the loose rubble which fills A's north, west, and east ditches, was deposited during the first. But I am indebted to Professor Gilligan, of the Geological Department in Leeds University, and to Dr. T. W. Woodhead, of the Technical College, Huddersfield, for the assurance that this rubble was all thrown in at one time, and not deposited by weathering processes, which caused only an inch or two of sandy silt to be deposited in the ditch's channelled bottom. Thus, granting that the vegetable deposit represents growth in the ditch when A was deserted, we have to admit that the rubble below it got there in the first period. The even depth of the rubble layer seems, however, to deny that it stands for hostile demolition of the rampart: for to make a few large breaches therein would have been far more effective than to despoil the crest. It is more natural to assume

that there was being regularly removed from the rampart top some object later replaced by the secondary turf-capping, after vegetation had grown in the ditch: and I suggest that the object in question was a palisade, torn up by *Romans* themselves. Dr. Woodhead and Professor Gilligan have assured me that Cawthorn was then a bare place, without large trees. Thus, if legionaries had built a palisade with their regular equipment of stakes and were unable to cut new stakes on the spot, Army Regulations, by all modern analogy, would compel them to depart with those which they had brought. In digging such a structure out of its trench along the original top of the rampart, they would shovel down into the ditch everywhere an approximately equal amount of debris.

The question whether the second occupation of A coincided with the addition of B (as was surmised in 1923), has been answered by examination of the north-east junction of the earthworks. Both ditches at this angle were excavated under my supervision. A's was found to be normal, as already described. But certain features suggested that it was essentially a temporary work: the bottom was cut through solid rock, but never trimmed: and the very sharp curve at the angle, where the channelled bottom of the east section had been cut past the projected centre-line of the north section, seemed to point either to an ill-co-ordinated meeting of working parties, or to hasty work which did not employ the sweeping curve normally set out by regular *mensores*.

B's ditch resembled A's in shape, but was only 4 feet deep and 8 feet 6 inches wide. But its smallness shows that, if the occupants of B also occupied A, they would have felt no necessity to clear out the loose rubble half-filling A's ditch, and this would explain why it never was removed. The rampart of B was found crossing A's east ditch above—(1) the loose rubble, (2) the vegetable layer, and (3) another layer of filling, contemporary with the rampart. It then climbed up the side of A's rampart, and united with the turf-capping on its summit. Thus it seems clear that the second period in A's occupation, which saw the provision of a turf-capping to its ramparts, of *claviculae*, of streets, and of turf-buildings, coincides with the construction of B. In fact, the occupants of B, in refurbishing old fortifications, were following a precept of Roman tacticians from Cæsar (B.G. VI, 32) to Vegetius (III, 8). We must therefore regard B no longer as the annexe of A, but as including its area in less temporary form. C, moreover, exhibits similar turf-buildings as well as turf-ramparts and *claviculae*, and is connected with A by



a road. We may thus assume that it also belongs to this occupation, since in its first stage A exhibited neither turf-buildings nor turf in its rampart, nor *claviculae*, nor streets.

With B's construction coincided the demolition of A's east rampart and north-east artillery platform. But not all the material from the rampart was used to fill up the ditch. In the filling occurred many large stones and much stiff clay, which seem foreign to the rampart elsewhere, and leave room for an amount of the normal rubble which is not enough to represent a rampart constructed thereof. A reasonable conclusion is that the rubble was in fact mostly used to metal streets.

Examination of B's rampart generally confirmed last year's experience. But on the east side two turf-built expansions (*ballistaria*) were found evenly placed, and the ditch was slightly deeper and the rampart larger than elsewhere. There was no east gate. Between the north-east angle and the north gate, to prevent a rush, were disposed three similar *ballistaria*, which projected internally about eight feet from the centre-line of the rampart. Evidence from one, tested in detail, suggests that all were composed entirely of turf and built simultaneously with the rampart.

The south gateway of B is particularly well preserved, and should be completely uncovered early next season. Here also the ditches are in perfection, with narrow and deep bottom-channels providing a maximum obstacle with a minimum width.

Finally, seven ovens were detected and three were excavated—a portion of the work most hindered by bad weather. A group of three, of which two, including that located in 1923, were excavated, lay behind the rampart north of A's west gate. They were originally circular structures (see fig. 2), with *clay* domes of which the sides still exist, and a narrow entrance, in which a sharp recess was cut to hold a presumably portable door. In front was a deep stoke-hole: and the whole structure was banked round with puddled clay, the surface of which awaits examination for post-holes. These ovens—unique in the absence of stone-work—seem too deeply recessed in the rampart to allow for a rampart-walk behind the turf-capping of the second period: and next year it is hoped to decide whether they belong to the first period, when the rampart-walk may have lain further forward. The two other ovens in A lay behind the rampart west of the south gate: they were stone-built and fitted with stoke-holes, but remain unexcavated. Constructionally they correspond with those in B, and differ so sharply from

the others in A, as to induce the expectation that they belong to the second period.

In B two stone-built ovens were found close behind the rampart west of the south gate. Only one was cleared. Its dome, composed entirely of stones, had been heavily fired, and had collapsed upon a stone flagged floor. Its diameter was about four-and-a-half feet, and its narrow door opened on to a stoke-hole. For all the ovens at Cawthorn are built at ground-level, and, in order to feed or remove the fuel without damage to door and dome, the stoker had to get below ground, as if to stoke a hypocaust. The other oven in B was stripped for excavation, and promises to equal in good preservation those at Haltwhistle Burn and at Castleshaw. Around it were discovered four stone-lined post-holes, about three inches in diameter, apparently to hold the poles of an oven-cover like that prescribed for modern British field-kitchens. On one side it was joined by a turf-mound—the first of these mounds found intimately associated with a typically Roman structure.

It remains to describe finds. This year the first Roman objects have appeared. They comprise two pieces of coarse pottery, neither of late fabric, but otherwise unidentifiable, from the surface of the road at A's south gate, and from the ditch on the east of A's north gate respectively: and two fragments of blue ribbed beads, common on first-century sites, from the filling of A's east ditch. For only one important aspect of the excavation, however, is it desirable to secure small finds. As has been pointed out in the Preliminary Report, there is quite enough circumstantial evidence to date roughly the period (A.D. 80–120) to which the camps belong. But it is desirable to fix these dates precisely. Was A built under Cerialis, or Agricola, or neither? And is B Agricolan, as General Roy suggested long ago, or a relic of some later episode, perhaps of Trajan's reign?

The second aspect concerns the general advancement of Roman studies. Since General Roy's great effort no British student of Roman history has studied the ancient military writers in close connection with the remains of camps themselves. What features of Roman discipline and training kept her armies so successful, or made her soldiers such good fighters and such born grumblers? What kind of field-operations kept the barbarian out of Western Europe for centuries, and inspired pathetic faith even when grown obsolete? Literary sources sometimes lift the veil, but the spade should rend it.



Cawthorn therefore offers a unique opportunity. We have the rare good luck to meet with camps crowded with structures which approach as nearly as possible the tent-covered camp of Hyginus, and still seem unparalleled outside Spain or Palestine. In working upon the defences it was our fortune to meet again and again with features reminiscent of those described by Cæsar, Livy, Tacitus, Hyginus, or Vegetius. For this reason, to add to our knowledge of the Roman army and of its work in Britain, it will be worth while to carry the research to its conclusion.

I now have pleasure in thanking Mr. F. G. Simpson for the constant help which he has afforded with advice and with the camera, of which the longest mention is insufficient acknowledgment. My relations with the late Mr. White were most happy, and his untimely death has made me the executor of a Report which he was looking forward to write. Other ties with the University of Leeds were notable in immediate usefulness and envisage interesting possibilities of co-operation. Messrs. A. J. R. Mahon, S. P. Thomson, and A. Wear, Civil Engineering students, performed great service in laying down base lines for a new plan of A and B, and in surveying such sections as were cut by the middle of July; and at the same time Mr. F. Manby, official photographer to the University, provided useful photographic records. Finally, the services of Dr. J. L. Kirk deserve special note. Only his constant and untiring help in everything pertaining to local arrangements enabled us to approach the ideal of continual supervision of the excavation.

## IV.

## ST. MARY'S CHURCH, BEVERLEY.

In my paper on this church, I referred to the original oak door (the western leaf of a pair of folding doors) which has survived in the doorway at the south end of the south transept<sup>1</sup>—all the other external doors of the church being modern. I am indebted to Mr. H. Clifford Smith, of the Victoria and Albert Museum, for the information that the Museum possesses two doors, each being half of a pair of folding doors, from St. Mary's Church, Beverley, which are described and illustrated in his *Catalogue*.<sup>2</sup> The right-hand door illustrated in plate 3 is evidently the eastern leaf from the south transept doorway, for its traceried head corresponds exactly with that of the western leaf still in position. The lower part of the western leaf, which contains the wicket, has been renewed from a little below the springing of the arch, and does not now show the band of cusped arches which appears in the door in the Museum; it has a row of quatrefoils along the lower edge (modern). The existing eastern leaf is a modern copy of the western.

The existing folding doors of the outer doorway of the south porch are modern,<sup>3</sup> but they are almost a precise copy of the left-hand door illustrated in plate 3, the only difference being a variation in the pattern of the tracery of the panel on the right, next the apex of the arch. The door in the Museum therefore came from this doorway. The existing doors do not show the band of cusped arches across the lower part, of which there are traces in the door in the Museum, but they have a band of quatrefoils along the lower edge, as in the modern work in the south transept doors.

The south porch is of earlier date than the south transept doorway,<sup>4</sup> which confirms the difference of date noted in the description of the doors in the *Catalogue*, though the dates would appear to be rather earlier than the approximate dates there suggested for the doors.

The two doors in the Museum were acquired in 1921 from the Royal Architectural Museum, Westminster. It would appear that they were taken from the church and disposed of at the time of the "restoration" of the church under the two Pugins (1844–1859),<sup>5</sup> which dealt with these parts of the church.

JOHN BILSON.

<sup>1</sup> Y.A.J. xxv, 411.

<sup>2</sup> *Victoria and Albert Museum, Department of Woodwork. Catalogue of English Furniture and Woodwork*, vol. i, *Gothic and Early Tudor*, pp. 20–21 (Nos. 48, 49), and plate 3.

<sup>3</sup> Y.A.J. xxv, fig. 18 (opp. p. 401).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* xxv, 401, 409.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* xxv, 431. Cf. the sale by auction in 1851, noted on p. 400, note 4.



## V.

“Early English Ornament; the sources, development, and relation to foreign styles of pre-Norman ornamental art in England,” by J. Brøndsted, D.Phil., Assistant-Keeper in the department of Danish antiquities, National Museum, Copenhagen. With a preface by Reginald A. Smith, F.S.A., Deputy-Keeper of British and Mediæval Antiquities, British Museum. Translated by Albany F. Major, O.B.E., F.S.A. (London, Hachette, and Copenhagen, 1924, 21s. net).

At last we find a foreign author who views our pre-Conquest monuments in the light of personal acquaintance with the series as a whole. Dr. Brøndsted, in 1922, spent the summer and autumn on a tour of inspection much more complete than the hasty visits which satisfied his predecessors from abroad. He knows his subject not only from books. Add to this that he has the experience of continental examples which are less accessible to the ordinary English antiquary than to one who holds a position in the great Danish museum. The combination makes this a book worth reading, amply illustrated and readably translated.

He divides his contents into three sections: (1) Up to about A.D. 900, representing (in the North) our Anglian age; (2) from 900 to the Conquest, dealing with our Anglo-Danish and Anglo-Norse remains; and (3) animal ornament in both periods as influenced from oriental sources. In treating of the North of England, to which he gives more than a third of his text, he uses many illustrations from Yorkshire. Readers of this *Journal* cannot fail to be interested in seeing these familiar examples discussed. And, while he carries his elucidation much further and adds greatly to our information, we note his general concurrence in the views upon sequence of development already put forth in these volumes of our Society.

There is one point on which we should have liked more evidence. He says (p. 35), “That a cross like that of Otley . . . . . was made by an Oriental, is an absolutely necessary supposition.” In this he follows Dr. Josef Strzygowski, who, in his *Origin of Christian Church Art* (Clarendon Press, 1923), connects our crosses “of the time of Bede” with the Armenian pillars of Odzun (p. 236, fig. 65), which, however, are not crosses, and are supposed to date A.D. 922; and compares the Ruthwell “Christ” with a figure at Mzchet in Georgia (fig. 72), “as though the same hand had been at work.” The attitudes are similar, but the essentials of treatment are widely different; and though we agree that many motives were common

to the East and West, Dr. Brøndsted's plate of panels from Hexham and Mschatta brings out clearly the fundamental difference in the interweaving of the double scroll. We feel that the illustrations to both these books show the prevalence of current types, but prove as clearly that the craftsmen who worked in Northumbria were not the orientals whose presence here is postulated. Something more is wanted to support that contention; but in all the analysis of northern influences we follow Dr. Brøndsted with admiration and thanks.

W G.C

## VI.

### THE TOWER OF SILKSTONE CHURCH.

No error is so familiar to the student of historical records as that which discovers architectural evidence in documents concerned with subjects quite remote from architecture. Such documents occasionally throw incidental light upon contemporary building operations, but, when used in this way, they habitually raise more problems than they solve, and land the enquirer in a labyrinth of conflicting facts and dates through which he needs uncommon skill and subtlety to pilot him to a conclusion which at best is uncertain. Nevertheless, there are rare cases in which their evidence is either overlooked altogether or stated in such general terms that its full significance escapes notice.

The church of Silkstone, a large parish which included in its area the modern town of Barnsley and other chapelries, was appropriated in April, 1284, to the prior and convent of St. John at Pontefract. Hunter, in his *South Yorkshire*,<sup>1</sup> and Lawton, in his *Collections*,<sup>2</sup> have noted later documents from the archiepiscopal registers at York which bear upon the division of responsibility for the repair of the fabric, usually prescribed in the original deed of appropriation. "In 1307, touching the repairs of the steeple, it was ordained that the parishioners should do two parts, and the Vicar the third. In 1479 the steeple was rebuilt, and in future the Prior and Convent were to defray two-thirds of the repairs thereof, and the parishioners one-third."<sup>3</sup>

As the tower at Silkstone, forming part of a handsome and extensive rebuilding which obviously may be assigned to the second half of the fifteenth century, is at the west end of the church, it is at first sight difficult to see why any part of the burden of its repairs should have fallen upon the vicar or the appropriators of the rectory.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii, p. 224.

<sup>2</sup> New ed., 1842, p. 225.

<sup>3</sup> Lawton, *op. cit.* Hunter noted only the second of these documents. The Rev. J. F. Prince, in *Silkstone* (Penistone, 1922), p. 10, after recognising that the earlier tower was over the chancel, proceeds: "In 1317 (*sic*) it was reported unsafe and was repaired, the vicar in those

days bearing a third of the expense and the parishioners two-thirds, and I find an entry in one of the old rate books of 1820 which gives an extract from a York record stating the tower in 1479 was taken down as it was unsafe and rebuilt at the west end of the church by order of the Archbishop of York, and it is said to have been completed as it now stands in 1495."



Its predecessor, however, stood further east, between the nave and chancel. The ordination of the vicarage in 1284, following a common custom, assigned two-thirds of the repair of the chancel to the prior and convent, and the remaining third to the vicar.<sup>1</sup> This contains no reference to responsibility for the tower, and it is necessary to take a closer look at the later documents for a full explanation of their meaning.

On 17 July, 1307, Archbishop Greenfield made his primary visitation of the deanery of Doncaster in Doncaster church. Among the *comperta* of the visitation was the dangerous condition of the bell-tower at Silkstone. The woodwork was rotten: some of the beams had fallen, and it was locally believed that the tower was coming down.<sup>2</sup> Realising the danger of delay, he proceeded with legal advice, and with the consent of the parishioners, through their representatives then present, to make a decree for repair. In this he observes that the tower was built "in the choir or chancel, above the same," *i.e.* that it stood east of the nave, and therefore in that part of the church whose repair, by approved custom, devolved upon the proprietors of the tithes. On the other hand he remarks that by general custom the building and repair of church towers, whether built at the west end, "as most commonly happens in these parts," or elsewhere outside the choir or chancel, was the duty of the parishioners.<sup>3</sup> He therefore made the equitable decision that, now and in future, the prior and convent, as the recipients of most of the profits of the church, should contribute half the cost of repair and construction, while the other half should be met by the parishioners and the vicar, in the respective proportions of two-thirds and one-third.<sup>4</sup> The parishioners were further charged with the whole expense of framing and hanging the bells.<sup>5</sup>

From the mention of the state of the woodwork, it seems probable that on this occasion the insecurity of the bell-frames was the main cause of danger. At any rate the tower stood in its original position

<sup>1</sup> *Reg. Wickwane* (Surtees Soc., cxiv), pp. 292-294. The ordination of the vicarage is summarised by Hunter, *op. cit.*, ii, 223. The vicar's share in the repairs of the chancel was the result of a liberal endowment which gave him an unusually large share of the tithes. Ordinarily speaking the whole burden fell upon the rector or rectors: see, *e.g.*, Quivil's Exeter constitutions, ap. Wilkins, *Concilia* ii, 138. But in certain dioceses, and particularly in that of Exeter, the vicar was charged with a third of the repairs.

<sup>2</sup> *Reg. Greenfield* I, f. 127. "Invenimus campanile ecclesie parochialis de Silkeston' expositum ruine in tantum quod quedam tingna putrefacta iam corruerunt, opus eciam ipsum totum creditur in vicino verisimiliter ruiturum."

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* "Advertentes igitur quod campanile predictum in choro seu cancello supra ipsum constructum existit, quodque generaliter in nostra diocesi onus con-

struccionis et refeccionis chori seu cancelli personis que decimas et proventus percipiunt de consuetudine approbata incumbit, ac insuper intuentes quod campanilis constructio et refeccio tam in parte occidentali ecclesie, prout communius in hiis partibus accidit, vel alibi extra chorum seu cancellum est constructum, ad parochianos spectat de consuetudine generali, per viam equitati consonam incedentes ordinamus," etc.

<sup>4</sup> Lawton entirely misses the important share assigned to the rector, and appears to be followed by Prince, *op. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> For custom regarding repairs of chancels, see Lyndwood, *Provinciale*, ed. 1679, pp. 53 (note k), 253 (note t). *Ibid.*, f. 127 v. "Campanas vero in eodem campanili appendendas cum omni instructione seu apparatu earum parochiani teneantur quociens opus fuerit facere et reficere suis sumptibus et expensis."

until more than a century and a half later. In the meantime a new ordination of the vicarage, made in August, 1425, removed the vicar's responsibility by placing the whole burden of repair of the chancel upon the prior and convent,<sup>1</sup> whose liability for the tower was thus increased from a half to two-thirds. About the end of 1478 the weight of the tower had told so heavily upon the substructure that ruin was imminent. The language of the document which affords this information shares defects of construction with the building to which it refers, and its full implication is not clear. The prior and convent, however, agreed with the parishioners to have the tower demolished to the foundations, and to use its stone and timber with fresh material for a new tower at the west end of the church, which would be the most convenient and least costly place for it.<sup>2</sup> The date of this agreement and of its ratification by Archbishop Lawrence Bothe<sup>3</sup> are not recorded, but the position of the document in the register indicates the early months of 1479. The prior and convent undertook to meet two-thirds of the cost and upkeep of the new tower, as of the old; while in return the parishioners consented to pay one-third of the repairs of that part of the chancel over which the old tower had stood.

The somewhat insufficient statements of Hunter and Lawton are thus rectified and explained. The present tower at Silkstone shows no clear signs of the re-use of older masonry, and a considerable portion of the substructure of the old tower seems to have been left in place. Its area was thrown entirely into the chancel by the removal of the eastern tower-arch, and two lofty arches opening into a chantry chapel took the place of its south wall. The fifteenth-century chancel-arch, however, springs from massive semi-circular responds of the later part of the twelfth century, with plain capitals and heavy square abaci, which carried its western arch; and in its north wall is a semi-circular arch of two unmoulded orders, springing from similar responds at a lower level. These have been much restored and in their present state are largely modern; but they bear witness to the former existence of a tower between the nave and chancel, with a transeptal chapel on its north side, and possibly another on the south.

A.H.T.

<sup>1</sup> Reg. Kempe, f. 228. This ordination is summarised by Hunter, *op. cit.*, ii, 223, 224, and by Prince, *op. cit.*, pp. 31, 32. The essential point in it was the commutation of the vicar's share in the tithes for an annual pension, the consequence of which was the transference of his part in the burdens of the church, with exception of his duty to provide bread, wine, and lights, to the appropriators.

<sup>2</sup> Reg. Neville-Bothe, f. 312. "Quia campanile ecclesie parochialis de Silkeston' predicta, quod erectum et edificatum fuit super cancellum ecclesie antedictae nimis latum ponderosum (*sic*), ruinosius ac ruine et iacture vicinum, de

consilio et consensu dictorum prioris et conuentus ac prefatorum parochianorum et incolarum demoliri et funditus prosterni conuenerunt et decreuerunt, statuantes inter se ut idem campanile de nouo erigeretur fundaretur et edificaretur de semente (*sic*) et materia nouis et veteris campanilis ad finem occidentalem dicte ecclesie vbi oportunius et commodius ac minoribus sumptibus et expensis poterit de nouo edificari."

<sup>3</sup> It was not, as Hunter implies, an order from the Archbishop, but the confirmation by him of an existing agreement.



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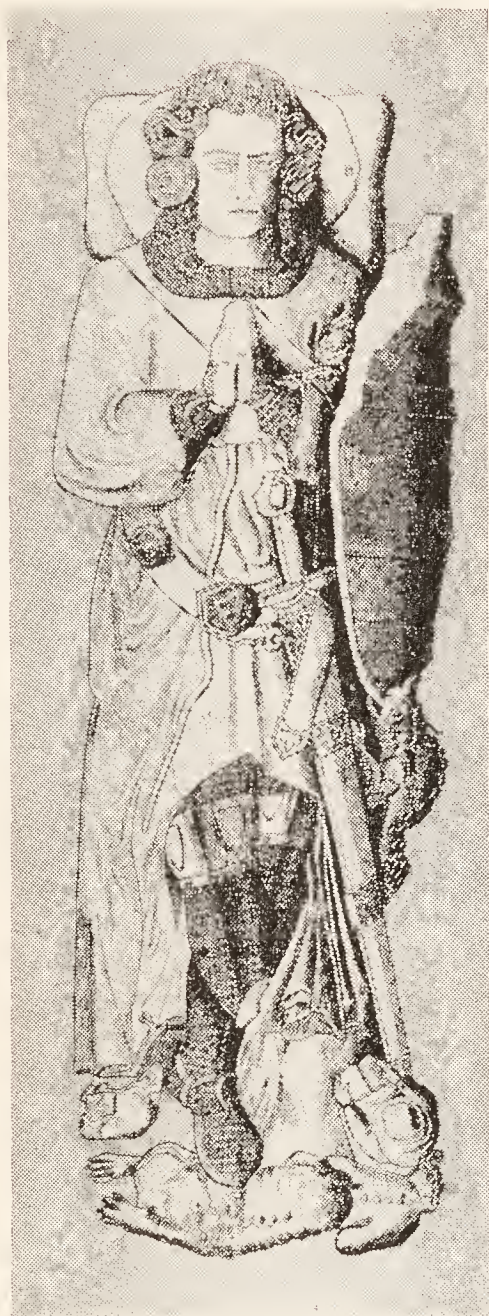
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Effigy (1318) of BRIAN FITZALAN (ob. 1306)  
Bedale.

*An example of the work of the Cheyne Atelier, York.*





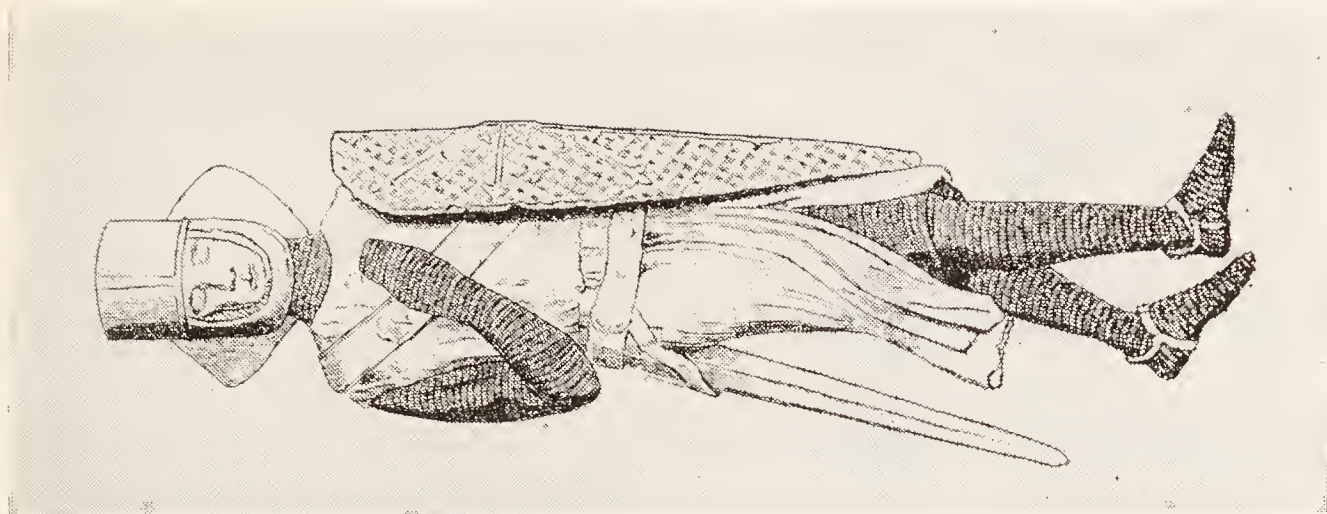


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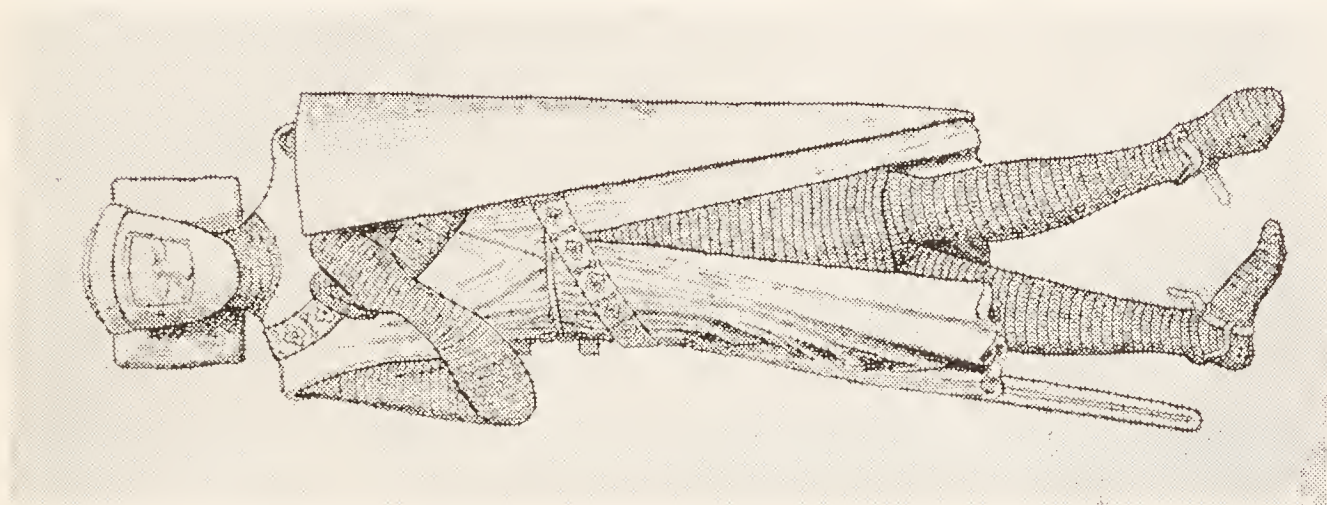


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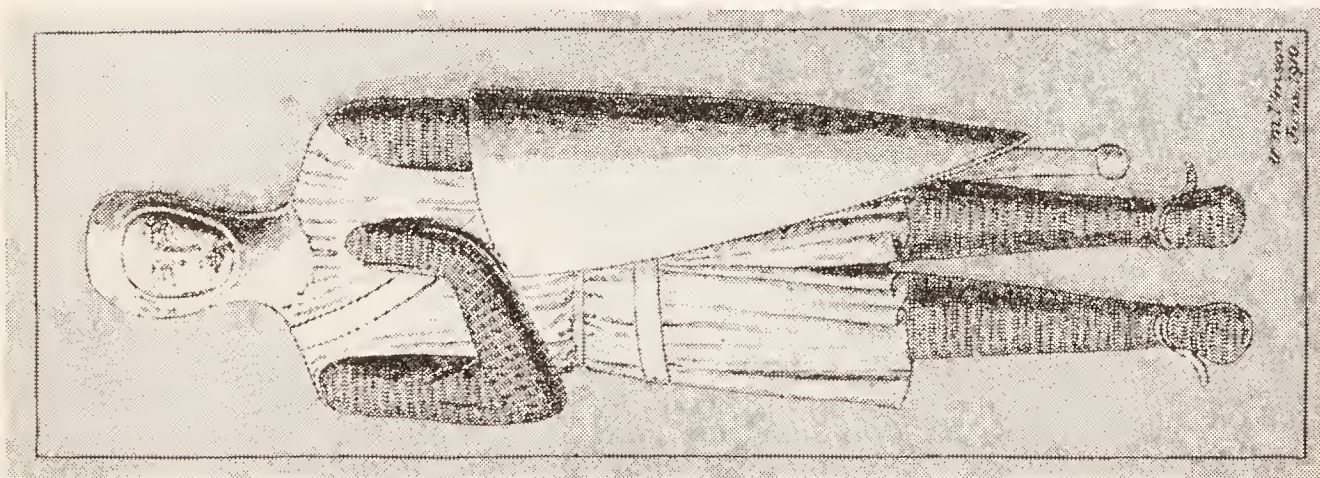


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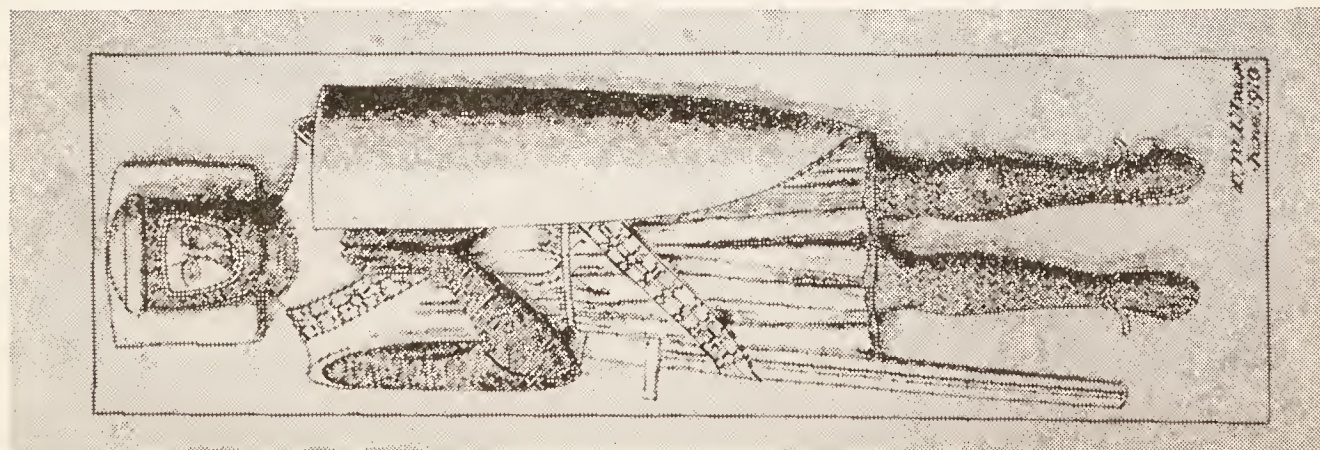


Fig. 4. Effigy, Temple Church c. 1230.

EFFIGIES 1215 - 1230, TEMPLE CHURCH, LONDON.





## THE MEDIAEVAL MILITARY EFFIGIES OF YORKSHIRE.

BY THE LATE WILLIAM M. P'ANSON, F.S.A.

### INTRODUCTION.

We possess in Yorkshire a collection of mediaeval military effigies which is unequalled in number and unsurpassed in interest by those of any other three counties in England put together. Our early figures, up to *c.* 1310, only number twelve and with one exception, that at Romaldkirk, N.R., are of but little interest; this period is the weakest feature of our collection. Our effigies of *c.* 1315-1348, no fewer than fifty-three in number, comprise some of the finest specimens of this period to be found in Great Britain or in France. True we cannot claim to possess in Yorkshire figures such as those at Leckhampton (Gloucestershire), Clehongre (Herefordshire), Alvechurch (Worcestershire), Ash (Kent), etc., of unusual value and interest as depicting in elaborate detail the type of armour worn during the closing years of the pre-Black Death period, but these effigies must be regarded as more or less isolated examples scattered over different counties. As a set-off we may claim that our bare-headed, sleeved-surcoated figures (see Frontispiece) wrought in the Cheyne atelier at York between 1317 and 1327, form a class in themselves so far as monumental sculpture is concerned whilst the effigies made, between 1310 and 1348, in another highly-skilled workshop at York are unsurpassed, either in beauty or in excellence of craftsmanship, by any coeval figures in England or in France. The Black Death apparently put a stop for more than twenty years to the making of effigies in Yorkshire; we have nothing between the figures (1347-1348) of John ii, 2nd Lord Sutton, Sutton, E.R., and Sir Thomas Cresacre, Barnborough, W.R., on the one hand, and those (1369-1370) of Sir Alexander Mowbray, Kirklington, N.R., Sir Thomas Ingilby, Ripley, W.R., and Sir Robert Hilton ii, Swine, E.R., on the other. But after 1369 and right up to 1535, throughout what we have termed the Camail and Jupon (1370-1410), the Second Transitional (1410-1430), the Plate Armour (1430-1485), and the Third Transitional (1485-1535) Periods we find numerous effigies, both of stone and of alabaster, at least equal to any coeval figures to be found in any co-extensive area in England.

In spite of the number and the value of our mediaeval military effigies, we search in vain through the publications of our county archæological society for much information about them. With the exception of brief, and sometimes inaccurate, references to isolated examples, and a scrappy little note by the writer, entitled *Some Yorkshire Effigies*, the premature publication of which he now regrets, our *Journal*, throughout all the long years of its existence, is drawn blank. Nor can we find the wished-for information elsewhere. Our local and county historical works, of value and interest as they are in some respects, are hopeless so far as mediaeval military effigies are concerned. The only valuable works we have met with which incidentally touch upon the effigies of Yorkshire are Mr. McCall's *Early History of Bedale and Richmondshire Churches*; and Dr. Alfred C. Fryer's *Wooden Monumental Effigies in England and Wales*, which last, however, deals only with our very few oak figures. It will be readily realised, therefore, that the time is much overdue when an effort should be made to fill what can only be described as an unhappy gap in the publications of our county archæological society.

In six chapters, which—considering the dimensions of our *Journal* and the demands upon its pages by authorities on other branches of archæological research—will take some years to make their appearance, the writer attempts to give a brief and elementary survey of our large and valuable collection of effigies. We propose dividing the work into six chapters, as follows:<sup>1</sup>

Chapter I.—The Chain Mail and Surcoat Period, *c.* 1200–1310.

Chapter II.—The First Transitional Period, *c.* 1310–1370.

Chapter III.—The Camail and Jupon Period, *c.* 1370–1410.

Chapter IV.—The Second Transitional Period, *c.* 1410–1430.

Chapter V.—The Plate Armour Period, *c.* 1430–1485.

Chapter VI.—The Third Transitional Period, *c.* 1485–1535.

Exception may be taken to any one, or to all, of these titles and to the purely arbitrary divisions into which we split up the period of 1200–1535, divisions which sometimes overlap one another by nearly a decade, but these periods would appear to be more or less clearly defined and are the best the writer can devise. These six

<sup>1</sup> Owing to the unexpected and much-lamented death of Mr. I'Anson this programme cannot, of course, be carried out. But we print his intended division of the subject into periods, which is undoubtedly valuable as showing how, in his view, the investigation should be dealt with.

It is hoped that, when opportunity serves, it may be possible to print Chapter II, which he left in a fairly complete state; and it may even be possible, at some time, to carry on very much on the lines in which he left his incompleting manuscript, down to about 1400.—ED. V.A.J.



chapters naturally vary much in length. The first, fourth, and sixth are relatively short; the second, in the writer's opinion the most interesting of the series, is double the length of any of the other two put together. We are not interested either in armour or in effigies after 1535, at which date we bring the work to a conclusion.

This work was commenced as far back as 1912, but the destruction, four years ago, of the greater part of the writer's drawings, his MSS., and of his library has caused a considerable delay in the publication of the first chapter. The general survey of the equipment during the period under consideration which forms an introduction to each chapter, and which, it is hoped, will relieve the monotony of the long *catalogue raisonné* of our Yorkshire effigies, is based upon an examination by the writer, over the past twenty years, of some seventy per cent. of the effigies of this type in England and Wales, some twenty per cent. of those of France, upon a fair knowledge of the illuminated MSS of the period, and of the principal collections of armour, public and private, in Great Britain and a few of those in France.

The difficulty of obtaining satisfactory photographs of effigies, which are frequently hidden away in dark corners or laid in low recesses, will be readily realised and the writer relies upon his measured drawings to illustrate the work. One advantage of drawing rather than photographing an effigy lies in the long period of concentrated attention upon the figure which the first-mentioned process necessarily involves.

To the late Mr. William Brown the writer is indebted for invaluable assistance in the task of identifying the men commemorated by our effigies. The MS. of the first three chapters was carefully read some years ago by Mr. Brown, and we may remind our members that it was one of the most cherished archæological projects of our revered Vice-President that this long-neglected branch of archæological research should be fully dealt with in the publications of the Society in which he took so great an interest. Acting upon Mr. Brown's advice, on the ground of economy of space, we have confined our attention to the effigies only, omitting all reference to the altar-tombs, canopies, heraldry, etc. This has necessitated the excision of much matter, the loss of which we cannot but regret, but this seems inevitable in view of the fact that the space occupied by this work must be got down to an irreducible minimum as there are other branches of archæological research whose claims on our *Journal* are almost equally urgent.

To Mr. J. B. Mann, B.Litt., F.S.A., the writer's grateful thanks are tendered for assistance on difficult points in connection with the equipment; to our Hon. Editor, Mr. H. B. McCall, F.S.A., for his ever-ready help in the putting together of this somewhat complicated work.<sup>1</sup>

## CHAPTER I.

### THE CHAIN MAIL AND SURCOAT PERIOD OF

c. 1200-1310.

The date of the origin of the fashion of commemorating a deceased personage by means of a life-size figure clad in armour cannot, we think, be decided within a decade.<sup>2</sup> For no reliance can be

<sup>1</sup> The mediaeval military effigies scattered about Yorkshire, often in the churches of remote villages, must appeal alike to the antiquary, the historian and the artist, and the writer's present ideal of a holiday is to run about with his little Morris and combine an examination of mediaeval military effigies with some golf on links met with on the tour.

To the student of armour and of arms the mediaeval military effigies of our county are invaluable. We admit, as we shall more clearly point out in our second chapter, that up to c. 1340 the sculptor, probably in order to indulge his delight in the delicate and intricate tracery of the mail, omitted the cuir-bouilli half-plates of 1315-1330 and the complete superincumbent suite of cuir-bouilli of 1330-1348 on effigies illustrating what we have termed in this work the Reinforced Mail variety of harness. With this solitary exception he depicted, throughout the entire mediaeval period (1200-1535), every visible item of the equipment with the most painstaking care and the most minute exactitude and up to c. 1460, when we first meet with a genuine suit of complete armour, these effigies form our main guides to a fascinating study even allowing for the rival claims in this respect of the illuminated MSS.

Whether actual portraiture were attempted or not on the effigies of the pre-Black Death era, our effigies seem to bring the historian and genealogist into closer touch than any other objects could possibly do with the knights and barons of whom we read in the chronicles.

These beautiful memorials, when perfect and *in situ*, retaining their original colouring, must have been singularly imposing. The effigy of the knight, clad in his armour, gleamed in scarlet, green and gold; the canopy scintillated in all the colours of the rainbow; the altar-tomb was often gorgeous in the sumptuous grandeur of heraldic decoration.

Although the colouring has long since vanished, although effigy, altar-tomb and

canopy are alike mutilated and decayed, the artist cannot fail to appreciate the extraordinary felicity with which the mediaeval craftsman has adjusted the entire composition, the altar-tomb, canopy, etc., to the recumbent position of the effigy; and will delight in the dignified beauty of the effect.

Moreover, when perfect and *in situ*, these memorials were appropriate fittings in a church of the Christian and Catholic faith, and it is by no means easy to appreciate the mentality of the restorers of the second half of the 16th, of the 17th, and 18th centuries who have robbed us of so many valuable specimens. Time after time, in touring England and Wales in our search for effigies, we have come across instances of but comparatively recently discovered figures found under the floor of the church; we shall find many such in the catalogue of our Yorkshire effigies. And we often wonder how many may still be hidden from our sight. These memorials should be most carefully preserved. For, quite apart from their interest and value from the point of view of the antiquary, the historian and the artist, they are in the most perfect taste. No corpulent female blows the trumpet of fame over the warrior's head; no grandiloquent epitaph ascribes to him a string of impossible virtues; he does not masquerade as a Roman general or some other equally incongruous personage, but is appropriately clad in the armour of his day and generation, neither dead nor living, yet strangely and impressively life-like, his hands uplifted in supplication—"In manus Tuas, Domine, Just as I am"; the sleeping knight is symbolical of all that was best in the life of that wonderful period which, whatever may have been its faults, gave us our great monastic houses, and our beautiful village churches.—"Requiescat in pace."

<sup>2</sup> We have examined the effigy in the Boulogne Museum assigned by French antiquaries to Thierry d'Alsace, Count of Boulogne (*ob.* 1173) and shall be much



placed upon dates assigned to individual effigies before *c.* 1235 at the earliest; no alterations of any kind took place in the equipment between 1200 (the date to which the earliest of the figures in the famous Temple Church collection is popularly assigned) and 1235, nor is there anything in the technique or craftsmanship of the figure to enable us to date it with accuracy. There is, however, little doubt that our earliest centre of effigy-making was established in the Isle of Purbeck, probably at Corfe,<sup>1</sup> and we may provisionally put the date of its foundation at about 1205–1215. The figures wrought in this famous atelier were set up in considerable numbers in the southern counties; we find them as far north as Lincolnshire; whether any were brought into Yorkshire we do not know; none exist to-day. Figs. 1 to 5, effigies in the Temple Church, none of which can be put later than *c.* 1235, and one or two of which may even go back as far as *c.* 1210–1215, will give us a good idea of these early figures.<sup>2</sup>

Into the oft-discussed question of portraiture in connection with effigies it is impossible to enter in an elementary survey of this character. But the most sceptical of critics will be compelled to admit that there is a very striking individuality about the faces wrought on our pre-Black Death effigies and that they form a great contrast to the placid, almost insipid, moustached countenance made so monotonously familiar to us on the effigies of the Camail and Jupon period (1370–1410).

At first our effigies although actually recumbent in position, were virtually treated as upright statuary.<sup>3</sup> As early as *c.* 1240, however, the genuine recumbent attitude was frankly adopted and the crossed-legged position, a happy inspiration of the Purbeck marblers, was introduced, as shown on the effigy of that date in the Temple Church (Fig. 8), on the coeval incised slab at Bitton, Glouces-

surprised if it is any earlier than 1200. Coeval with it is an effigy at Ham (Somme).

<sup>1</sup> The medium employed was a dark, dun-coloured shelly limestone, which polished to a dark hue and is popularly known as Purbeck marble. There was a great demand for these figures up to *c.* 1245. After *c.* 1250, however, owing to the rise of other centres of effigy-making and to the growing popularity of more easily worked media, the demand for these Purbeck figures fell off and we have met with none after *c.* 1315.

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 1, popularly assigned to Geoffrey Magnaville, Earl of Essex, of the time of Stephen, may be one of the earliest of these figures, but we would not care to assign any specified date to it. We should

imagine that coeval with it is the fine effigy (Fig. 2), a masterpiece of the Corfe atelier, which, owing to the wonderful preservation it was in, was practically untouched at the Richardson restoration. Fig. 3 depicts a knight whose head is clad only in the coif of his gambeson. The Purbeck marble effigy, Fig. 4, may date *c.* 1230. The Sussex marble effigy, Fig. 5, popularly assigned to William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke (*ob.* 1219), appears to date *c.* 1235.

<sup>3</sup> The knight was usually depicted straight-legged, the animal or foliage at the feet being suggestive of the corbel on which the niche figure stood, practically the only mark of recumbency being the single pillow under the head.

tershire (Fig. 7), etc. The crossed-legged attitude, one of the principal advantages of which was the facility it allowed for the artistic treatment of the drapery, was never adopted by any of the French ateliers which adhered to the straight-legged posture.

The sword-handling attitude, as shown, for instance, on the spirited De Vere effigy of *c.* 1280, Hatfield Broad Oak, Essex (Fig. 11),<sup>1</sup> was introduced *c.* 1240 by the Purbeck marblers; to this date we may assign the effigy, Fig. 8, in the Temple Church. This posture became very popular in the southern and south-western counties, and we have seen numerous figures of *c.* 1250–1300 in these counties which exhibit it. It is unknown in Yorkshire except on effigies brought into our county from one of the workshops at Durham.

A few knights are depicted in effigy as wearing their heaumes.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the earliest of these figures is the statue of *c.* 1240 on the west front of Wells Cathedral; to *c.* 1250 we may assign the Purbeck marble heaumed effigy at Walkearne, Hertfordshire (Fig. 12).

It may come as a matter of surprise to south-country antiquaries, accustomed, as they are, to examine numerous effigies of 1250–1270, that we in Yorkshire do not possess a single figure which can be assigned to the first half of the 13th century, although such effigies may be found in the neighbouring counties of Lincoln, Northampton and Nottingham, and although even Derbyshire possesses in the figure at Newton Solney (Fig. 22) an effigy older than anything to be seen in Yorkshire. Although there are many effigies in Yorkshire, Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire at present erroneously assigned to that date so popular in historical and topographical works, “the middle of the 13th century,” there is not in any of these counties a single effigy earlier than *c.* 1265. About that time a master-mason from Corfe, where the demand for effigies was falling off owing to the rise of other ateliers, apparently migrated to the county palatine and opened a workshop at Durham. The earliest York atelier was, apparently, opened about the same time, possibly as an off-shoot of Lincoln.

It is of interest to compare the work of these two coeval centres. The Durham shops adhered very closely to the traditions of Purbeck,

<sup>1</sup> A beautiful engraving of this effigy is given by Stothard, *Monumental Effigies*.

<sup>2</sup> We may assign the heaumed figure at Blythe, Notts., to *c.* 1260. At Furness Abbey, Lancashire, are two heaumed figures of local stone dating *c.* 1270 (Figs. 40 and 41), the existence of which shows that the Lancashire workshops came under Purbeck influence, a theory confirmed by

the craftsmanship of other figures in that county. These heaumed figures are popularly but erroneously supposed to be the earliest effigies in existence, and in a recently-issued and admirably-illustrated work on monumental sculpture are assigned to 1190–1250. The actual period covered by their production was 1240–1318.



depicting their knights in the sword-handling attitude, as shown on the effigy of *c.* 1315 at Houghton-le-Spring, co. Durham (Fig. 13), adhered to the single pillow under the head and showed the mail by means of incised curved lines. They also appear to have taken a delight in the heaumed figures originated in the Corfe atelier. The earliest of the heaumed effigies in the county palatine is that of Sir Marmaduke Fitz-Galfrid (*ob. c.* 1300), Pitlington (Fig. 42); at Whitworth is the Humez effigy of *c.* 1290 (Figs. 43 and 44); at Chester-le-Street (Figs. 45 and 46) are those of Sir John Fitz-Marmaduke (*ob.* 1311) and Sir Richard Fitz-Marmaduke (*ob.* 1318), the last-mentioned being the latest example of this type of effigy we have seen in England. At Hurworth-on-Tees (Fig. 39) is yet another heaumed effigy of *c.* 1300.

The York workshops, on the other hand, held severely aloof from even the remotest suspicion of Purbeck influence; if they came under any outside influence at all, which is more than doubtful, that influence was of Paris rather than of Purbeck.<sup>1</sup> Although the earliest York atelier was certainly turning out effigies as early as 1270, to approximately which date we may assign the figures at Bulmer and at Coverham Abbey (Fig. 31), at a time when the sword-handling attitude was still the favourite posture in the southern and south-western counties of England, they rigidly adhered to the attitude of the hands uplifted in prayer as shown on the dignified figure of *c.* 1310, Gosberton, Lincolnshire (Fig. 15). Nor did they turn out a single heaumed effigy.

It would be interesting to trace, in the same way, the early history of the other centres of effigy-making in our more northerly counties, in Northumberland, Lancashire, Lincolnshire, Derbyshire, and Notts., but space will not permit.

Gesso, a mixture of size and whiting, appears to have been introduced *c.* 1260, the mail being impressed upon the paste by means of stamps whilst in a soft condition. The figure was then gilded and coloured. Our earliest Yorkshire example of the use of gesso is the effigy, a product of the York workshop, of Sir Walter Barden i (*ob.* 1309), Hauxwell, N.R. (Fig. 52).

Wood began to be used for effigies<sup>2</sup> as early as *c.* 1285, to which

<sup>1</sup> Everyone acquainted with the effigies turned out of the leading Paris ateliers during the last decade of the 13th and the first three of the 14th century will have noticed certain points of resemblance between these figures and the beautiful effigies, illustrated in our next chapter, wrought between 1317 and 1327 in the Cheyne atelier at York. The chances

are, however, that they are purely accidental for it is highly improbable that Paris exercised the slightest influence on York.

<sup>2</sup> The artist selected a piece of good, sound oak of sufficient size to enable him to carve a life-size figure to which the shield was attached by means of wooden pins which accounts for its absence in so

date we may assign the well-known figure in Gloucester Cathedral (Fig. 14). We have no wooden figure in Yorkshire of the period under consideration.<sup>1</sup>

The rise of new centres of effigy-making,<sup>2</sup> the growing popularity of easily-worked media, etc., led to a greater freedom of handling, the drapery being more artistically treated as on the fine effigy of c. 1310 at Gosberton, Lincolnshire (Fig. 15). The attitude of prayer now began to replace the sword-handling posture, and the first decade of the 14th century ushered in the Golden Age in the art of monumental sculpture and, at the same time, the most interesting and difficult period in the history of mediaeval military equipment, which two facts, taken in conjunction with our wonderful collection of effigies of 1310–1370, makes the second chapter of this work alike the longest and the most interesting of the series.

Not only do we not possess in Yorkshire an effigy of the first half of the 13th century, but there are only twelve which can be dated c. 1270–1310 and, as we have already admitted, our first chapter is the least interesting of the series, which is disappointing for the first issue of a new work. We may, however, console ourselves with the thought that it would take at least other six counties in England put together to equal in number our marvellous collection of effigies of 1315–1340, many of which take front rank among the finest works of mediaeval monumental art in Great Britain and France.

The following is a list of our meagre and relatively uninteresting collection of effigies of the Chain Mail and Surcoat Period.

Approx. date	Place	Probable person commemorated
1270 ..	Bulmer, N.R.	.. Sir John Bulmer iii ( <i>ob.</i> 1268).
1271 ..	Coverham Abbey, N.R.	Lord Ralph Fitz-Ranulph ( <i>ob.</i> 1270).
*1280 ..	Jervaulx Abbey, N.R.	Lord Ranulph Fitz-Henry ( <i>ob.</i> c. 1280).

many instances to-day. The block was often hollowed out and filled with charcoal to prevent decay by damp, e.g. the fine effigy of Nicholas ii, 2nd Lord Meynell (*ob.* 1322), Whorlton, N.R., illustrated in our second chapter.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Alfred C. Fryer, F.S.A., in his valuable and well-known work, *The Wooden Monumental Effigies of England and Wales*, assigned the fine Meynell effigy at Whorlton to c. 1300 and, as we should naturally expect, this mistake has been copied by other writers. Actually the effigy dates c. 1323 and we are happy to say that when we recently (1924) drew

Dr. Fryer's attention to details of the equipment which precluded the possibility of the effigy being any earlier than 1317, he accepted as correct our date of 1323. The earliest wooden effigy we possess in Yorkshire is that of c. 1320 at Allerton Mauleverer, W.R., which obviously commemorates Sir John Mauleverer i (*ob.* c. 1318) and which is illustrated in our next chapter.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Fryer (*Archaeologia*, xxiv, 1–72) has established the rise of a west-country school, whose principal atelier he places at Bristol, but which may have had branches at Wells and Gloucester.



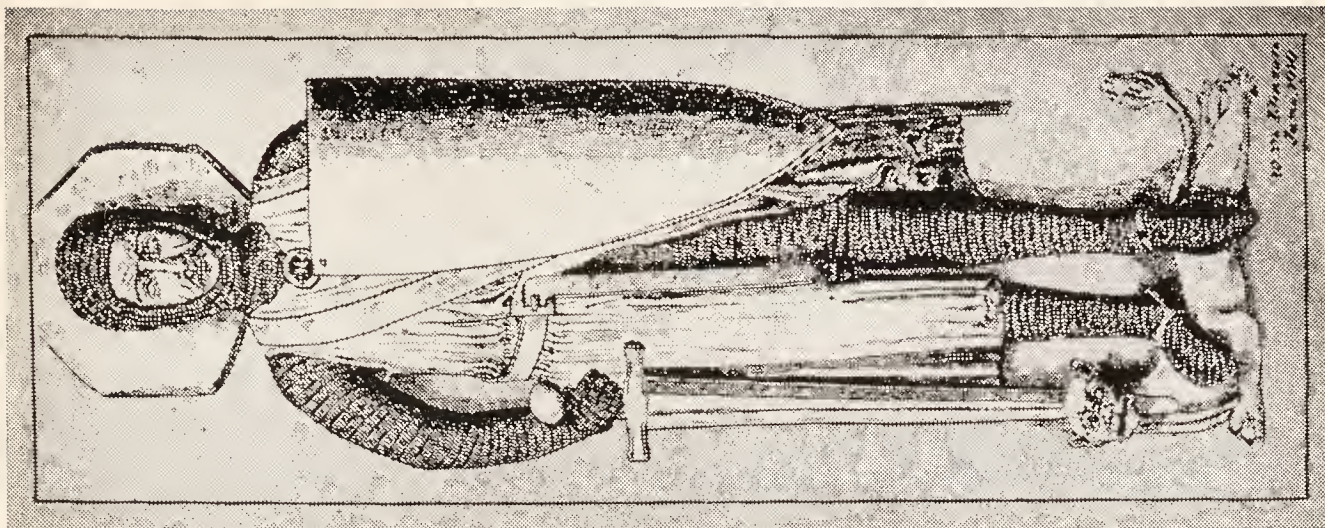


Fig. 5. Effigy, Temple Church c. 1235.

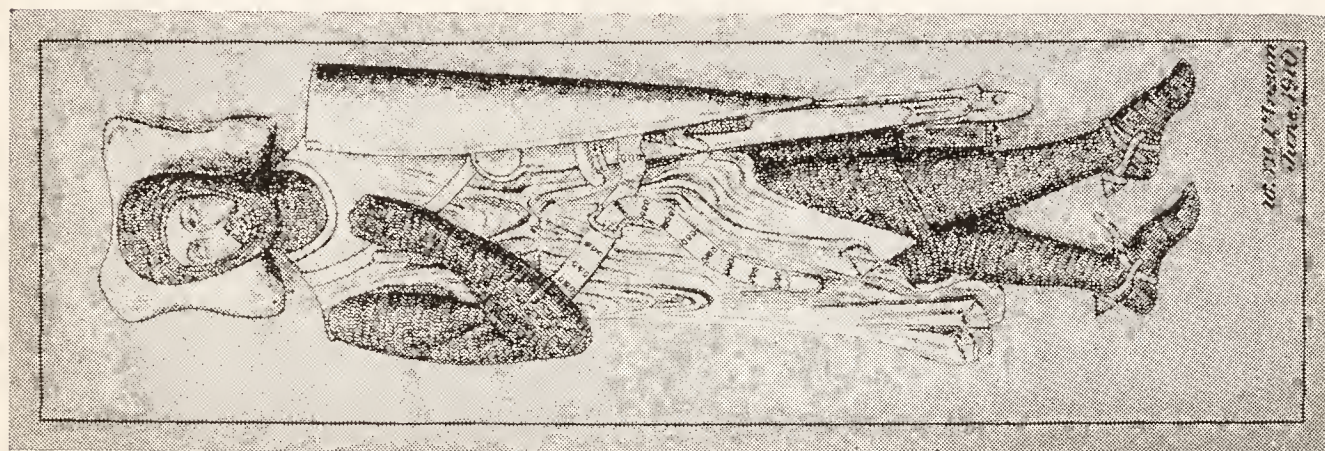


Fig. 6. Effigy, Temple Church c. 1235.

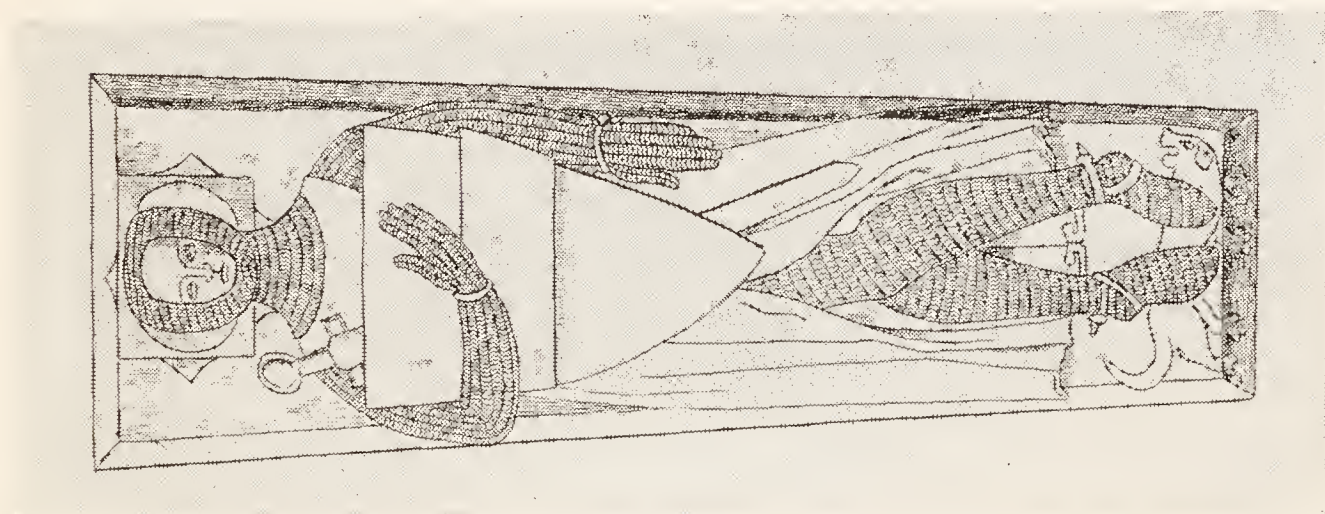


Fig. 7. Incised Slab, Bitton c. 1240.

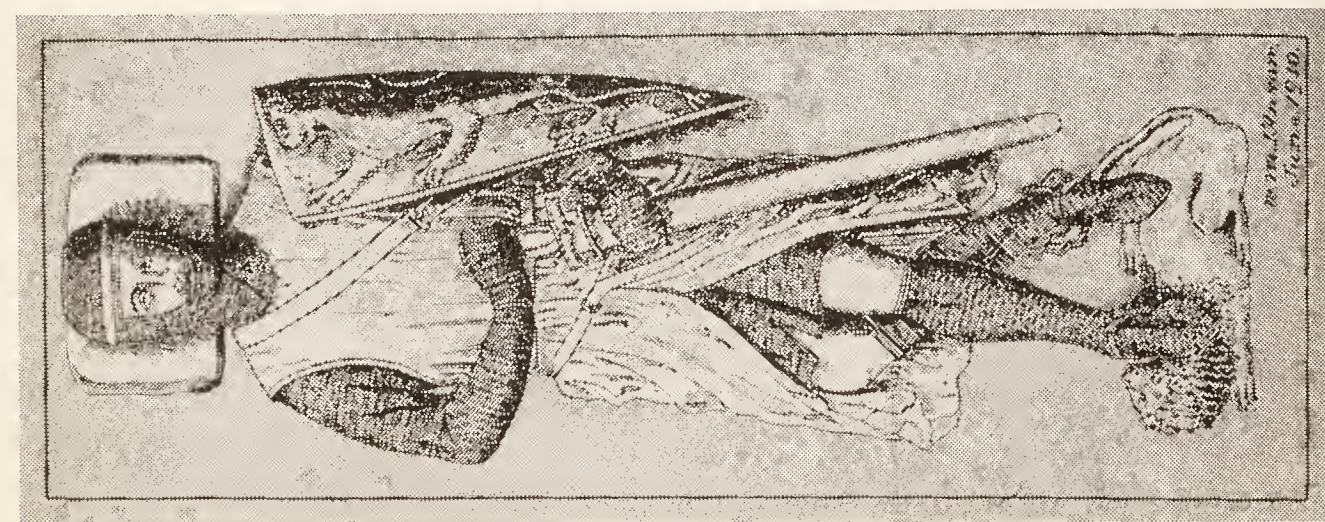


Fig. 8. Effigy, Temple Church c. 1240.

EFFIGIES, 1235-1240.







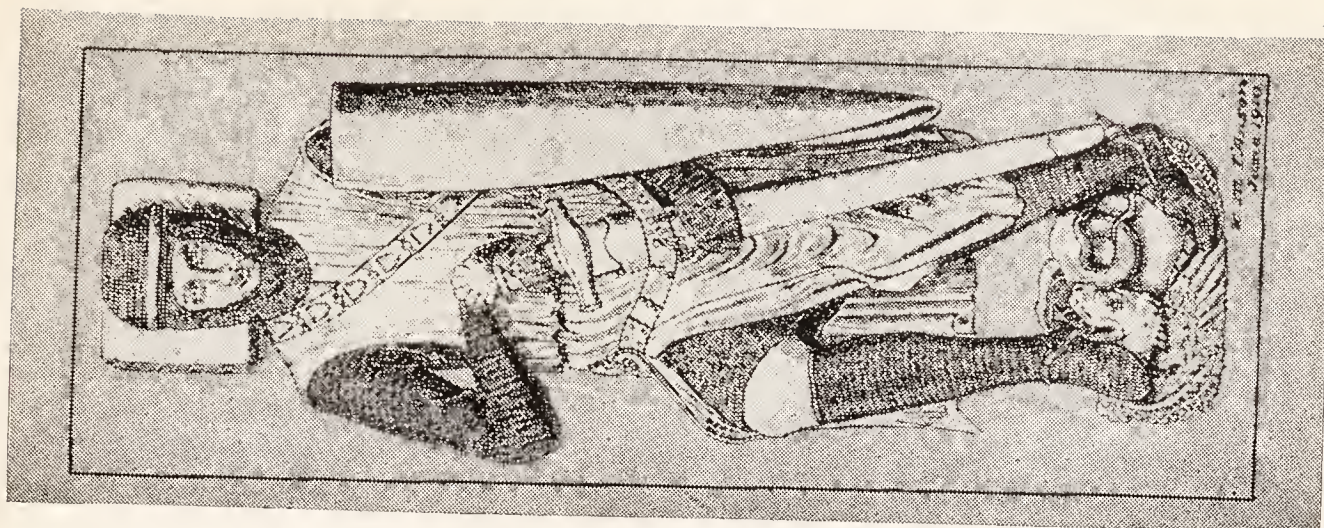


Fig. 9. Effigy, Temple Church c. 1240.

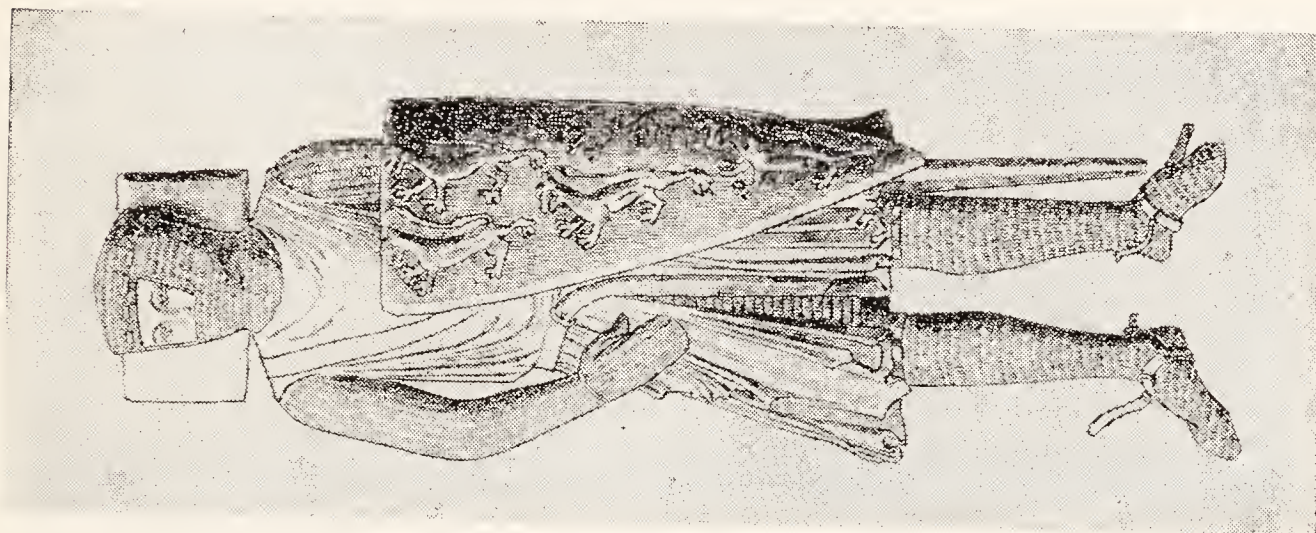


Fig. 10. At Salisbury Cathedral c. 1245.

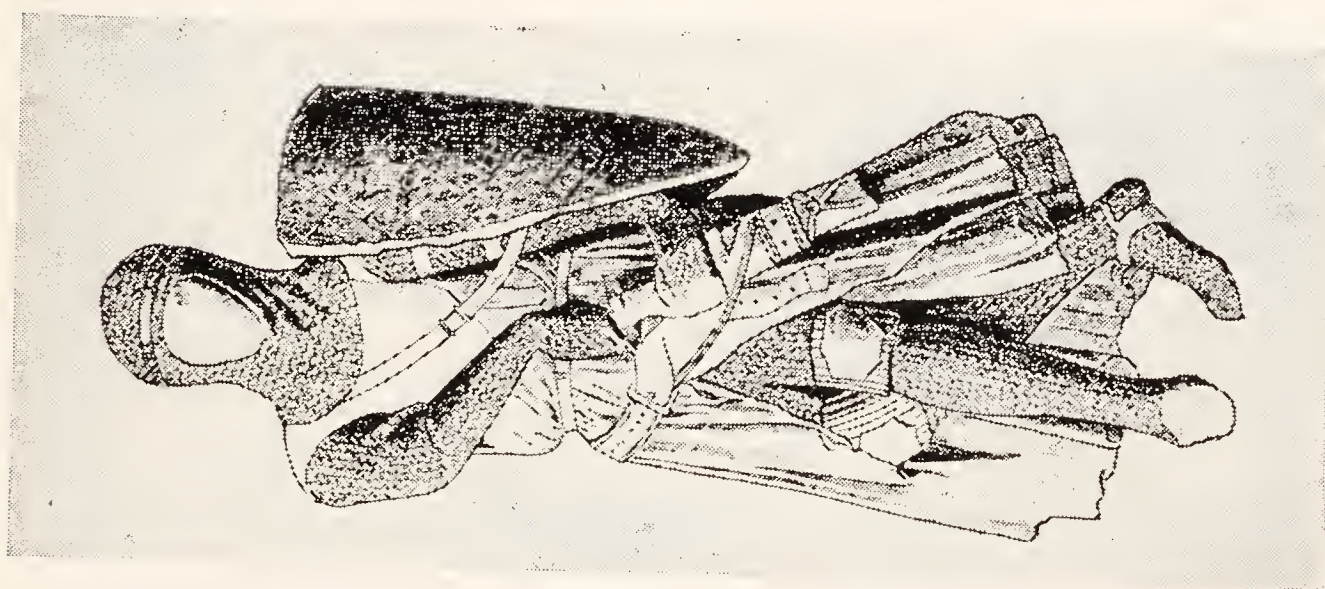


Fig. 11. De Vere, Hatfield Broad Oak c. 1280.

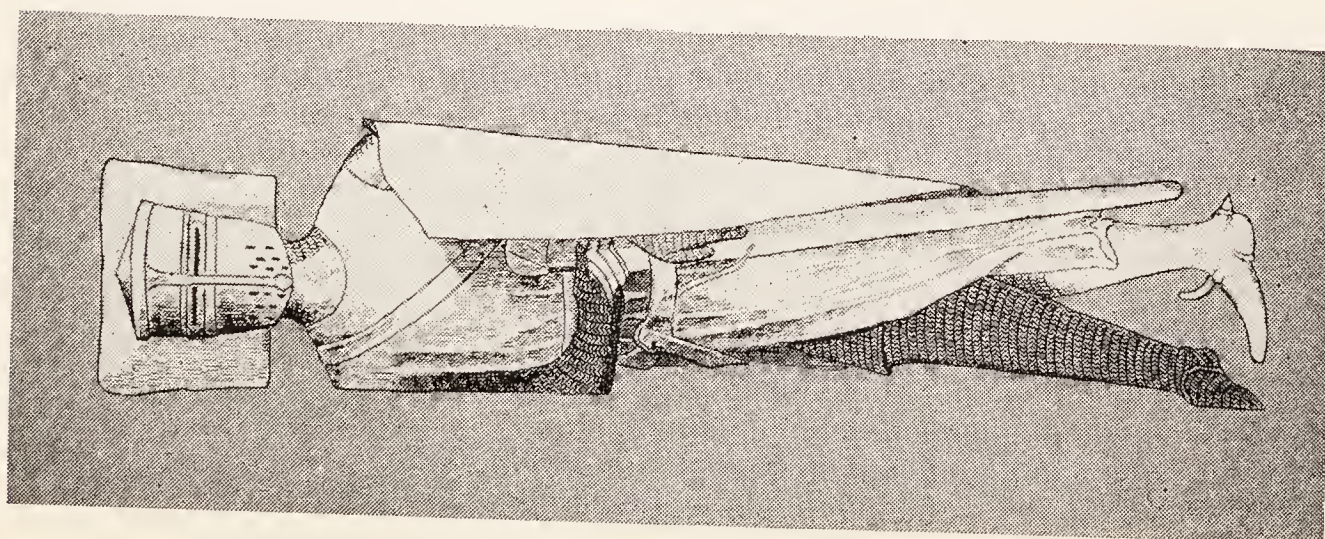


Fig. 12. At Walkearne, Herts. c. 1250.

EFFIGIES, c. 1240-1280.







Approx. date	Place	Probable person commemorated
1280 ..	Tanfield, N.R.	.. A member of the Marmion family.
*1280 ..	Foston-on-the-Wolds, E.R.	Sir William Brigham ( <i>ob.</i> 1278).
*1290 ..	Welton, E.R.	.. An official of the bishopric of Durham.
1296 ..	Pickhill, N.R.	.. Sir Andrew Nevill ( <i>ob.</i> 1295).
1300 ..	Nunkeeling, E.R.	.. A member of the Fauconberg family.
*1305 ..	Romaldkirk, N.R.	.. Lord Hugh Fitz-Henry ( <i>ob.</i> 1304).
1310 ..	Hauxwell, N.R.	.. Sir Walter Barden i ( <i>ob.</i> 1309).
1310 ..	York (Museum).	
1310 ..	York (Hob Moor)	.. (?) Sir William Roos i ( <i>ob.</i> 1310).

\* Wrought in a Durham atelier.

Of these twelve effigies the North Riding possesses seven, the East three; there are two at York but the West Riding, in itself the largest county in England, is drawn blank. The Romaldkirk effigy is well worthy of illustration in any general work on the effigies of England and Wales; none of the others merit any such distinction; many of them are in very poor condition.

We have included in our survey three effigies in co. Durham, in churches only a few yards across the Yorkshire boundary.

Approx. date	Place	Probable person commemorated
1300 ..	Egglescliffe	A member of the Aislaby family.
1300 ..	Hurworth-on-Tees	.. (?)
1304 ..	Sockburn	.. Sir John Conyers ii ( <i>ob.</i> 1303).

Before dealing with our insignificant collection of effigies of the Chain Mail and Surcoat Period, we may glance at the harness of the period. Practically no changes took place between 1200 and 1300, the least interesting era in the whole history of mediaeval military equipment, yet there are just a few minor alterations, a knowledge of which is of assistance to us in determining the date of an effigy.

The knight wore, over his body shirt (*just-au-corps*) a gambeson<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 54) of leather, linen, or canvas, stuffed with wool or tow in

<sup>1</sup> Usually the gambeson was sleeveless, but the sleeved gambeson is occasionally met with as on the interesting Septvans brass (Fig. 29). Occasionally the garment was an inch or two longer than the hauberk, and thus becomes visible on

effigies, the vertical lines of quilting being clearly expressed by the sculptor. The earliest appearance of the gambeson in Yorkshire occurs on the earlier (*c.* 1316) of the two effigies at Goldsborough (W.R.)

vertical lines of quilting, which bore the weight of his hauberk<sup>1</sup> (mail shirt), and was provided with a coif of soft leather covering the head, cheeks, and chin, this garment being clearly depicted on the effigy of Sir Robert Shurland, Minster, Kent). The coif covering the head is shown on one of the early effigies in the Temple Church (Fig. 3). Over his woollen trews, which were probably padded at the seat and thighs for convenience in riding, he drew on a pair of pants of chain mail reaching from the waist to the feet and enclosing the latter. Then he strapped a breast-plate<sup>2</sup> (*plastron-de-fer*) over the gambeson and over this he drew his principal defensive garment, a

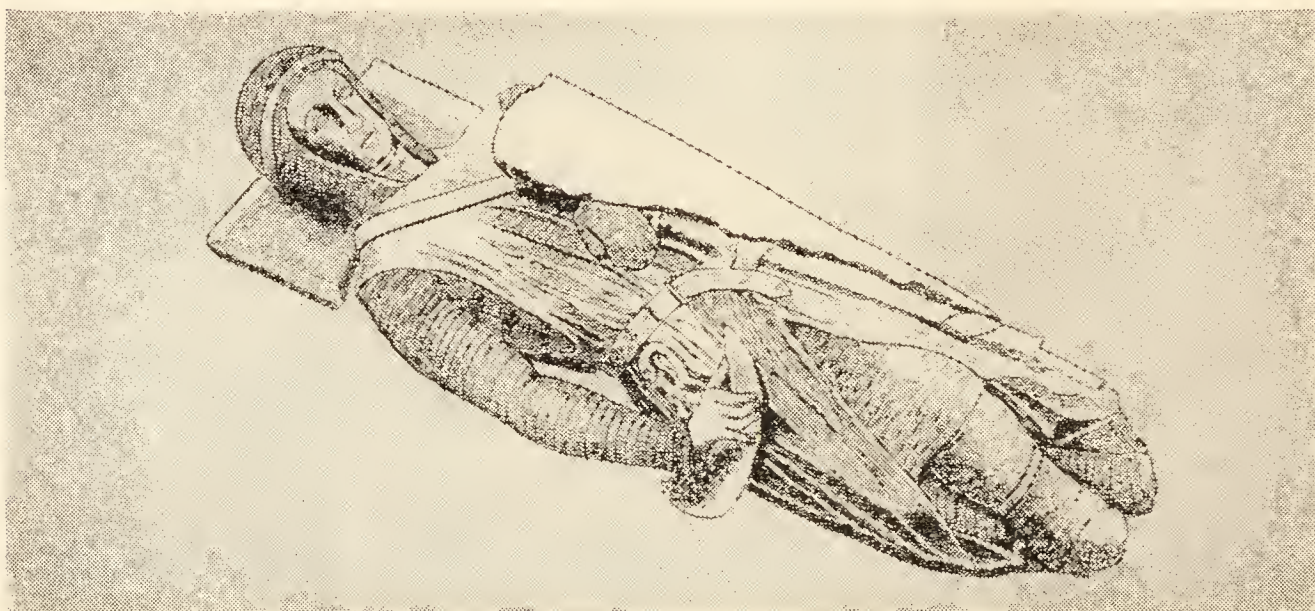


Fig. 16. Effigy of c. 1275, PERSHORE ABBEY, Worcestershire.

hauberk of mail, probably weighting about 18 lbs., which reached from the throat nearly to the knees, and was provided with a coif (head-covering) of mail for the defence of the head. The sleeves of this hauberk were prolonged to cover the hands in the form of mittens<sup>3</sup> unarticulated for the fingers but provided with thumb-pieces, and the garment was slit up for several inches in front for convenience in riding. After c. 1240 an additional garment of leather was occasionally worn over the hauberk as depicted on the effigy (Fig. 9) of c. 1240 in the Temple Church, on that of c. 1275 at Pershore Abbey, Worcestershire (Fig. 16), etc.

<sup>1</sup> The hauberk, chausses and chausses, the mittens or gauntlets, and the coif or hood were made of innumerable small metal rings. The wire for the manufacture of these rings was wound tightly round a block of metal, cut off in rings, and each ring was then separately treated by flattening the overlapping ends, piercing them with a punch, and inserting a small rivet in the hole thus made. As a rule each ring interlocked with four others, and the mail was sometimes

strengthened and thickened by enlarging the rivet joints.

<sup>2</sup> Whether this breast-plate was accompanied by a back-plate, the two forming a complete cuirass, is uncertain, but the probabilities are that the complete cuirass did not come into use before c. 1330-1335.

<sup>3</sup> The mail was not carried over the palms of the hands, which were left free of rings in order to allow of a firm grip of a weapon. This is clearly shown in



Having now put on his body-armour the knight slipped over it a sleeveless surcoat of fine linen emblazoned in coloured silks with his heraldic insignia,<sup>1</sup> girt at the waist by a buckled strap which, at any rate in the majority of instances, formed an integral part of the sword-belt, one of its principal functions being the support of the looser sword-belt.<sup>2</sup> The surcoat varied in length throughout the whole period (1190-1348) during which it was worn, and its dimensions form no guide in the dating of effigies. Some of the early examples are very short, and abbreviated surcoats are frequently

met with on oak figures, *e.g.* that of Sir Ralph Reynes (1310), Clifton Reynes, Bucks. (Fig. 17).

The shield, of oak covered with leather or cuir-bouilli, was of the kite-shape during the earlier part of the period, as shown on the effigies of *c.* 1220-1240, and this shape is occasionally met with on later figures. But *c.* 1240 the heater-shaped variety was introduced, and gradually supplanted the older type. It was suspended by a guige passing over the right shoulder (Fig. 18). Very rarely do we meet with the circular shield as depicted on the effigy of *c.* 1240 at Gt. Malvern, but we find an example in Yorkshire on the figure, illustrated in our next



Fig. 18. The Guige.

chapter, at Skerne, E.R. On French effigies the shield is depicted as suspended from straps passing over the left forearm (Fig. 38), and we find it occupying a somewhat similar posi-

the illuminated MSS. of the period. Both the mittens and their successors, the gauntlets, could be suspended from the wrists (Fig. 29), or thrown back over the fore-arms (Fig. 38) as depicted on many French effigies of this period.

<sup>1</sup> The introduction, *c.* 1190, of the heaume, which entirely concealed the features of its wearer, made it essential to devise some means of distinguishing friend from foe in the confusion of battle. Previous to 1190 a linen tunic had been

worn under the hauberk—as illustrated on the great seals of Richard I and his predecessors; this was transferred from the inner to an outer position, lengthened, and worn over the body armour. On this surcoat was emblazoned in coloured silks the heraldic insignia of its wearer and heraldry, hitherto in an incipient condition, now became a matter of real practical importance.

<sup>2</sup> See M. Viollet-le-Duc's interesting drawing, vol. v, p. 197.



tion on the Marmion effigy of c. 1280 (Figs. 33 and 34) at Tanfield, N.R.

The sword is clearly illustrated on the effigies and brasses of the period, and we have seen two or three genuine examples of weapons of this era in collections; the dagger was also in use as shown on an effigy of c. 1270 at Hughendon, Bucks.<sup>1</sup> The pick (*martel-de-fer*) is seen on the effigy of c. 1240 at Great Malvern. The lance had a shaft of uniform thickness throughout and flew the banner of the knight-banneret, the pennon of the knight bachelor or the pennoncel of the gentleman-at-arms.

The mace, the favourite weapon of the war-like clergy, is depicted on the figure of one of the sleeping guards on the lovely Easter Sepulchre, Lincoln Cathedral (Fig. 19), etc. The spur of the period



Fig. 19. The Mace.

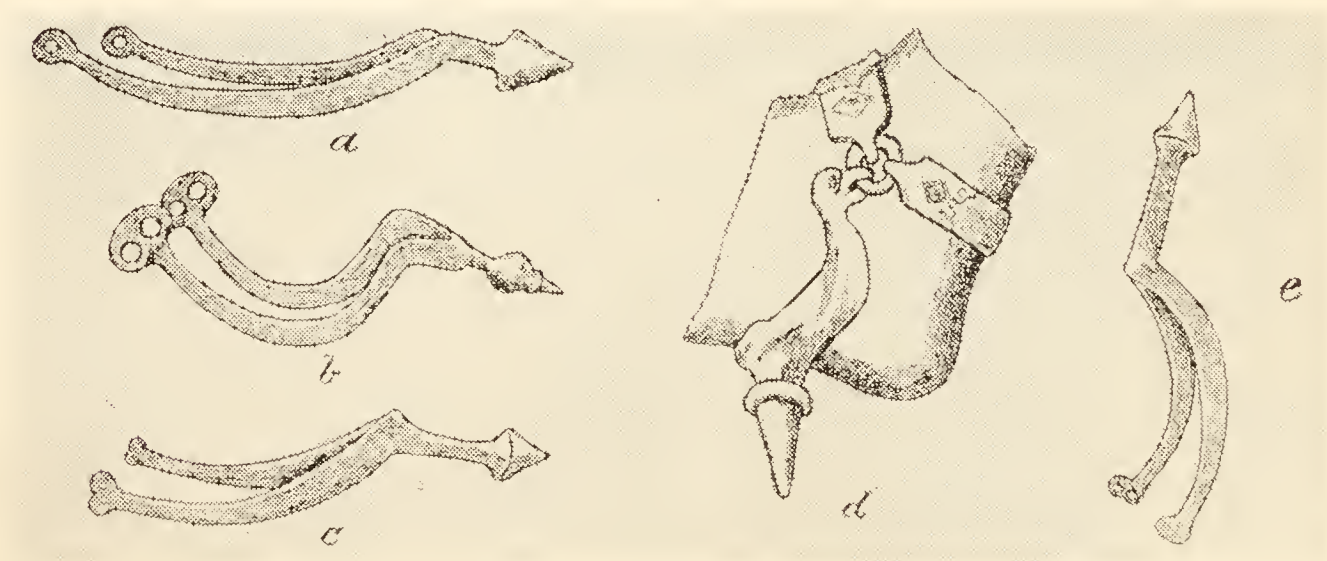


Fig. 20. The Spur of the Period.

was of the prick variety, either the simple goad or the ball-and-spike; there is not a shred of reliable evidence that the rowel spur was in use before 1320 at the earliest.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is seen carried in the right hand.

<sup>2</sup> The late Sir Guy Laking, in his valuable and well-known *European Armour*

and Arms, expressed the opinion that the rowel spur was in use as early as 1250, citing as evidence the well-known seal of



Occasionally *cuisseaux gamboisez* (padded trews) were worn over the mail chausses and extended to cover the knees as depicted on the effigy of *c.* 1250 at Iddesleigh, Devon, etc. Even after the introduction, *c.* 1250, of knee-cops, these padded trews were occasionally worn; they are seen on the brass of Sir Roger Trumpington (1289), Trumpington, Cambridgeshire, on that of Sir Robert Septvans (1306), Chartham, Kent (Fig. 29), and appear as late as 1316

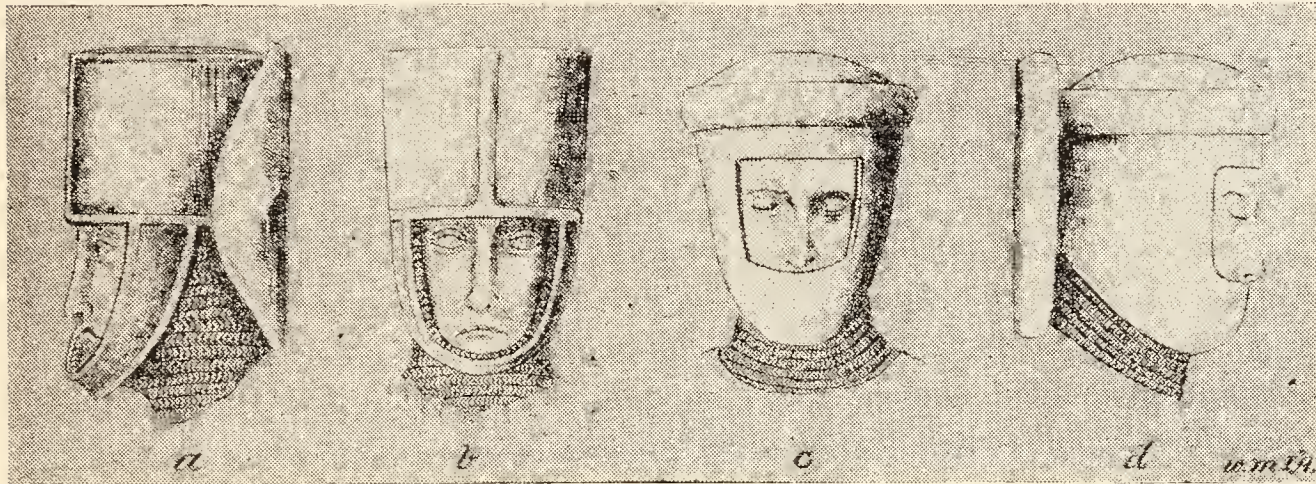


Fig. 21. Helmets of Cuir-Bouilli.

on the earlier of the two effigies at Goldsborough, W.R. We have not met with them after *c.* 1320.

Finally, the knight adjusted his head-defences. Over the soft leather coif of his gambeson he put on a padded, flat-topped, or hemispherical skull-cap of metal, one of the most essential items in his equipment,<sup>1</sup> and over this cap he drew the coif of mail which formed an integral part of his mail shirt. The coif he secured by

Henry III and the legs of a brass in the Wallace Collection, which he assigns to *c.* 1250. We are under the impression that we have examined, over the past twenty years, every military brass in England and Wales dating between 1306 and 1370. The fragment in the Wallace Collection dates *c.* 1325-1330. We have very grave doubts, as had the late Sir Samuel Meyrick, as to the authenticity of the evidence afforded by the seal, and it is, surely, a significant fact that Henry's later seal, and those of his son and successor, Edward I, depict the prick variety. These two isolated and much more than doubtful instances cited by Sir Guy, form but the flimsiest of evidence on which to base the theory that the rowel spur was in use before 1320, in face of the unanimous and overwhelming evidence to the contrary afforded by our effigies, brasses, and illuminated MSS.

<sup>1</sup> Some authorities, including the late Sir Guy Laking, consider that the round-topped appearance of the mail-clad head does not always, or even usually, mean

that a skull-cap was worn under the mail coif or hood, and cite as authority the numberless MSS. illuminations showing men-at-arms with their mail coifs thrown off and hanging round their necks, and also depicting the padded coif in position over the head but showing no skull-cap. We are well acquainted with all this evidence, both English and French, and fail altogether to see how such an untenable theory can be based upon it. Unless accompanied by an underlying skull-cap of metal the mail hood would have afforded no protection whatever to the head for a blow would merely have crashed the mail links into the skull. Moreover, the mail-clad head is frequently shown as flat-topped, which is not the normal shape of the human skull, and shows that the knight in question was wearing a flat-topped instead of a round-topped skull-cap. The removal of a strip of mail above the forehead of the knight of *c.* 1270 at Hughendon, Buckinghamshire, exposes to view part of the metal skull-cap worn under the hood of mail.



means of arming points (leather thongs), a fillet or by a lace running through alternate groups of mail links. Although the great heaume was in use as early as 1190 we find, during the earlier part of the period, a few instances of the use of a lighter helmet of cuir-bouilli (Fig. 21) worn over the top of the above-mentioned head-defences.<sup>1</sup>

We might write pages of letterpress and insert three or four plates illustrating the great heaume as depicted on the seals, *aquamaniles*, glass, illuminated MSS., etc., of the period of 1200–1310, but as this item in the equipment has already been fully dealt with in the text-books on armour and as our space is very limited we dismiss this part of the equipment in a foot-note.<sup>2</sup>

Such, sketched in a very elementary manner, was the harness of 1200–1250. Doubtless the mail was improved during this half-century. Into the much-discussed question as to the composition of the so-called “banded”—as seen on the effigy (1255) of a Solney at Newton-Solney, Derbyshire (Fig. 22)—and other alleged types of mail, we have no time to enter. We are convinced that the different modes of depicting mail, varying according to the media in which the effigy was wrought and the various methods adopted by the ateliers in which the figure was made, are nothing more or less than different conventional ways of depicting one and the same thing, viz. ordinary interlinked chain mail.

A number of relatively insignificant alterations took place in the equipment during the second half of the 13th century; they made no material difference in the harness, but are of interest for they frequently provide us with data in dealing with effigies of this period. About 1255 the mail pants began to be split into two parts, cuissons enclosing the hips and thighs, cuisses enclosing the legs and feet, with cuir-bouilli knee-cops intervening. Cuir-bouilli,

<sup>1</sup> These are from the effigies in the Temple Church (Figs. 1 and 2).

We do not possess in our collections of armour and arms a solitary heaume which can be assigned to a date earlier than c.1360, although forgeries are frequently met with, and are largely dependent upon seals, *aquamaniles*, glass, and the almost innumerable illuminated MSS. for our knowledge of the heaume of the period. They may be divided into two main classes, viz. (1) those in which the plates comprising the helmet were riveted together to form one piece, and (2) those to which a movable vizor was attached. They differed in shape, the majority being flat-topped although the round-topped and sugar-loaf varieties are met with.

The flat-topped, which was in pretty general use during the period under con-

sideration, may be divided into five classes, viz.:

(1) An early type which had bands in front forming a cross, and also occasionally bands crossing over the crown, and was provided with horizontal clefts for vision but was devoid of breathing holes.

(2) A similar helmet provided with occularia and also with apertures for breathing.

(3) A heaume of the same type but without the cross-bands.

(4) A heaume having the front part rounded off, provided with occularium but devoid of breathing holes.

(5) A similar heaume provided with breathing holes.

About 1260–1270 a movable ventail appears to have been occasionally attached to the flat-topped heaume.



which plays so prominent a part in the constitution of the equipment between 1315 and 1348, was leather soaked in boiling oil until in a very pliable condition, and then moulded to the shape required. When properly prepared it was as impervious as steel, and its moulded

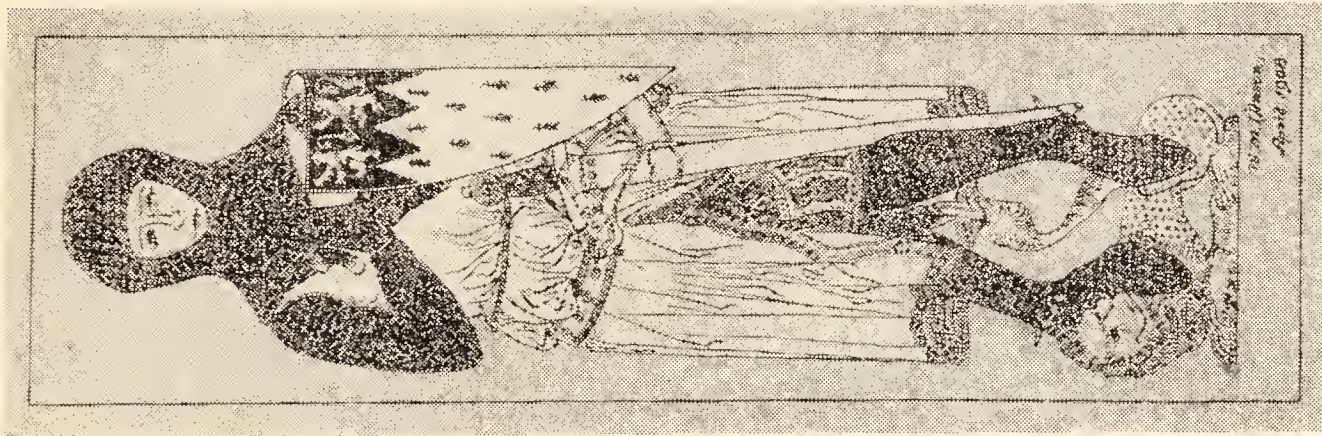


Fig. 23. Sir Robert Bures (1306), ACTON, Suffolk.

surface readily lent itself to decorative effect. These knee-cops of cuir-bouilli were often richly embossed and decorated as shown on the brass of Sir Robert Bures (1306), Acton, Suffolk (Fig. 23).

Although these cops were in pretty general use by 1265, they are frequently omitted on effigies of *c.* 1265-1280, as on the figure of *c.* 1270 at Brympton d'Evercy, Somerset, that of *c.* 1270 at Hughendon, Buckinghamshire, on the effigy of *c.* 1275 at Pershore Abbey, Worcestershire (Fig. 16), on that of *c.* 1280 at Abbey Dore, Herefordshire, etc. The latest omission of the knee-cops the writer has met with occurs on the effigy (*c.* 1336) of Sir Edmund Mauley, Bainton, E.R., illustrated in our next chapter, the only Yorkshire effigy which does not depict them.



Fig. 24. Cuir-bouilli Gauntlets.

About 1250-1260 a separate hood of mail began to replace the coif and was secured over the top of the skull-cap by means of arming-points or by a fillet bound round the temples, frequently by both.



Right through the whole history of mediaeval armour the defences of the hands were in advance of the development in the other items of the equipment, and as early as 1300—as shown on the miniature equestrian figure of the Earl of Lancaster in Westminster

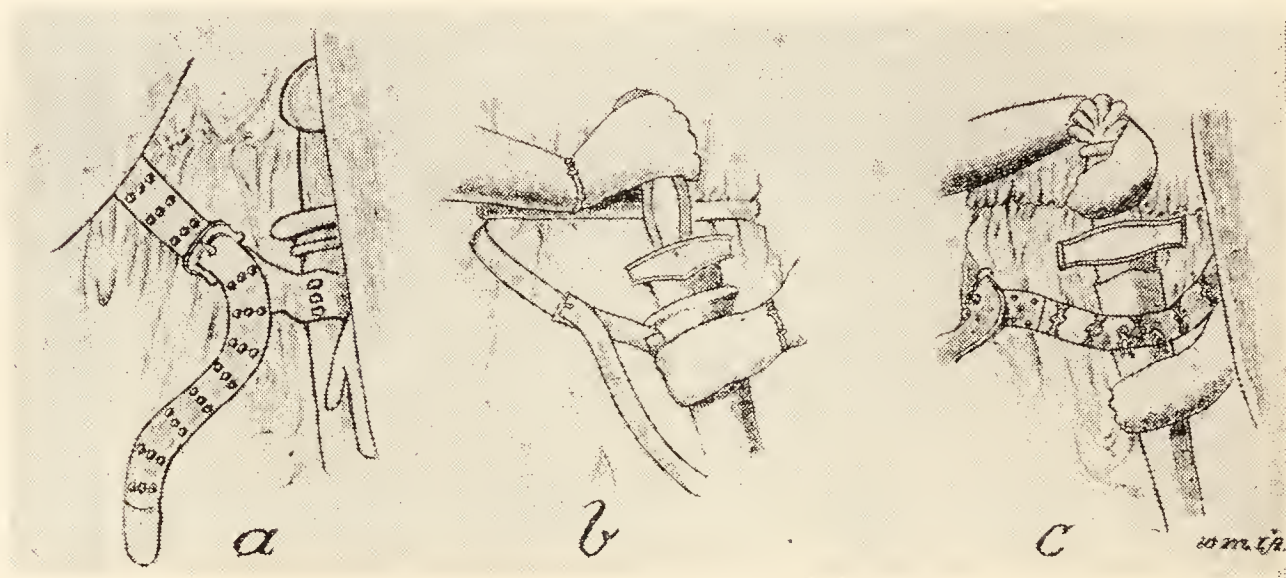


Fig. 25. Old method of attaching Sword-belt.

Abbey, illustrated in our second chapter, on the coeval effigy at Churchill, Somerset, etc., we find the mittens of mail, forming an integral part of the sleeves of the hauberk, replaced by a separate gauntlet of mail. As early as 1310 on the demi-brass of that date

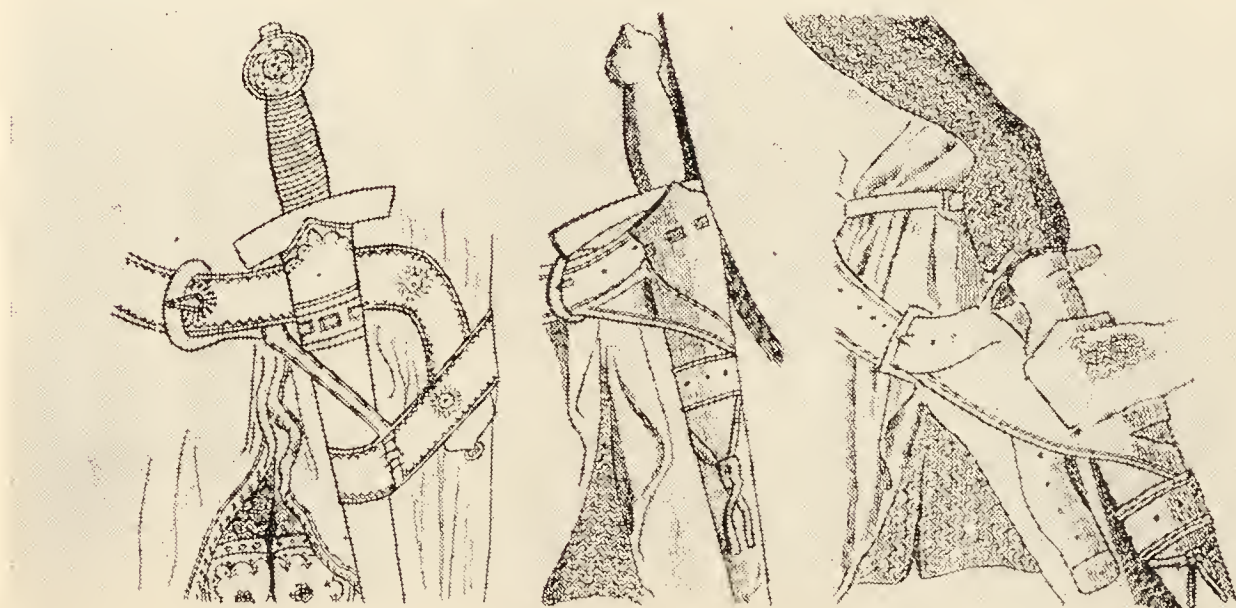


Fig. 26. New method of attaching Sword-belt.

at Buslingthorpe, Lincolnshire, we are introduced to gauntlets of scale cuir-bouilli.

About 1270 the method of attaching the belt to the scabbard was altered. Up to c. 1255 the belt had been attached at one point only (Fig. 25) by studs, or arming points. About 1265 both ends



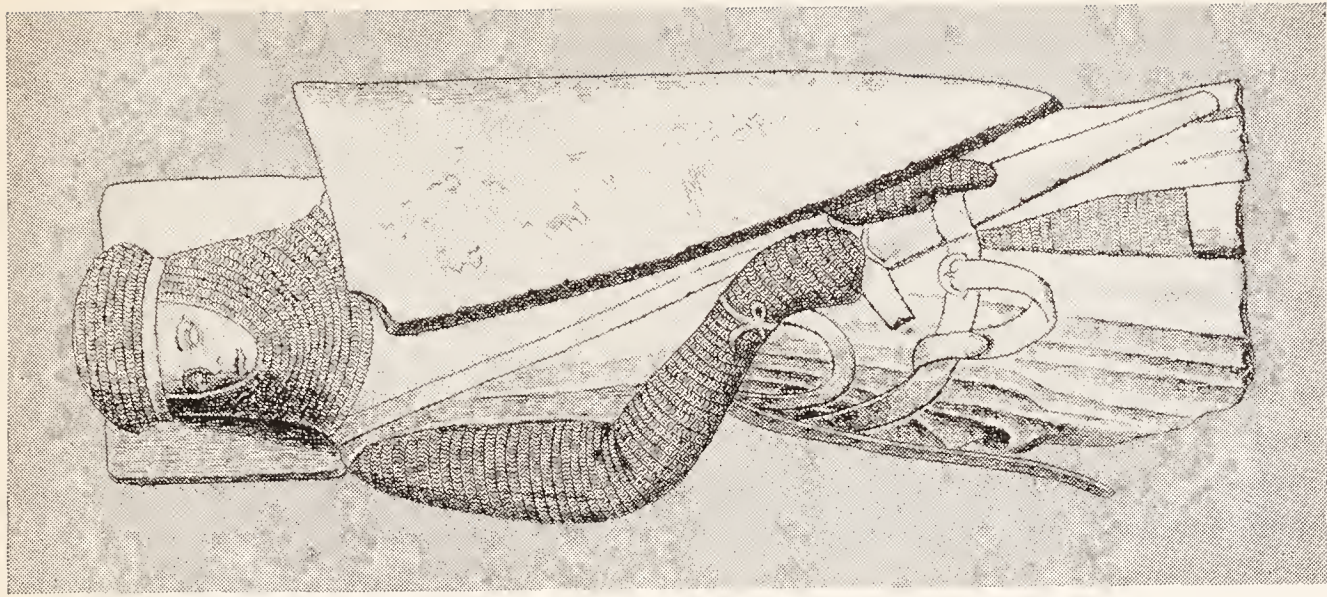


Fig. 13. Houghton-le-Spring c. 1315.

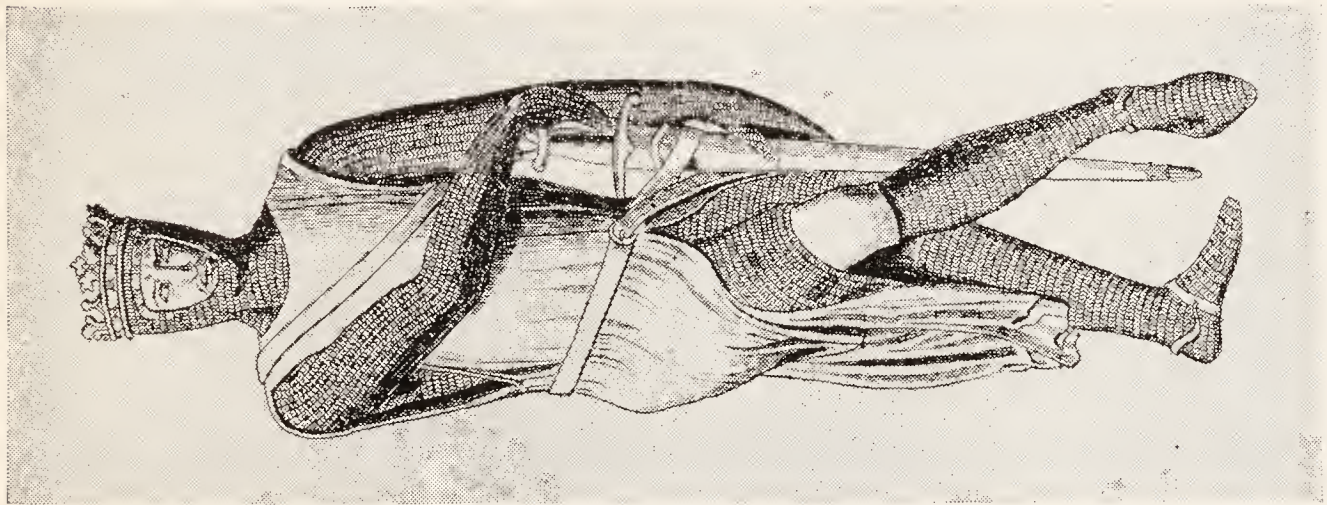


Fig. 14. Oak Effigy, Gloucester c. 1285.

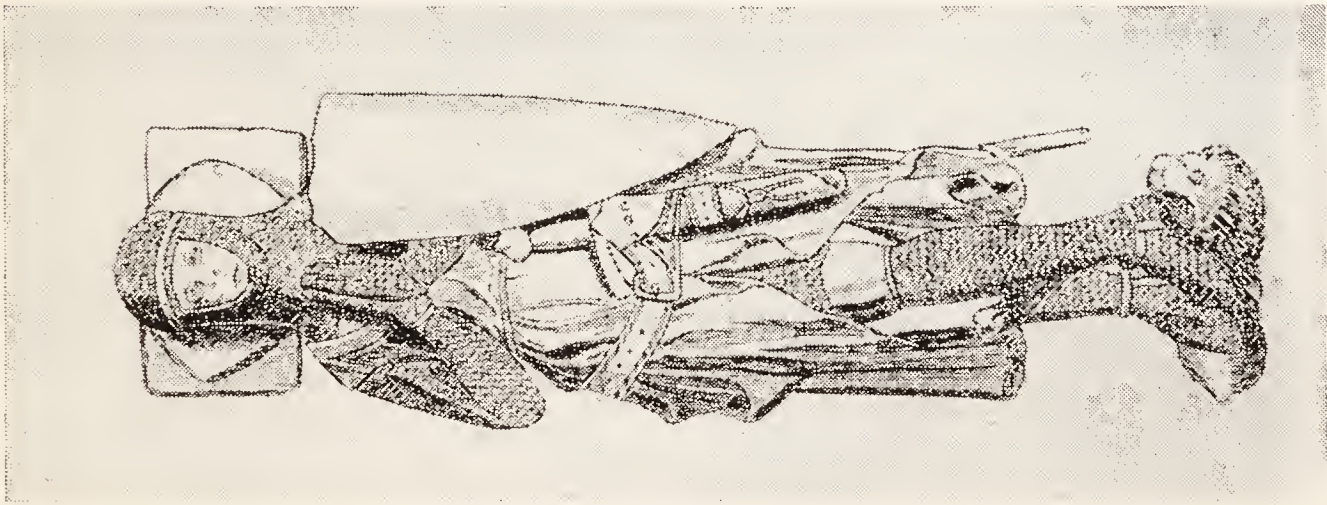


Fig. 15. At Gosberton, Lincs. c. 1310.

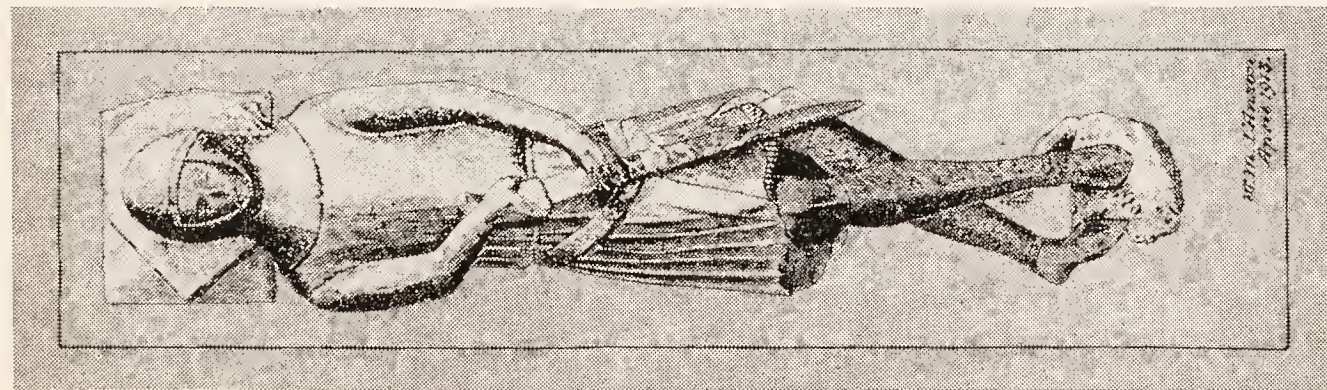


Fig. 17. Reynes of Clifton Reynes c. 1310.

EFFIGIES, c. 1285-1315.







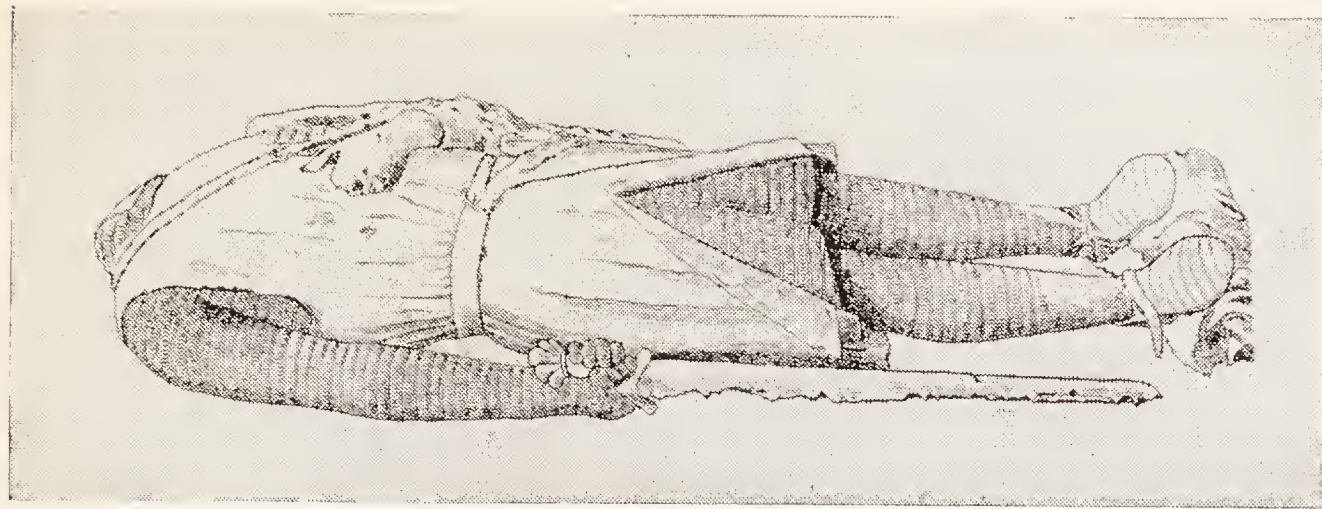


Fig. 22. Solney of Newton Solney d. 1255.

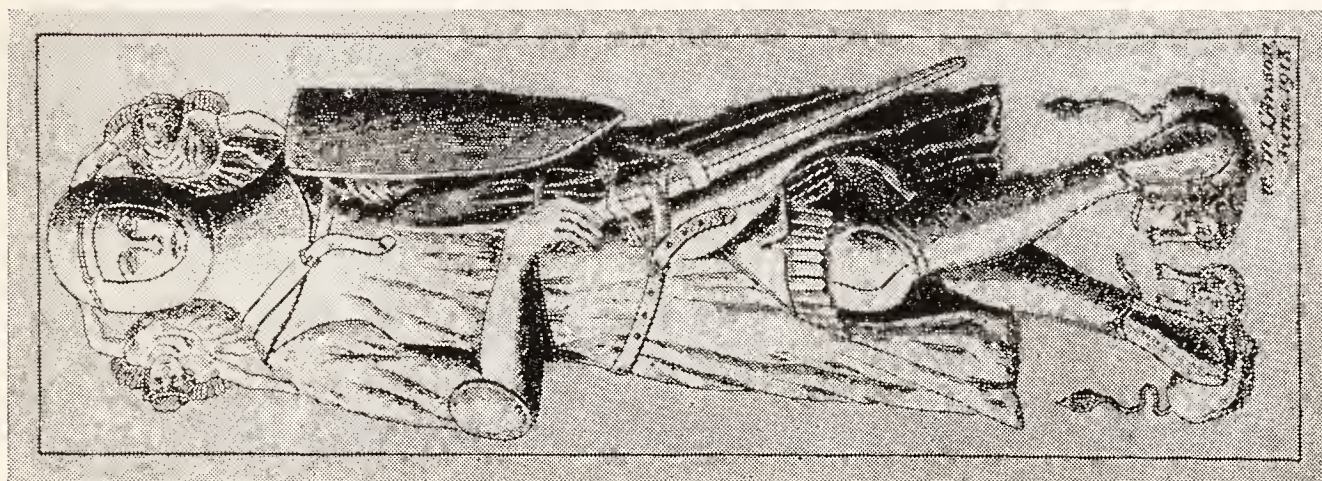


Fig. 28. Sir Mauger St. Albyn d. 1294.

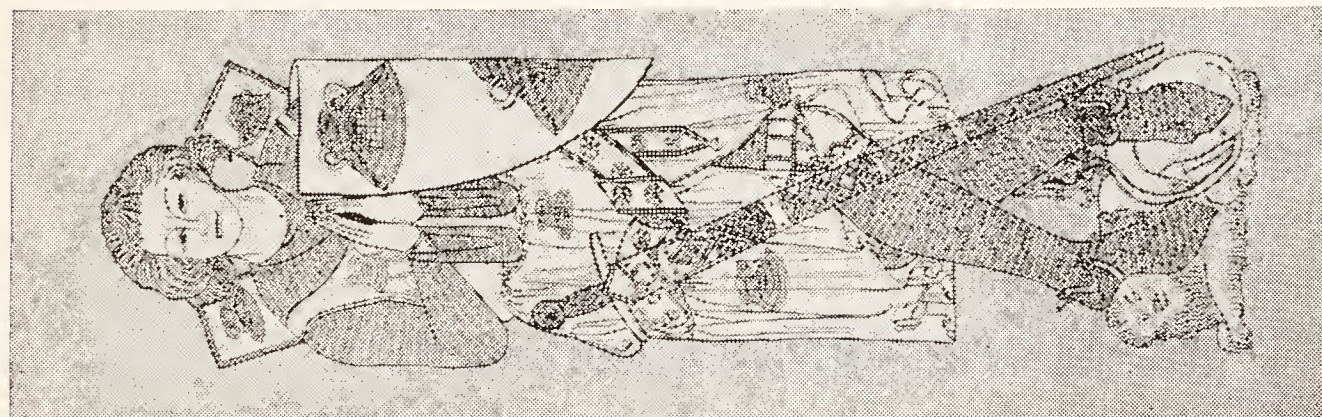


Fig. 29. Sir Robt. Septvans, Chartham, Kent.

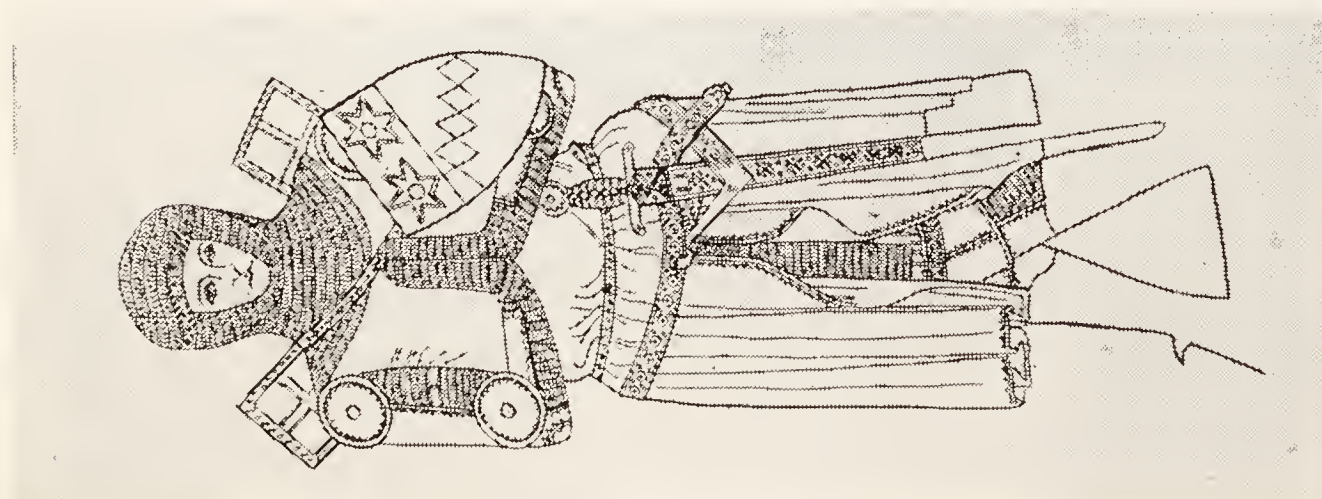


Fig. 30. The Bacon Brass, Gorleston c. 1320.

EFFIGIES c. 1255-1320.







of the belt were attached to the scabbard, but as these points were not opposite one another the scabbard had a tendency to take an awkward diagonal bearing, and this inconvenience was got over as shown in Fig. 26, and as depicted on many effigies and brasses illustrated in this work. The upper part of the buckle end of the belt was slit into thongs of varying width, and then laced and tied into the mouth of the scabbard whilst the lower part was carried across the scabbard in a slanting direction until it met the other part of the belt, at which point the slanting strip was split into two narrow thongs which were laced alternately into the back edge of the loop of the other part of the belt. The ends of these thongs were then run out behind, brought forward in front over the scabbard, and finally tied in a sennit knot (Fig. 26). Of course, there are variants of this method, but the above describes the general principle of attachment in use during the period of 1270-1310, and which was frequently used down to as late as 1340.

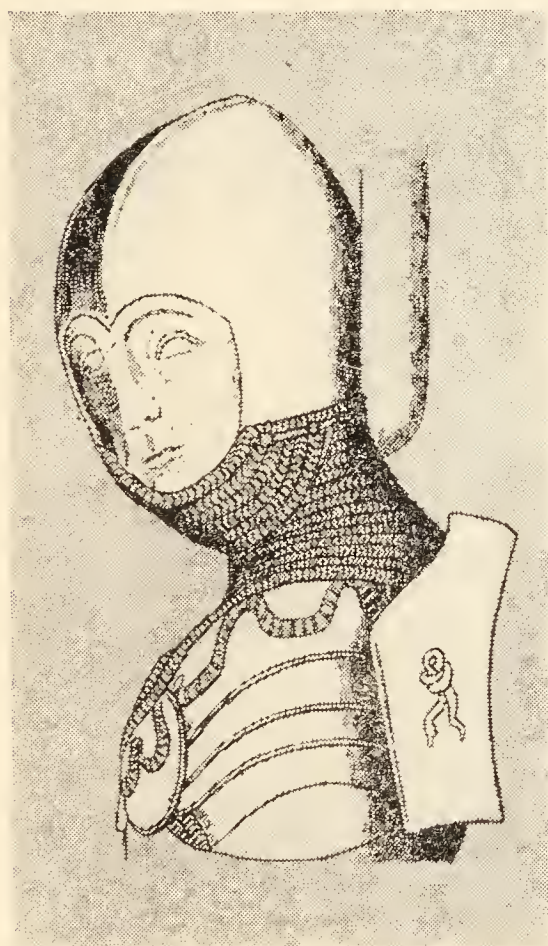


Fig. 27. The Ailette.

The interesting Septvans brass (Fig. 29) foreshadows the advent of the ring-locket method of attachment, first met with *c.* 1317-1318.

Another minor alteration of *c.* 1270 was the introduction of the ailette,<sup>1</sup> the earliest of the many auxiliary defences which characterised the harness of 1315-1348. It was virtually a miniature shield, of metal or of cuir-bouilli, of varying shapes and sizes,<sup>2</sup> which afforded additional protection to the neck. It is not depicted on any of our English effigies of the Chain Mail and Surcoat Period<sup>3</sup>—we have seen it on two French effigies of *c.* 1280-1300—it is seen on coeval brasses, such as Fig. 30, where it is placed at right-

<sup>1</sup> The ailette is admirably illustrated in the illuminated MSS. of the period.

<sup>2</sup> These defences sometimes assumed very large proportions; those on the brass of Humbier Corbere (1299), Awans, near Liège, approach the dimensions of the Japanese *sode*; others are so small that we find difficulty in seeing what pro-

tection they could have afforded.

<sup>3</sup> It has been suggested that the shield-shaped ornaments above the shoulders on the effigy of *c.* 1270 at Hughendon, Bucks., may be intended to depict ailettes; they are, however, merely ornaments on the tomb-slab.

angles to its actual position in order to exhibit it. The earliest English effigy to depict the ailette is that of Sir Ralph Bulmer i (*ob.* c. 1319), Wilton-in-Cleveland, N.R., illustrated in our next chapter. Consequently, weather-worn as it is, the Wilton figure is of more than mere local interest. Another addition to the equipment about this time, as seen on the effigy of c. 1270 at Hughendon, Buckinghamshire, was a gorget of rectangular plates of cuir-bouilli worn under the hood of mail. We, however, rarely meet with it.

Elbow defences (*coudières*) of cuir-bouilli appear to have been introduced c. 1290–1295, and are depicted on an effigy of about the latter year at Georgeham, Devon (Fig. 28).

We have seen that, up to c. 1300, no alterations of any material importance took place in the equipment; the armour worn by the Yorkshire knights and barons in arms against John differed hardly at all from that worn by the distinguished soldier, Marmaduke, Lord Thweng of Kilton Castle, when he so gallantly held the bridge at Stirling against Wallace. No material alterations took place between 1200 and 1300 for the simple reason that no material alterations were required. Up to c. 1300 the knight and the mounted man-at-arms had been virtually omnipotent against the relatively poorly-armed levies who, up to then, had constituted the greater part of the infantry. But, revelling in the greatest of his assets, mobility, the horseman was sometimes more daring than discreet, and the failure of direct frontal attacks, over unsuitable ground, against strongly posted infantry, and, more important still, the rapidly-growing efficiency of the archers and footmen, led, in the first decade of the 14th century, to the strengthening of the body-armour of the horseman. As we shall see in our second chapter, these reinforcements culminated in the chaos of the complicated harness of patchwork of that most fascinating of all the eras of mediaeval military equipment, the closing years (1345–1348) of the pre-Black Death period.

It is always well to tie one period into its successor, to compare the most advanced type of equipment of the earlier period with the earliest form of equipment of the later period. The valuable and interesting brass of Sir Robert Septvans (1306), Chartham, Kent (Fig. 29), may be taken as illustrating the most advanced type of harness worn at the close of the period under consideration, as depicting the average type of equipment worn at Bannockburn (1314).

And we may take the Bacon brass of c. 1320 at Gorleston, Suffolk (Fig. 30), as illustrating what we call The Reinforced Mail variety



of harness in its earliest stages, as depicting the most advanced type of armour worn at Bannockburn.

The Bacon brass introduces us to demi-brassarts which afford additional protection to the upper arms from the shoulders to the elbows; to demi-vambraces, which supplement the mail defences of the lower arms from the elbows to the wrists; to demi-jambarts, strapped over the mail chausses protecting the thighs; and to roundels (palettes), which afford additional protection to the joints at the shoulders and the elbows.

All these auxiliary defences were, of course, of cuir-bouilli, not of plate as is erroneously stated in many works on armour, etc.

We may now examine our somewhat disappointing collection of effigies of the Chain Mail and Surcoat Period.

### BULMER, N.R.

(2½ miles west of Castle Howard), although now but an insignificant hamlet, may have been a place of some importance in pre-Conquest days, for it gives its name alike to a wapentake and to a rural deanery. Here, for many generations, the Bulmers of Bulmer and of Wilton-in-Cleveland, N.R., had a manor-house of some importance.

Built by some typical 17th or early 18th century restorers, into the north wall of the nave of the church, is an early work of the York school of craftsmen, the legs of which have been broken off in order to adjust it to its present position and to make room for the pulpit. When Dodsworth visited the church in 1627 the effigy lay on the north side of the chancel, probably in a recess; it should be carefully extracted from the wall and replaced in approximately its original position. The figure dates *c.* 1270, the shield bears the arms of Bulmer—(*gules*) *billety and a lion rampant (or)*—and the figure probably commemorates Sir John de Bulmer iii (*ob.* 1268).

The early genealogy of the Bulmers of Bulmer and subsequently of Wilton-in-Cleveland, is somewhat obscure, and their connection with the well-known Ansketil de Bulmer uncertain. Sir John iii, however, appears to have been fourth in descent from Stephen de Bulmer, lord of Bulmer, who may have been a younger brother of Alan de Wilton i, of Wilton, and a younger son of Ralph de Farlington. Sir John iii was the son and successor, by his wife, Alice, of Sir John ii, lord of Bulmer in 1227, who, in 1235–6, succeeded his relative, Thomas de Wilton, in the manor of Wilton-in-Cleveland. He resided principally at Bulmer, had a grant of free warren in 1251, and died in 1268, when his widow, Katherine (Salvin), re-

nounced her right to certain dower lands in favour of her son, Sir John iv (*ob.* 1299), the famous soldier, who was buried in Guisborough Priory.

The figure is much smothered in whitewash. The knight wears a round-topped skull-cap under a coif of mail, which is secured by means of leather thongs (arming points) drawn through small staples fixed in the base of the cap, and also by a fillet of leather bound round the temples. The mittens, unarticulated for the fingers but provided with thumb-pieces, form an integral part of the sleeves of the hauberk, and the hands are uplifted in prayer. A guige, passing over the right shoulder, carries a heater-shaped shield, with the somewhat crudely-carved arms of Bulmer. The sleeveless surcoat is girt at the waist by a narrow strap, the pendent tag of which falls down the left side of the figure. Both the sword, which appears to have had straight quillons, and the sword-belt are much mutilated.

#### COVERHAM ABBEY, N.R. (Fig. 31)

(3½ miles south of Leyburn). The scanty remains of the house of Canons Regular of Prémontré, transferred here in 1212 from Swainby, N.R., are hidden away in the heart of the lovely hill country of Wensleydale.

Propped up against a wall in the stable-yard of the house known as Coverham Abbey, are two effigies found some 120 years ago on the site of the presbytery, and exposed ever since to the corroding influences of the weather. The torso of a third forms part of a garden rockery ! These memorials should be placed in the neighbouring parish church for protection.

The larger and earlier of the two figures dates *c.* 1270, and illustrates the work of the early school of York craftsmen. The probabilities would seem to be that it commemorates the powerful feudal baron, Ralph Fitz-Ranulph (*ob.* 1270), the last of the ancient lords of Middleham Castle.

Ralph Fitz-Ranulph, patron of Coverham Abbey, was descended from Ribald, a younger brother of Alan le Roux, the first Breton holder of the great Honour of Richmond. He was the eldest son and successor of Ranulph Fitz-Robert (*ob.* 1252), the founder of Coverham Abbey, by his wife, Mary, daughter of Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, and is, perhaps, best known as the founder (1258) of the house of Grey Friars at Richmond. He was the most powerful of the feudatories of the earldom of Richmond, married Anastasia, daughter of Sir William de Percy (*ob.* 1245), and had issue three daughters and coheirs, the eldest, Mary of Middleham, carrying



Middleham Castle to the Nevills of Raby through her marriage with Robert Nevill (*ob.* 1271), son and heir of Robert Nevill (*ob.* 1282) of Raby. Ralph Fitz-Ranulph died in 1270, and was buried in the presbytery of the abbey, his heart, enclosed in a silver casket, being interred in the church of the Grey Friars, Richmond.

The effigy is much above life-size. It is a fine, bold piece of work, although much weather-worn. Over the head is a canopy supported by the mutilated figures of angels. The knight wears a round-topped skull-cap under a coif of mail, the latter bound round the temples by a fillet and further secured by substantial leather arming-points. The sleeveless surcoat, which reaches almost to the ankles, is girt at the waist by a narrow cincture forming an integral part of the sword-belt, the pendent tag of which falls down the right side of the figure to the level of the knees. The hands, uplifted in prayer, are protected by mittens of mail forming part of the sleeves of the hauberk, unarticulated for the fingers but provided with thumb-pieces, secured at the wrists by leather straps. The shield, which is carried well round the left arm, bears no signs of any charge—the arms of the lords of Middleham were *or, a chief indented azure*; the sword is much weatherworn; the plain cuir-bouilli knee-cops are reinforced by a lame; the right leg is crossed over the left; prick spurs are worn and the feet rest upon a lion. In point of size this figure may rank with the unidentified effigy of *c.* 1330 outside the museum at Scarborough, N.R., and that of “The Peacock of the North” at Brancepeth, co. Durham, both illustrated in our second chapter.

### JERVAULX ABBEY, N.R. (Fig. 32)

(3 miles south of Fingall). The interesting and beautiful ruins of the once famous Cistercian abbey of Jervaulx, the church of which was the mausoleum of the patrons of the establishment, the baronial house of Fitz-Hugh of Cotherstone and Ravensworth castles, occupies a delightful site in lower Wensleydale. Of the many Fitz-Hugh effigies which once, no doubt, added so greatly to the interest of the stately church, only a solitary mutilated and weather-worn fragment remains, laid on the site of the central tower. It is probable that this was the earliest of the effigies in the church; it dates *c.* 1280, is a work of the Durham atelier,<sup>1</sup> and probably commemorates the feudal baron, Ranulf Fitz-Henry (*ob.* *c.* 1280). (Fig. 32.)

<sup>1</sup> At a recent visit we bought a small guide-book at the entrance gates and were pleased to find that the writer of it recog-

nised the fact that the effigy was made in one of the Durham workshops.

Ranulf Fitz-Henry was seventh in descent from Bardolf, the founder of the family, and was the eldest son and successor of Henry Fitz-Ranulf (*ob.* 1262). He died *c.* 1280, without male issue—one of his daughters was the mother of Brian Fitz-Alan, whose beautiful effigy (see Frontispiece) remains at Bedale. He was succeeded by his brother, Hugh Fitz-Henry (*ob.* 1304), whose interesting effigy (Fig. 49) remains at Romalldkirk, N.R.

The figure is in such a hopelessly mutilated and weather-worn condition that practically all detail has been obliterated. The knight has been depicted in the crossed-legged, sword-handling attitude; the shield bears the arms of Fitz-Hugh, and the mail has been expressed by means of incised curved lines.

#### TANFIELD, N.R. (Figs. 33 and 34),

is a pleasant village picturesquely situate on the north bank of the Ure in Lower Wensleydale, and is a favourite pilgrimage of admirers of Scott's *Marmion*, who conveniently ignore the fact that the last of the Marmions of Tanfield had joined the great majority long before Chester and Stanley charged the Scottish ranks at Flodden Field.

The earliest of the three military effigies that the over-restored church contains is the easternmost of the five rubbed and mutilated figures laid against the north wall of the north aisle or Marmion Chapel. It dates *c.* 1280, has been a fine, bold piece of work, and is the latest of the three extant 13th century effigies turned out of the York workshops. The figure is, of course, not *in situ*, and has evidently been moved about several times. It may have originally been in the chancel for the north aisle was not built until *c.* 1340; some time before 1530 it was placed on the south side of the Marmion Chapel. It has been badly treated, part of the head and the whole of both shoulders having been cut away to adjust it to some new position. (Figs. 33 and 34.)

The most interesting feature of the figure is the unusual method of suspending the shield by means of straps from the left arm. Although not so pronounced as on French effigies—on those of Guy de Lèvis-Mirapois (*ob.* 1260), at Notre-Dame-de-la-Roche, Seine-et-Oise (Fig. 38), and William de Valence, Earl of Pembroke (*ob.* 1296), Westminster Abbey (Fig. 53), the latter a work of the French artist, John of Limoges—it approximates fairly closely to the French fashion and is unusual on an English effigy.

That this mutilated and rubbed figure commemorates a head of the family of Marmion of Tanfield may be taken for granted. It



is some forty years too early for the third lord, John, 1st Lord Marmion (*ob.* 1322)—in point of date it would best suit the second lord, Sir William (*ob.* 1275); on the other hand, as I pointed out at a meeting of the Royal Archæological Institute held here in July, 1922, we know that Avice (*ob.* 1282), widow of the first lord, Sir Robert i (*ob.* 1266), founded a chantry chapel in this church in 1280, the approximate date of the figure, and she may have set up this monument at the same time to the memory of her husband, who had died some fourteen years before.

Born *c.* 1200, Sir Robert Marmion i was the eldest son, by his second wife, of the powerful feudal baron, Robert Marmion, of Tamworth Castle, Staffordshire, who, in order to provide for this younger son, married him, in 1215, when some fifteen years of age, to his ward, Avice, a girl of thirteen, only child and heir of Gernegan Fitz-Hugh, lord of Tanfield, Wath, etc., and thus established the junior house of Marmion of Tanfield. Sir Robert appears to have been a turbulent and aggressive individual, fought on the baronial side in the civil wars of the time of Henry III, died in 1266, and was succeeded by his son, Sir William (*ob.* 1275). His widow, Avice, died *c.* 1282, when some eighty years of age.

The knight (Figs. 33 and 34) wears a round-topped skull-cap under a coif of mail, the latter bound round the temples by a plain fillet. The hands, uplifted in prayer, are protected by mittens of mail secured at the wrists by leather straps; the sleeveless surcoat, which reaches to the ankles, is girt at the waist by a belt—it is more than a mere strap—the pendent tag of which, partly concealed by the folds of the drapery, falls down the right side of the figure to the level of the knees. The shield, above referred to, bears no carved charge—the arms of the Marmions were *vair, a fess gules*. Plain cuir-bouilli knee-cops are worn; the right leg is crossed over the left, and the feet rest upon a lion.

#### FOSTON-ON-THE-WOLDS, E.R. (Fig. 35)

(4 miles south of Lowthorpe), is a hamlet in flat and uninspiring country of purely rural character. At the west end of the nave of the church, placed against the south wall, is an effigy of *c.* 1280, a work of the Durham school of craftsmen, in so hopelessly weather-worn a condition that we may conjecture that it was cast out into the churchyard as early as the second half of the 16th century. It was placed in its present position a few years ago.

The figure probably commemorates a member of a family of country squires, the Brighams of Brigham in this parish, and we may,

perhaps, assign it to Sir William de Brigham (*ob. c. 1278*), who was succeeded by his son, Theobald (*ob. c. 1318*).

The knight wears a round-topped skull-cap under a coif of mail, the latter bound round the temples by a fillet. The right side of the figure has been eaten away by the corrosive action of the grass of the churchyard, but the knight has evidently been depicted in the sword-handling attitude, his right hand clasping the grip of his sword, his left placed upon the scabbard. The shield bears no charge—the arms of the Brighams were *argent, a fess and three trefoils slipped gules*; the legs, which have been crossed, are broken off below the knees and the mail has been expressed by means of incised curved lines.

#### WELTON, E.R. (Fig. 36)

(2 miles east-north-east of Brough), the prettiest village in the vicinity of Hull, its houses clustered round a green with the rebuilt (1868) church in the centre, is backed by the wooded declivities of the Wolds which here descend almost to the Humber. At the west end of the south aisle of the nave lies a much weather-worn effigy of *c. 1290*, which for some three centuries was out in the churchyard (Fig. 36). The probabilities would seem to be that it commemorates some forgotten official of the bishopric of Durham, for Welton was in the liberty of Howden, which was held in chief by the bishops.

The effigy, like that just referred to at Foston, is a work of the Durham craftsmen, and exhibits the usual characteristics of that old-fashioned school; the single pillow under the head, the sword-handling attitude, the bringing of the shield well across the body, and the depicting of the mail by means of incised curved lines. The knight wears a round-topped skull-cap under a coif of mail, but, curiously enough, there is no sign of either fillet or arming point; the shield, which bears no charge, is carried by a guige passing over the right shoulder; the hauberk is longer than usual, partly covering the knees, but a cuir-bouilli knee-cop is just visible on the left knee. The legs are crossed, but as they are only in three-quarter relief—another characteristic of Durham work also met with on the figure at Romaldkirk, N.R. (Fig. 49), the spurs are not depicted. The feet rest upon a mutilated lion.

This figure, apparently the latest of our six Yorkshire effigies of the 13th century, brings to a conclusion our survey of the very meagre collection of extant figures set up before *c. 1300*. The fact that half of them were wrought at Durham would seem to indicate that prior to 1300 but few effigies were turned out of the York workshops.



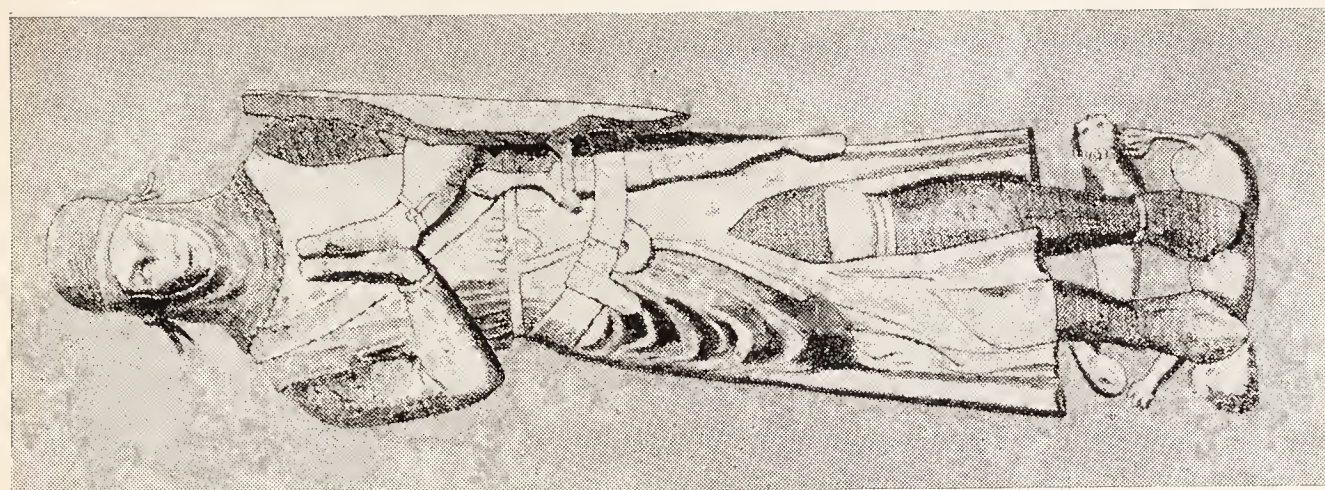


Fig. 31. Ralph FitzRanulph d. 1270. Coverham.



Fig. 32. Ra : FitzHenry d. 1280. Jervaulx.

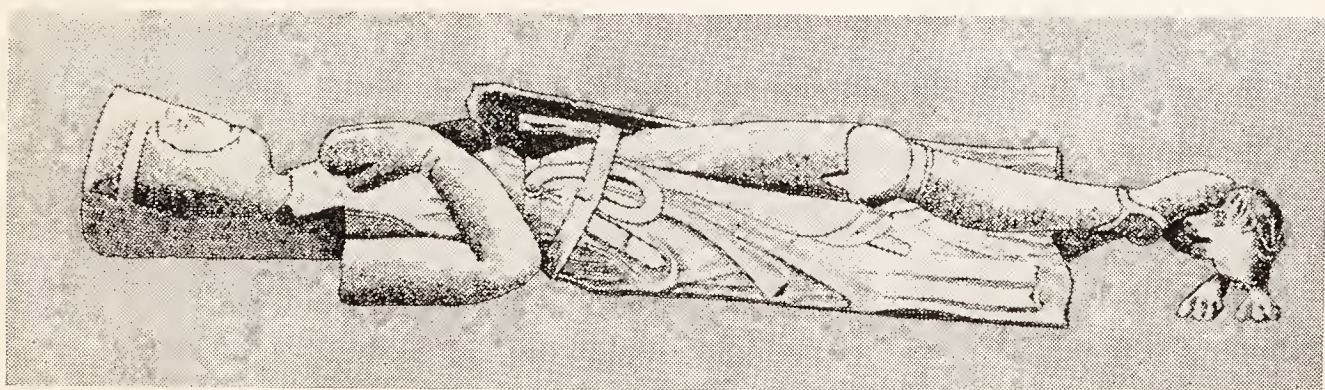


Fig. 33. Robt. Marmion c. 1280. Tanfield.

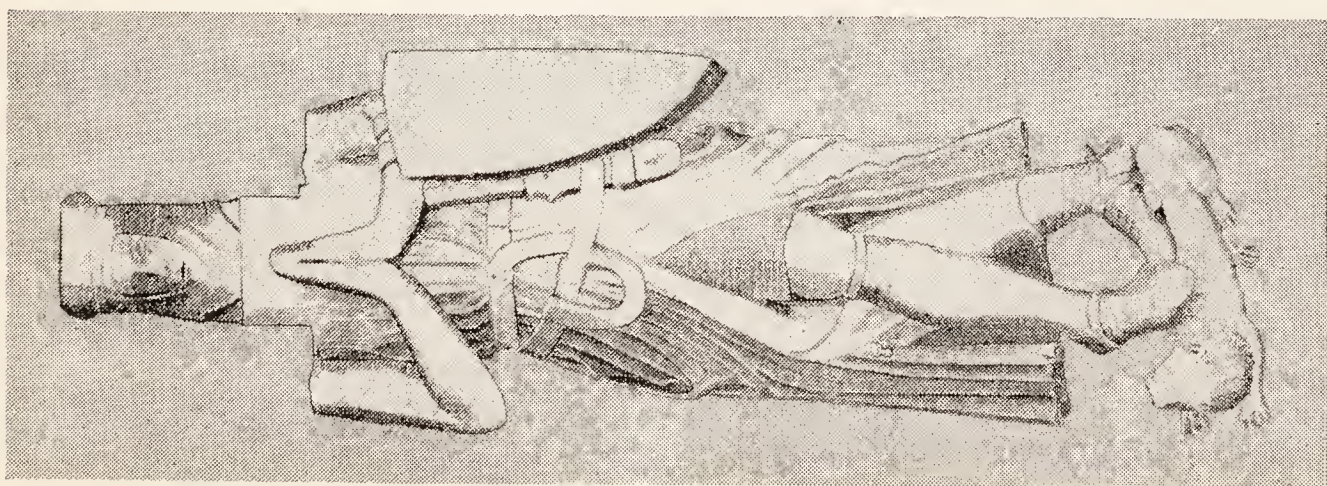


Fig. 34. Robt. Marmion c. 1280. Tanfield.







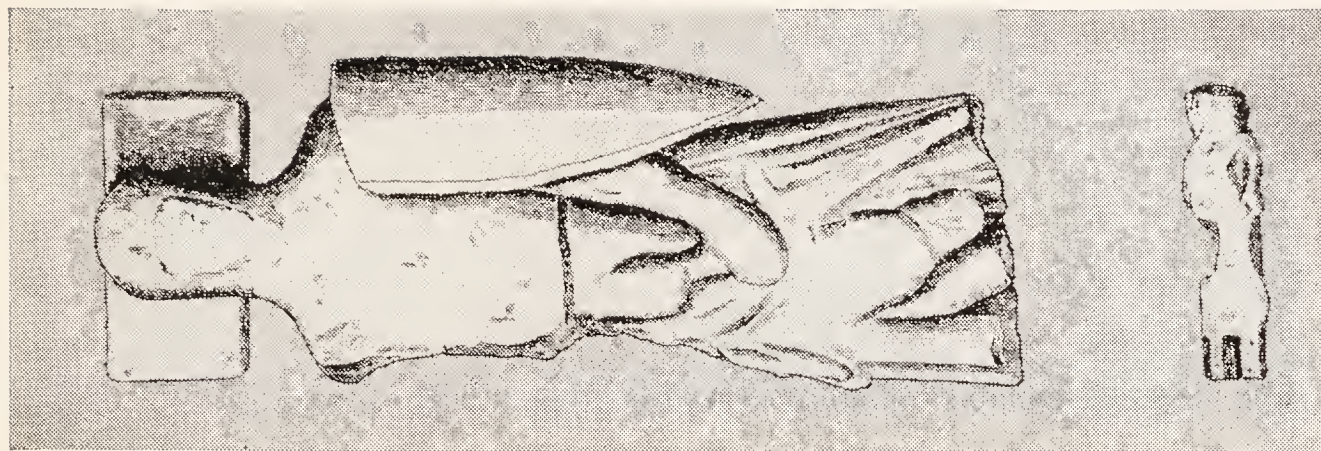


Fig. 35. Sir William Brigham d. 1278. Foston.

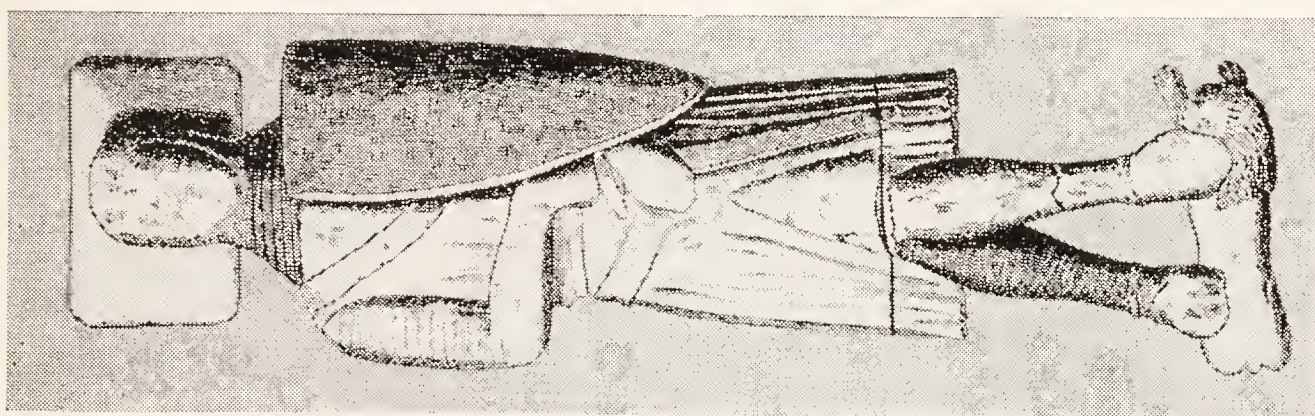


Fig. 36. Effigy c. 1290. Welton E. R.

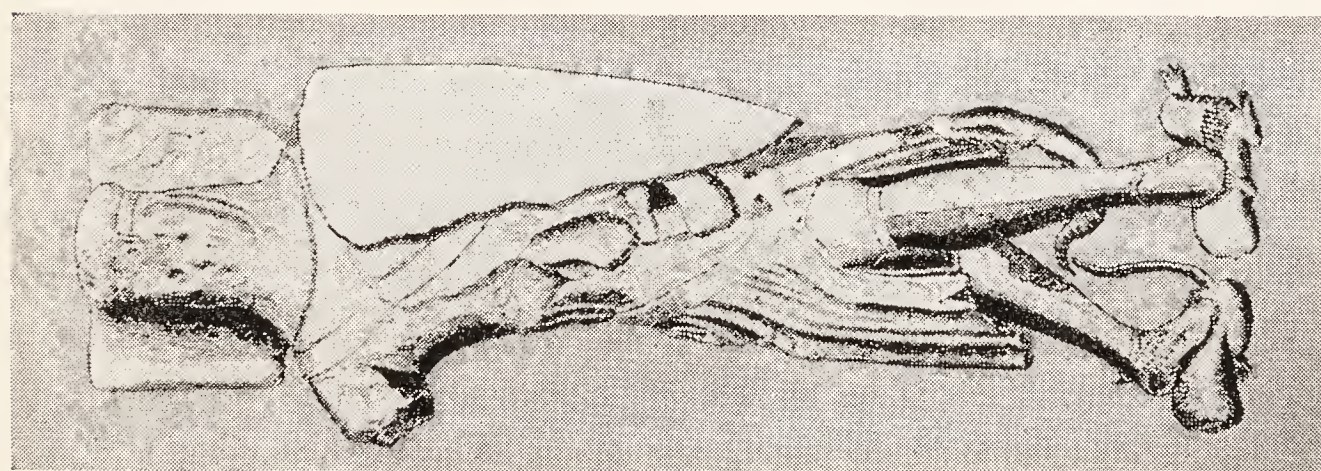


Fig. 37. An Aislaby c. 1300. Egglescliffe.

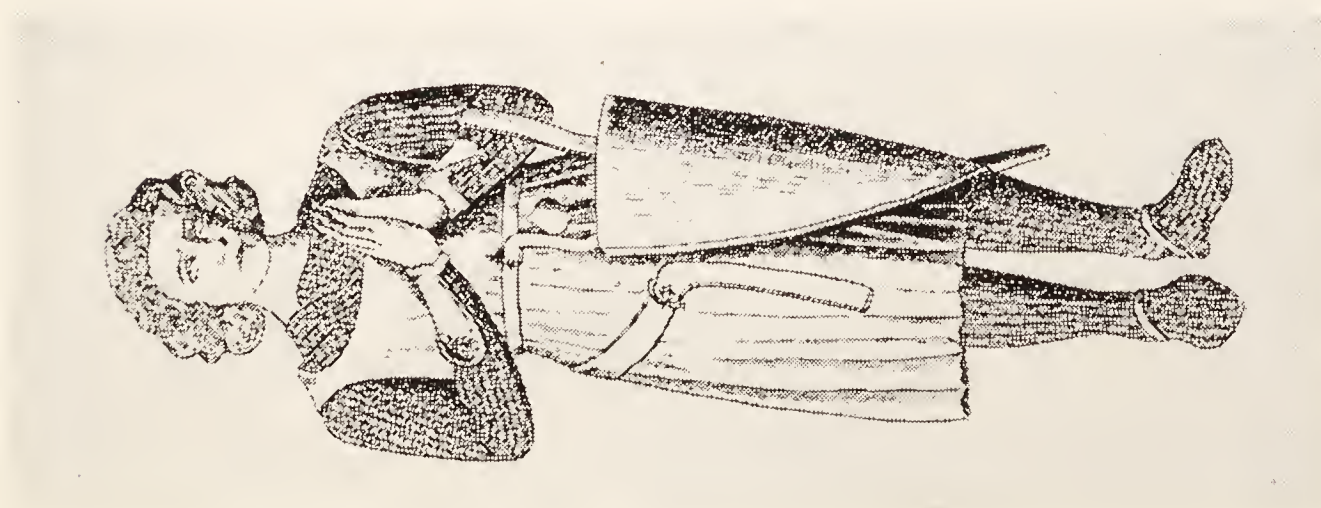


Fig. 38. Guy de Levis Mirapoix, French c. 1260.

EFFIGIES c. 1278-1300.







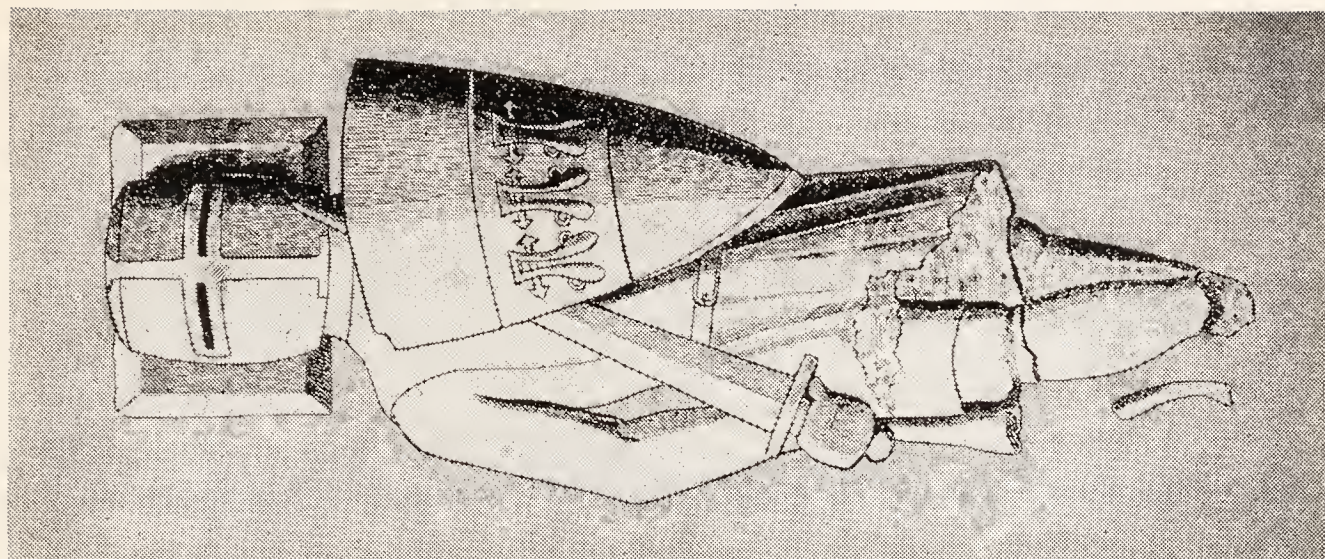


Fig. 39. At Hurworth-on-Tees c. 1300.

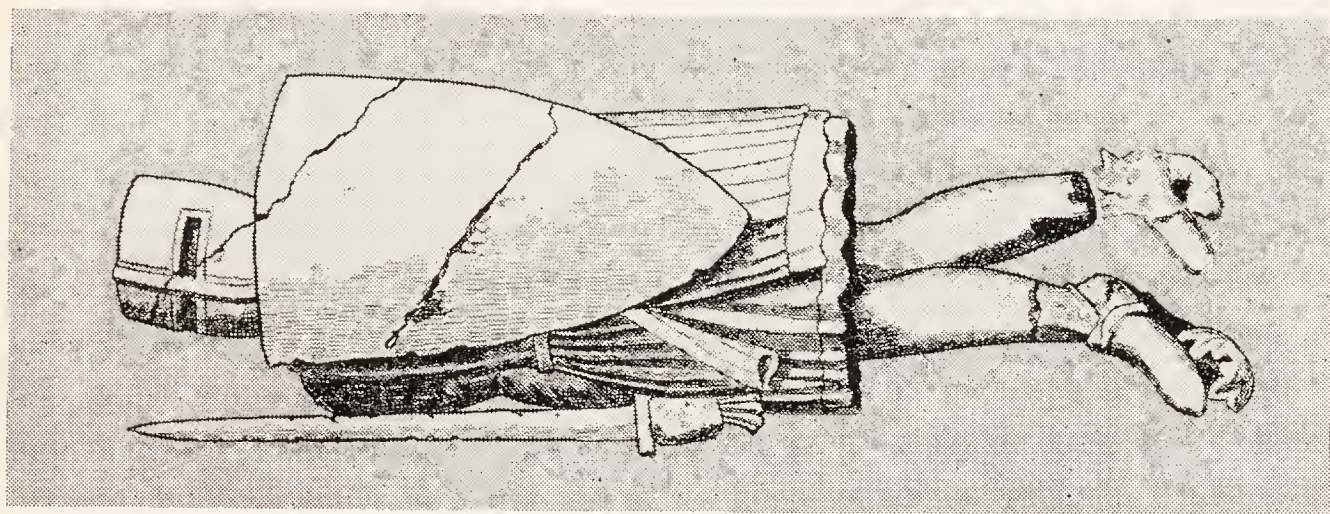


Fig. 40. At Furness Abbey c. 1270.

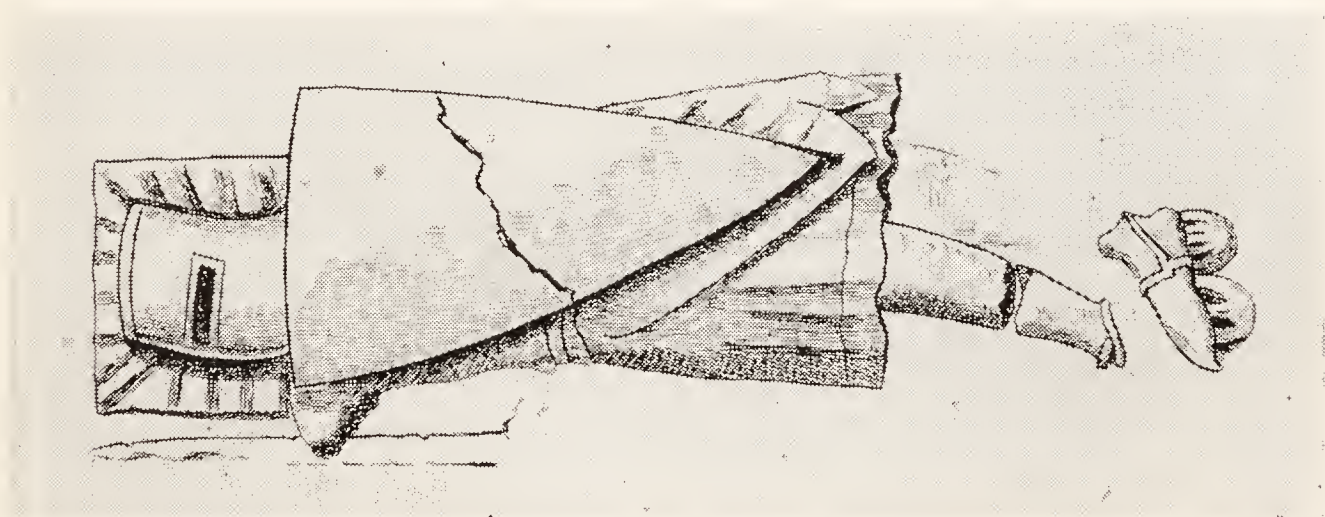


Fig. 41. At Furness Abbey c. 1270.

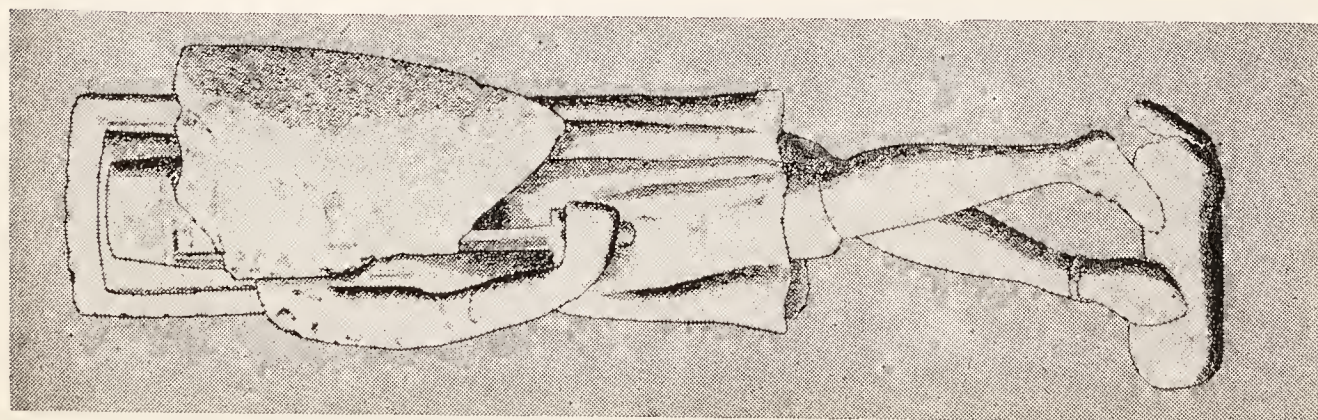


Fig. 42. Marm. FitzGalfrid, Pittington c. 1280.

HEAUMED EFFIGIES 1270-1300.







EGGLESCLIFFE, co. Durham (Fig. 37)

( $\frac{1}{4}$  mile east of Yarm), is a pretty village just over the Yorkshire boundary, picturesquely situate on the high north bank of the Tees overlooking the quaint, red-tiled little market-town of Yarm, the interesting church commanding a delightful view of the lower Tees valley.

On the east side of the porch, retrieved from the churchyard in which it lay when Surtees wrote his *Hist. of Durham*, lies a hopelessly weather-worn effigy of c. 1300 which, in all probability, commemorates a head of the family of Aislaby of Aislaby (Fig. 37).

Although not earlier than c. 1300, the figure has an archaic look owing to the fact that it is a work of the Durham school which, as we have already noticed, long adhered to the methods of the Purbeck marblers. The knight, whose head rests upon a single pillow, wears a somewhat flattish-topped skull-cap under a coif of mail, the latter bound round the temples by a fillet. A guige, passing over the right shoulder, carries a long, old-fashioned shield which bears no charge. A sleeveless surcoat is worn reaching midway between the knees and the ankles. The knight is, of course, depicted in the sword-handling attitude; plain cuir-bouilli knee-cops are worn; the right leg is crossed over the left; the spurs are of the prick variety; the right foot rests upon a lion; the left on a headless animal. The mail has been expressed by means of incised curved lines, but is now almost completely obliterated.

HURWORTH-ON-TEES, co. Durham (Fig. 39)

(1 mile east of Croft Spa), is one of the prettiest villages in the county palatine, the rebuilt (1870) church, only a stone's throw over the Yorkshire boundary, commanding a delightful view over a reach of the Tees. The only objects of interest the edifice contains are two effigies laid in modern-arched recesses at the west end of the nave on either side of the tower-arch. That on the south, commemorating Ralph Fitz-William, 1st Lord Grimthorpe (*ob.* 1316)—illustrated in our second chapter—is known to have originally lain in the chancel of the chapel of the neighbouring little Benedictine nunnery of Neasham; the other, a heaumed figure turned out of one of the Durham workshops, in all probability came from the same place. Sometime after the dissolution of the nunnery, the effigies were brought to Hurworth and set up as ornaments in a garden rockery.

The older of the two figures, the heaumed effigy, dates c. 1300, is wrought in the hard fossil marble of Frosterly, and the shield bears a

well-carved fess with three water-bougets thereon. It has never been identified and we regret that we are not in a position to solve the problem. The Bingham family bore *or, on a fess gules three water-bougets argent*, but they had no connection with this parish nor, so far as we can ascertain, with the nunnery of Neasham.

The knight, whose head rests upon a single pillow, wears a heaume provided with two horizontal clefts for vision, but devoid of breathing holes. In his right hand he holds his drawn and uplifted sword, with its short straight quillons and its broad blade tapering to a point. The shield is brought well across the body; the surcoat is very short, reaching only to the knees, and is girt at the waist by a buckled strap. There is no sword-belt or scabbard. Plain boiled-leather knee-cops are worn, but the figure is mutilated at this point. The right leg is crossed over the left but both are broken off above the ankles. The mail, if rendered at all, would be depicted in gesso, and the whole figure is singularly lacking in detail.

We have already noticed the existence in co. Durham of four other heaumed figures—at Pittington (Fig. 42), Whitworth (Figs. 43 and 44), and Chester-le-Street (Figs. 45 and 46). The two last-mentioned are known to have originally lain in the churchyard of Durham Abbey, nor is there any evidence that the figure at Pittington was ever in the church there. We know that, from a religious point of view, the county was under the arbitrary jurisdiction of the mother-church at Durham, and that no layman was accorded interment within the abbey church until the time of Ralph, Lord Nevill (*ob.* 1367), whose mutilated effigy still remains. Possibly, therefore, these curious figures, turned out of the Durham ateliers between 1280 and 1318, may have been primarily designed as outdoor memorials. Certainly no other type of effigy is so capable of withstanding the corrosive action of the weather as are these heaumed figures of the county-palatine wrought in the hard fossil limestone of Frosterly, and exhibiting but little detail. At Furness Abbey, Lancashire, are two heaumed effigies (Figs. 40 and 41) of *c.* 1270, which probably originally lay in the abbey churchyard rather than in the church itself.

#### PICKHILL, N.R. (Fig. 47),

is a hamlet in somewhat flattish country about a mile east of "The Street," as the Great North Road is called hereabouts. The church stands on a slight eminence commanding views of the Hambleton Hills on the one side, and the Richmondshire on the other, both blue and hazy in the distance. It overlooks the site of the ancient castle,



a fortalice of the motte and bailey type, probably founded by the Hereditary Constables of Richmond Castle and afterwards the occasional residence of the Nevills of Rolleston, Notts., and of Pickhill, who came into possession of this manor through the marriage (c. 1188) of Jollan de Nevill i (*ob.* 1209) with Amphyllis, daughter of Alan Fitz-Roald, the Hereditary Constable.<sup>1</sup>

On the north side of the chancel, within the altar rails, lies a mutilated effigy of c. 1295–1300, a work of the York craftsmen, found in two pieces in 1876 in a cavity under the floor of the chancel into which it had been thrown, as the easiest means of getting rid of it, during the course of a mid-17th-century restoration.<sup>2</sup>

The shield bears a *chevron and a chief indented*, and although they subsequently adopted a *saltire*, there is evidence that the former were the original arms of this branch of the Nevills, and Mr. H. B. McCall is, no doubt, correct<sup>3</sup> in assigning the figure to Sir Andrew Nevill, of Pickhill (*ob.* 1295).

Born c. 1230, Sir Andrew was third in descent from the above-mentioned Jollan i, and was the youngest of the three sons of Sir Jollan ii, the well-known justice-in-eyre to whom the compilation of *Testa de Nevill* is assigned. His mother was Maud, daughter of Sir John de Grey i, of Rotherfield, and sister of the well-known Archbishop of York, Walter de Grey (*ob.* 1255). His two elder brothers, Sir Jollan iii (*ob.* 1249), and Sir John ii (*ob.* 1270), apparently died *s.p.*, and Sir Andrew came into possession of the family estates when some 40 years of age. In 1260 his predecessor, Sir John ii, had leased Pickhill Castle to the Meynells,<sup>4</sup> and in 1280, on the expiration of this lease, Sir Andrew took up his residence here and was the last member of his house to live much at Pickhill, his descendants preferring the Nottinghamshire seat. He cannot have married very young for his eldest son and successor, Jollan iv, was not born until c. 1270. He died in 1295, when some sixty-five years of age, his widow—Alice (surname unknown) surviving him.

The figure is much rubbed, the greater part of the mail being obliterated. The knight, whose head rests upon two pillows, wears a round-topped skull-cap under a hood of mail, the latter bound round the temples by a fillet. The hands, uplifted in prayer, are much rubbed; a guige, passing over the right shoulder, bears the shield; the surcoat is girt at the waist by a narrow strap; the plain sword-belt is attached to the scabbard at two points with a slanting

<sup>1</sup> Gale, *Reg. Honor de Richmond*, App. III.

<sup>2</sup> I am indebted to a daughter of the then incumbent for an interesting de-

scription of the discovery of the effigy.

<sup>3</sup> *Richmondshire Churches*, p. 132.

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. Pat.* 1247–58, p. 578.

strip, and the sword has a pear-shaped pommel and short, straight quillons. The surcoat opens in front to show the skirt of the mail hauberk; plain cuir-bouilli knee-cops are worn; the right leg is crossed over the left, but both are broken off just below the knees.

Laid loose beside the figure is one of the feet still retaining the prick spur.

#### NUNKEELING, E.R. (Fig. 48)

(5 miles north-west of Hornsea). Here, in pre-Reformation days, was a small establishment of Benedictine nuns, founded *c.* 1149–1154 by Agnes de Arches, widow of Herbert St. Quintin and afterwards wife of Robert de Fauconberg, of Rise, the patronage of which came into the Fauconberg family. After the dissolution the little nunnery chapel, only 46 feet long and 20 feet wide, was utilised for parochial purposes, and survived until *c.* 1810, when it was pulled down and replaced by the present tasteless structure.

On the north side of the chancel, removed from the nunnery chapel, lie the effigies of a knight and his wife dating *c.* 1300. They are usually assigned to Walter ii, 1st Lord Fauconberg (*ob.* 1304), of Skelton Castle, Skelton-in-Cleveland, N.R., and his wife, Agnes, the eldest of the four sisters and coheirs of the last of the powerful Brus barons of Skelton. We know that Lord Fauconberg, who greatly augmented the fortunes of his family by this marriage, was buried in the humble chapel of this obscure nunnery although joint patron, with Sir Marmaduke de Thweng, of Kilton Castle, N.R., of the great Augustinian Priory of Guisbrough. But the knight's shield bears ten fusils set five by five barwise in fess (*argent, ten fusils sable in fess*)—apparently the original arms of the Fauconbergs of Rise, and subsequently assumed by the junior house—whereas Lord Fauconberg, apparently shortly after his marriage, adopted the fess and the paly chief—*or, a fess sable, in chief three pallets gules*—which appears on his seal attached to the barons' letter to the Pope and also on the east window of Guisbrough Priory. These arms were borne by the Fauconbergs of Skelton Castle down to as late as *c.* 1315, shortly after which date they assumed the lion rampant of the Bruces of Skelton. Moreover, Agnes (de Brus), the wife of Lord Fauconberg died in or about 1279, and was interred in the chancel of the Priory church at Guisbrough among her ancestors. The effigies at Nunkeeling cannot be much, if any, earlier than 1295 or later than 1305. We must, therefore, somewhat reluctantly, come to the conclusion that the knightly figure does not commemorate the first Lord Fauconberg of Skelton. It has recently been assigned to his younger



brother, Sir William Fauconberg (*ob.* 1294), of Catfoss, E.R., a hamlet about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles from Nunkeeling.

The knight, whose head rests upon two pillows, wears a round-topped skull-cap under a hood of mail, the latter bound round the temples by a fillet and further secured by means of an arming point on the left side of the head. The hands, uplifted in prayer, are protected by mail mittens secured at the wrists by means of straps; a guige, passing over the right shoulder, carries the shield. The surcoat is girt at the waist by a buckled strap—the pendent tag of which falls down the right side of the figure to the level of the knees—and opens in front to exhibit the skirt of the mail hauberk. The sword-belt, ornamented by roundels, etc., is attached to the scabbard by means of interlocking thongs; plain cuir-bouilli knee-cops are worn; the left leg is crossed over the right but both are broken off just below the knees.

#### ROMALDKIRK, N.R. (Fig. 49),

is a pleasant village of well-built houses, with a spacious green, situate in a sheltered nook above the river, 700 feet above O.D., in the delightful country of Upper Teesdale. Hidden away in the north-east angle of the north transept of the church, behind the organ—it might be easily overlooked by a visitor not cognizant of its existence—is a plain raised altar-tomb, on which lies the only Yorkshire effigy of the Chain Mail and Surcoat Period to which we would accord the honour of description and illustration in any general work dealing with the Mediaeval Military Effigies of England. This distinction we give it because it depicts the straight-legged attitude at a time when it is rarely met with,<sup>1</sup> and because it shows, more clearly

<sup>1</sup> The crossed-legged attitude was definitely adopted by the Purbeck workshop, then the leading atelier in England, about 1240, and had become general throughout the country by *c.* 1250. One great advantage it possessed was the opportunity it afforded for the more artistic arrangement of the drapery. It is seen as early as 1240 on the incised slab at Bitton (Fig. 7), on the coeval effigy in the Temple Church (Fig. 8), on the two effigies of *c.* 1245–1250 at St. Mark's, Bristol, and at Tickenham, Somersetshire, on the effigy of *c.* 1250 at Iddesleigh, Devon, etc. So popular, indeed, was the crossed-legged attitude in England between 1240 and 1340 that we are told, in a valuable work on monumental sculpture, that there is only one straight-legged effigy of this period in England between the De Lisle knight of *c.* 1240–1245 at Rampton, Cambridgeshire (Fig. 50), and the pick-carrying coeval figure at Gt.

Malvern on the one hand and the Aber-gavenny knight of *c.* 1340 on the other, the effigy referred to being the well-known Berkeley knight of *c.* 1325 in Bristol Cathedral. The writer has probably examined not far short of eighty per cent. of the effigies of 1310–1348 now remaining in England and Wales, owing to the fact that this happens to be his favourite period in the whole history of mediaeval monumental art, and, as he pointed out at a recent meeting of the Society of Antiquaries, this statement requires considerable modification. In addition to the Romaldkirk effigy now under consideration, we possess in Yorkshire alone four effigies of this period which depict the straight-legged attitude, viz. the two interesting Colville figures of *c.* 1333 at Ingleby Arncliffe (N.R.), two of the most remarkable figures of the fourth decade of the fourteenth century in Great Britain, the fragment of the coeval

than does any other effigy we have seen in England, the chausses of mail enclosing and protecting the thighs.<sup>1</sup> It is the most archaic-looking of all our Yorkshire effigies; a south-country antiquary, unacquainted with local history and that of the Durham atelier in which it was wrought, would, in all probability, unhesitatingly assign it to *c.* 1240, making it coeval with the De Lisle knight at Rampton, Cambridgeshire (Fig. 50). Fortunately, however, there is no possible shadow of doubt either as to the date of the effigy or as to the identity of the man commemorated. The shield bears the well-known arms of the great baronial house of Fitz-Hugh—(*azure*) *fretty and a chief (or)*—and this interesting figure undoubtedly commemorates an early head of this house, Hugh Fitz-Henry (*ob.* 1304), the only head of the house of Fitz-Hugh interred in this church. His ancestors and descendants were all buried in the stately church of the Cistercian abbey of Jervaulx, of which they were founders and patrons, but Hugh Fitz-Henry took a great interest in Romaldkirk church, which he partially rebuilt, and although his wife, who predeceased him by some fourteen months, was buried at Jervaulx, the baron, who died at his manor-house of Barwick-on-Tees, March 12, 1304, was, probably at his express desire, interred here at Romaldkirk, John, Prior of the great Augustinian house at Guisbrough, officiating at the funeral ceremony.

Hugh Fitz-Henry, of Ravensworth, Cotherstone, and Barwick-on-Tees, at each of which places he had a castle, was seventh in descent from the founder of the historic house of Fitz-Hugh. Born *c.* 1257, he was the second son of the feudal baron, Henry Fitz-Ranulph

Percy effigy now at Guisbrough Priory (N.R.), originally in the church of Ormesby (N.R.), and the Stapleton effigy of *c.* 1332 at Melsonby (N.R.). All these four figures are illustrated in our next chapter. At Chester-le-Street, co. Durham, are two straight-legged and heaumed effigies (Figs. 45 and 46) of 1311 and 1318, originally in the churchyard of Durham Abbey. At Newton-Solney, Derbyshire (Fig. 22), is the straight-legged effigy of Sir Alured de Solney (*ob.* 1255). At Fersfield, Norfolk, is the well-known Du Bois effigy of *c.* 1330–1335, which has actually been assigned to the second half of the fourteenth century under the delusion that no straight-legged effigies were wrought in England between 1240 and 1340. At Gresford, Denbigh, is the fine straight-legged effigy of Madoc ap Llewelyn ap Griffin (*ob.* *c.* 1321). Drawings of the two last mentioned will be given in our second chapter. At Paul-ton, Somerset, is a straight-legged effigy of *c.* 1300–1305. The writer is under the impression that there are also two others but the destruction by fire four

years ago of his collection of hundreds of drawings of effigies renders it impossible to say where these figures are. At any rate, it is tolerably clear that the straight-legged effigies of 1240–1340 are more numerous than is popularly supposed.

<sup>1</sup> The theory has been advanced to the writer by an antiquary possessing a very extensive knowledge alike of armour and of effigies, that except for the skirt of the hauberk and the arçon of the saddle, the defence of the thighs was left entirely to padded trews, the argument being that mail pants would be next to impossible to ride in even granted that the mediaeval horseman did not grip with his thighs in the way we do to-day. The mail hauberk almost invariably reached to the knees, thus covering the mail chausses, so that our effigies afford but little evidence upon this point. But here, at Romaldkirk, the hauberk worn by Lord Hugh Fitz-Henry is quite unusually short, and the chain mail chausses enclosing and protecting the thighs are distinctly visible.



(*ob.* 1262), who, like his father, was interred in the presbytery of Jervaulx Abbey. About 1280 on the death, without male issue, of his elder brother, Ranulph Fitz-Henry, whose mutilated effigy (Fig. 32) we saw at Jervaulx, he succeeded to the family estates; he fought with distinction in the Scottish wars, probably married into the family of Stonegrave of Stonegrave, N.R., was serving in Wales in 1277 and in Scotland in 1296, was summoned to attend a military council June 14, 1287, signed the barons' letter to the Pope (1301), died in 1304, as noted above, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Henry iii, 1st Lord Fitz-Hugh (*ob.* 1356).

The knight, whose head rests upon a single pillow, wears a round-topped skull-cap under a coif of mail, which forms an integral part of the hauberk, an anachronism met with on the coeval effigy, also a product of one of the Durham workshops, at Sockburn (Fig. 51). The mail is left curiously unfinished on the left side of the head; we get a somewhat similar instance on the hauberk of the Lincoln-made effigy of the 2nd Lord Grimthorpe and Greystock at Butterwick, E.R., illustrated in our second chapter. A guige, passing over the right shoulder, carries the shield; the hands are encased in mail mittens forming an integral part of the sleeves of the hauberk; the right hand grasps the grip of the sword; the left is placed on the scabbard; the surcoat is short like that on the effigy of the 1st Lord Grimthorpe at Hurworth-on-Tees, co. Durham, also a work of one of the Durham ateliers and illustrated in our next chapter; it is girt at the waist by a narrow strap which forms an integral part of the sword-belt. The surcoat adds yet another feature of somewhat unusual interest to the figure for it opens on both sides as well as in front; the sword-belt is attached to the scabbard at two points; the hauberk is shorter than usual, giving us a clear view of the mail chaussons enclosing and protecting the thighs; the cuir-bouilli knee-cops are quite plain; the legs, as is so frequently the case in Durham effigies down to *c.* 1315, are only in three-quarter relief, with the result that the spurs are not depicted; the feet rest upon the mutilated figure of a dog.

#### SOCKBURN, co. Durham (Fig. 51)

(5 miles south-east of Croft). The modern (1836) hall, which occupies the site of the ancient manor-house of the Conyers family, and the ivy-clad ruins of the church, abandoned when the new church was built (1838) at Girsby on the Yorkshire side of the river, stand in rich meadows surrounded on three sides by the Tees.

In the little Conyers chapel, re-roofed and repaired in 1900, on

the north side of the nave of the old church, is an effigy around which tradition has cast a strange halo of romance. It is said to commemorate Sir John Conyers, the apocryphical founder of the family, who slew the dreadful dragon of Sockburn and "lyes buried at Sockburn before the Conquest . . . whose monument is yet to see." Almost equally impossible is the date—the middle of the 13th century—assigned to the figure in local topographical and historical works. Actually it dates from the first decade of the 14th century, is a fine product of the Durham atelier and the old local tradition is probably correct in assigning it to a Sir John for there can be little doubt that it commemorates Sir John Conyers ii (*ob.* 1303). It was probably set up immediately after his death, and is coeval with the interesting figure we have just seen at Romalldkirk.

Sir John Conyers ii, of Sockburn, was the eldest son and successor of Sir Humphrey Conyers (*ob.* 1283) by his wife, Parnel, and was fifth in descent from the founder of the family, Roger de Conyers i, who had a grant of lands from Ralph Flambard *c.* 1195. Born *c.* 1250, Sir John ii fought in the Scottish wars, proved his right to free warren in Girsby in 1293, married Scholastica, daughter and heir of Sir Ralph de Cotum, died in or about 1303 and was succeeded by his son, Sir John iii.

The effigy exhibits the usual characteristics, the anachronisms we have become accustomed to associate with figures turned out of the Durham atelier between *c.* 1270 and 1310; the single pillow under the head; the coif of mail; the mittens forming an integral part of the sleeves of the hauberk and unarticulated for the fingers. But the figure is less archaic in appearance than is the effigy we have just examined at Romalldkirk. The knight wears a round-topped skull-cap under a coif of mail, the latter bound round the temples by a fillet; he is depicted in the sword-handling attitude, his right hand grasping his sword, is encased in mittens secured at the wrists by means of arming points, his left is placed upon the scabbard; the shield, carried by guige straps passing over the shoulders, is brought well across the body; the sword has short, straight quillons; the cuir-bouilli knee-cops are quite plain; the right leg is crossed over the left and the feet rest upon two animals. The mail is depicted by means of incised curved lines.

#### HAUXWELL, N.R. (Fig. 52)

(2 miles north of Constable Burton), is a pleasant hamlet situate in the delightful country between Wensleydale and Swaledale. The Hall occupies the site of a house erected in the reign of Edward IV



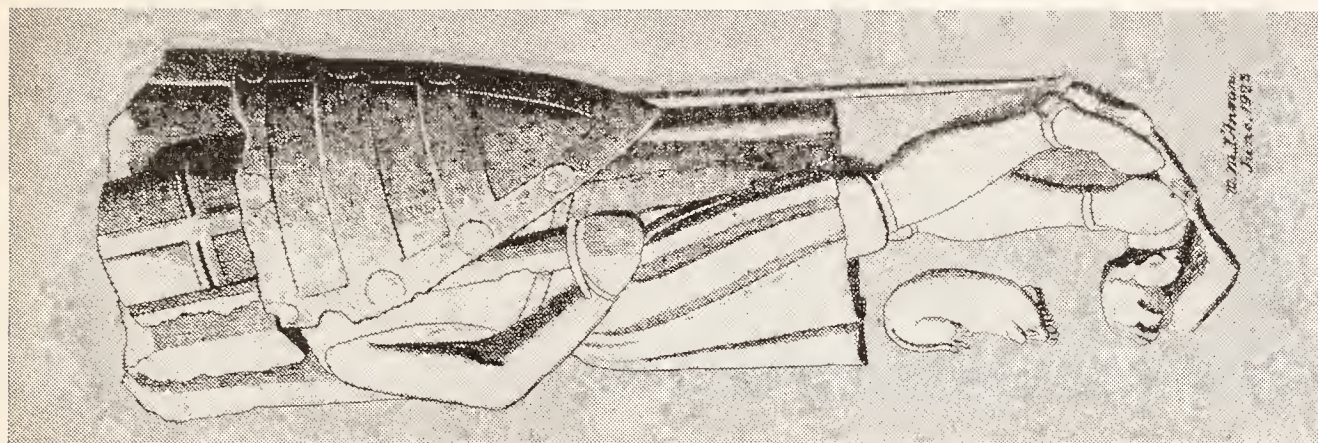


Fig. 43. Humez Knight Whitworth c. 1300.

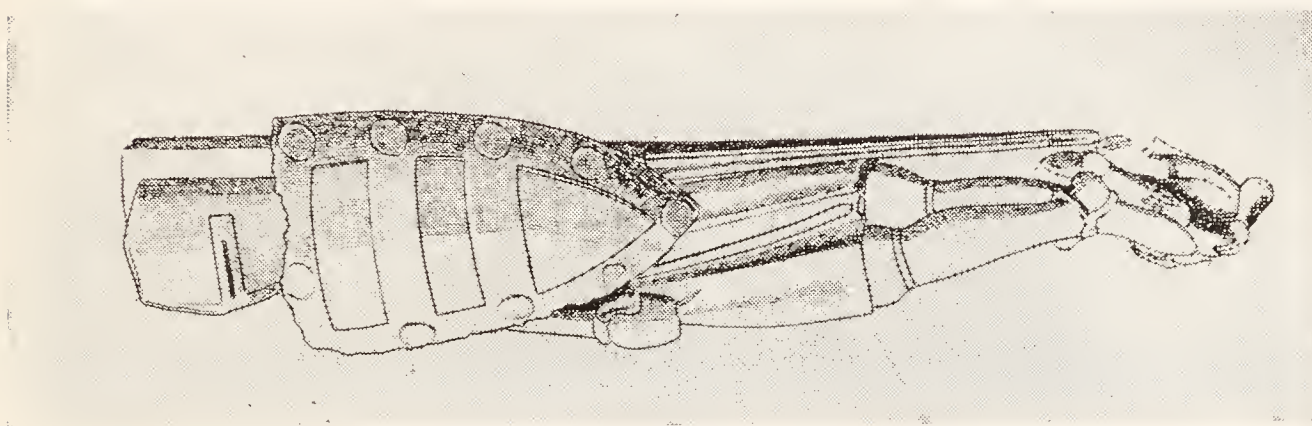


Fig. 44. Humez Knight Whitworth c. 1300.

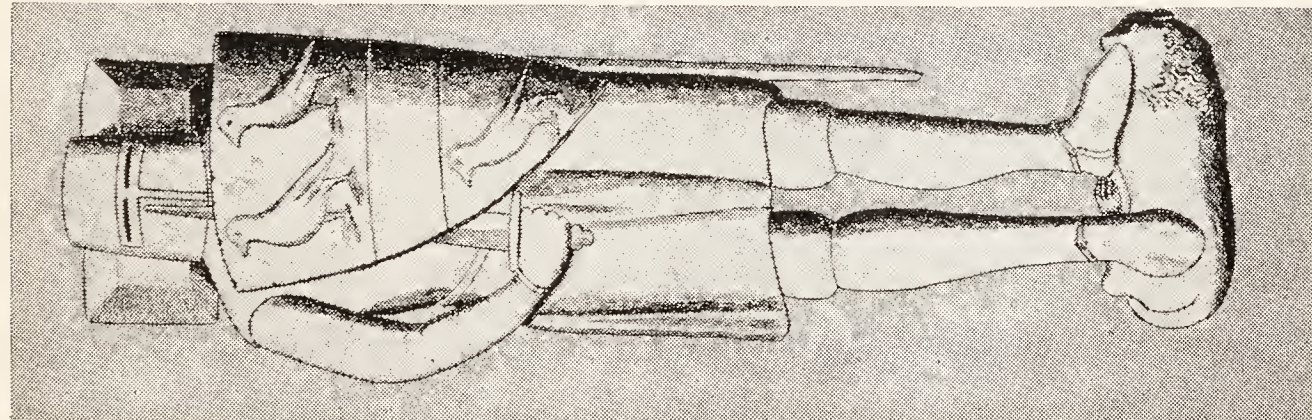


Fig. 45. Sir John FitzMarmaduke, 1311,  
at Chester-le-Street.

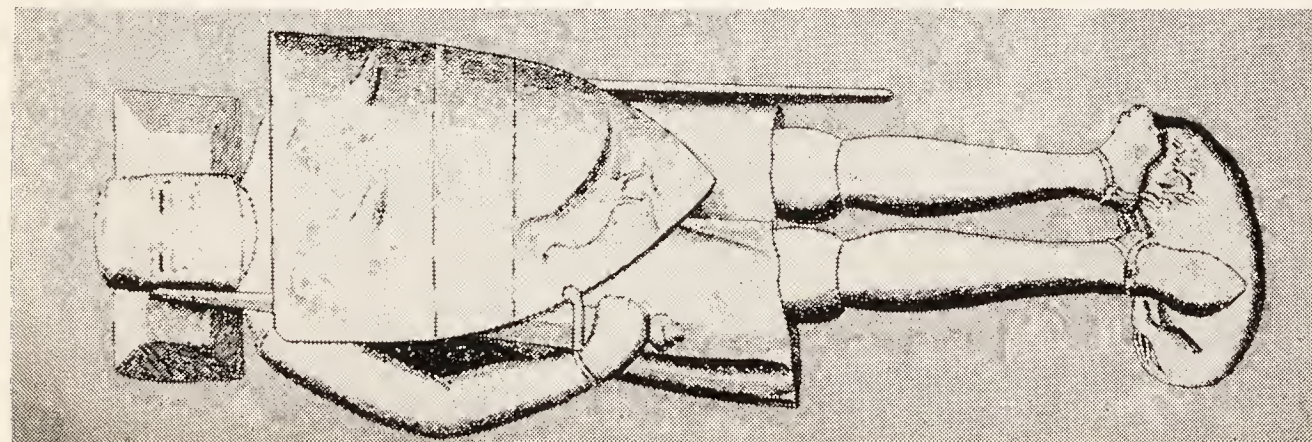


Fig. 46. Sir Rich. FitzMarmaduke 1318.







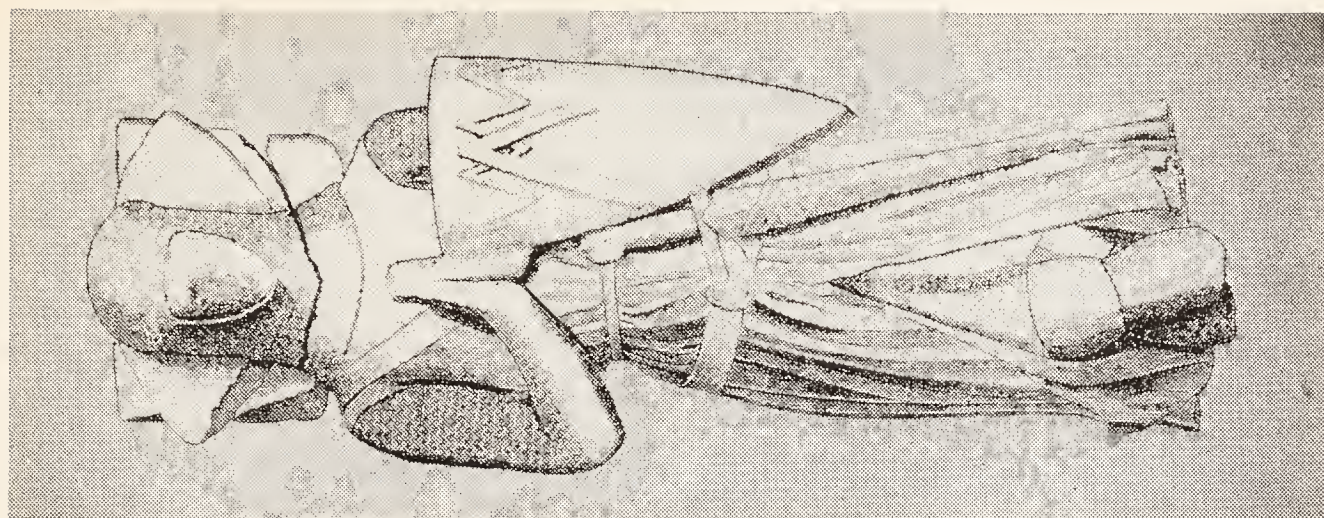


Fig. 47. Andrew Neville d. 1295, Pickhill.

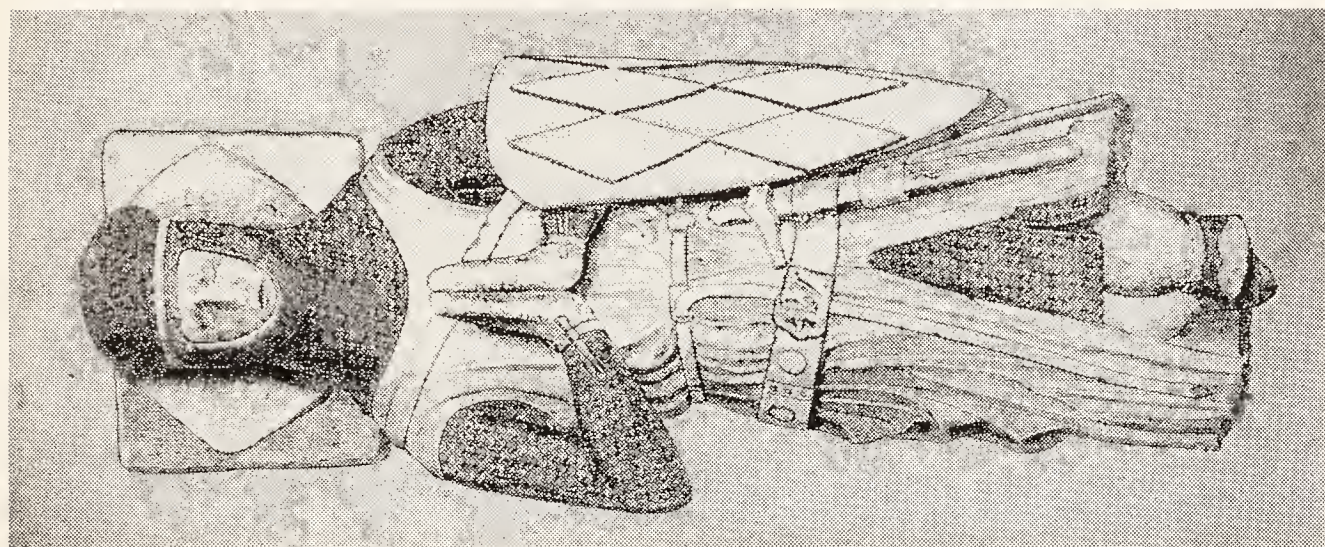


Fig. 48. Wm. Fauconberg Nunkeeling 1294.

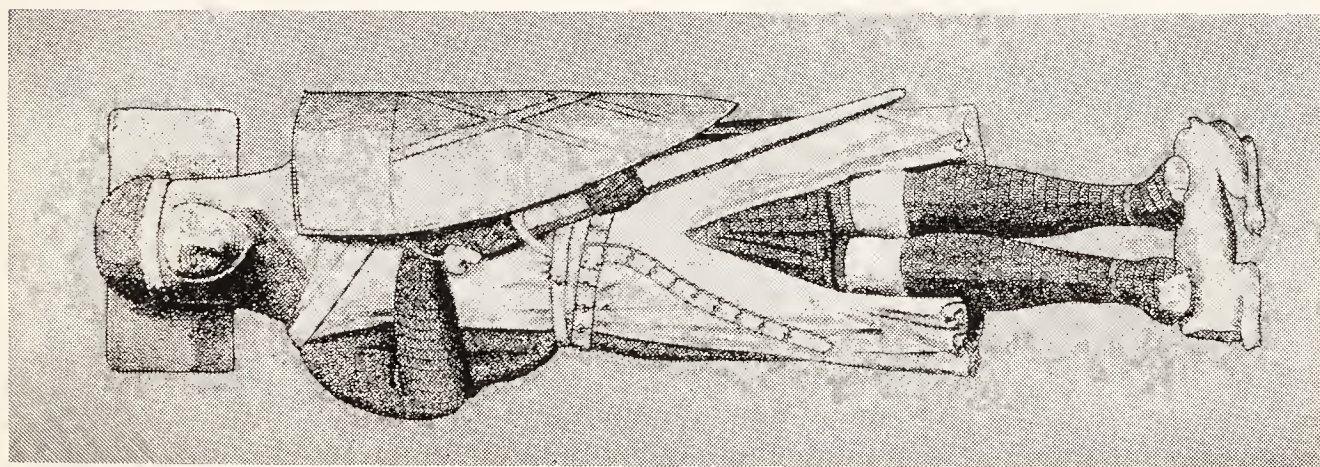


Fig. 49. Hugh FitzHenry d. 1304, Romaldkirk.

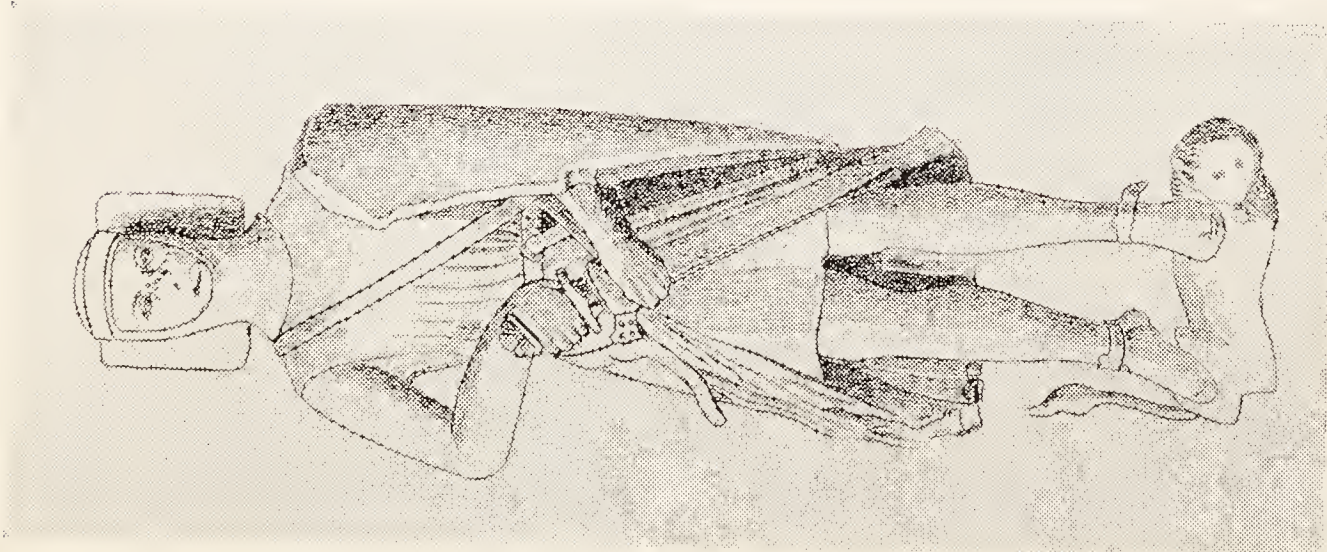


Fig. 50. De Lisle, Rampton, Cambs. c. 1240.







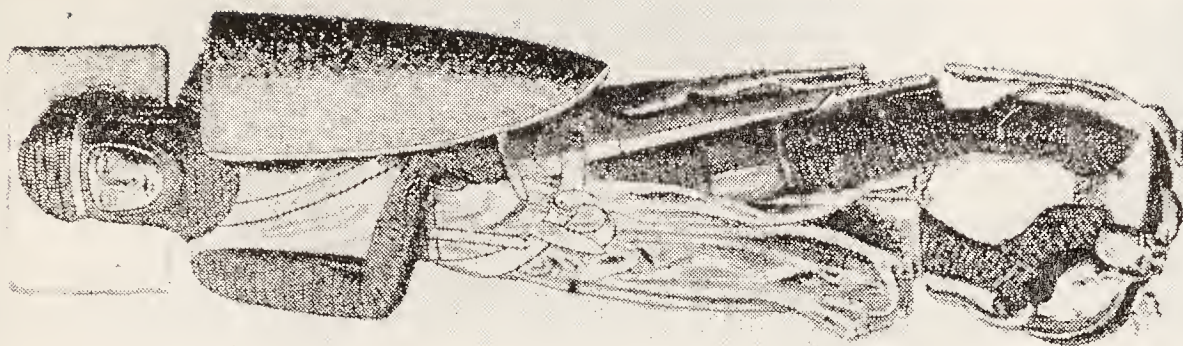


Fig. 51. Sir John Conyers d. 1303, Sockburn.

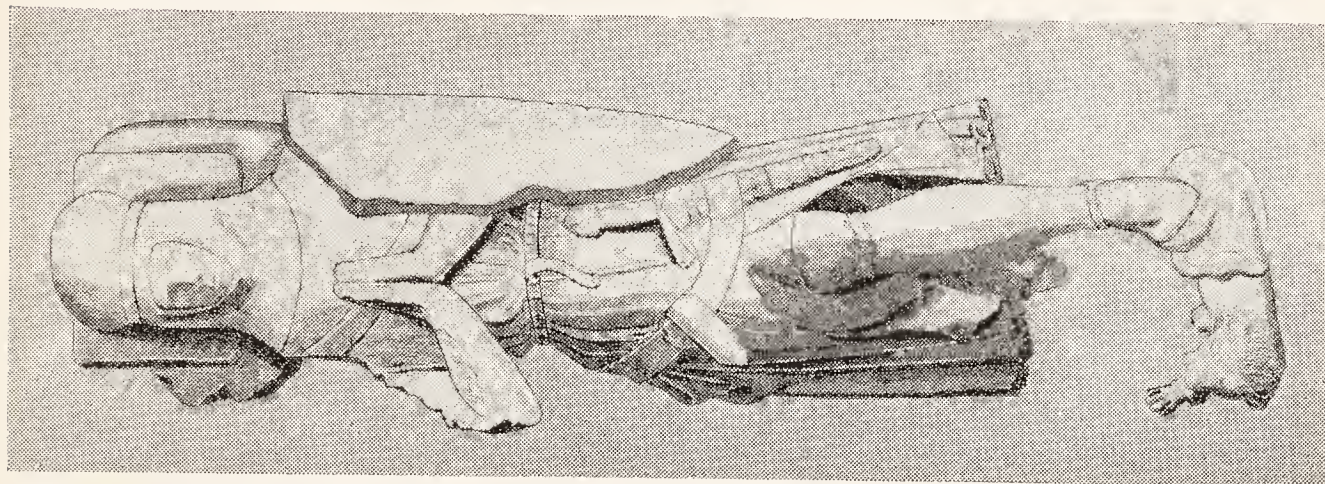


Fig. 52. Sir Walter Barden d. 1309, Hauxwell.

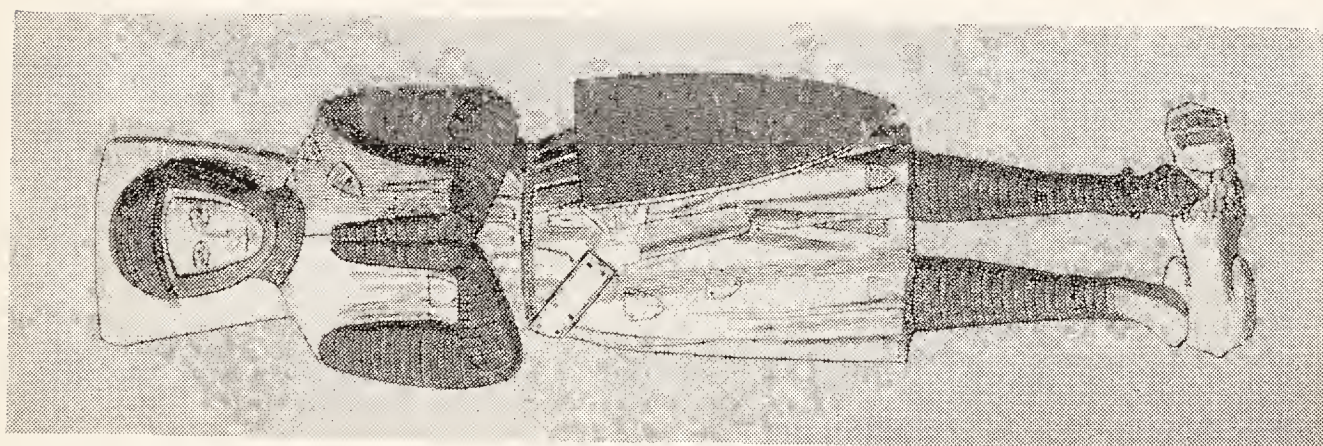


Fig. 53. Valence Earl of Pembroke 1296,  
at Westminster Abbey.

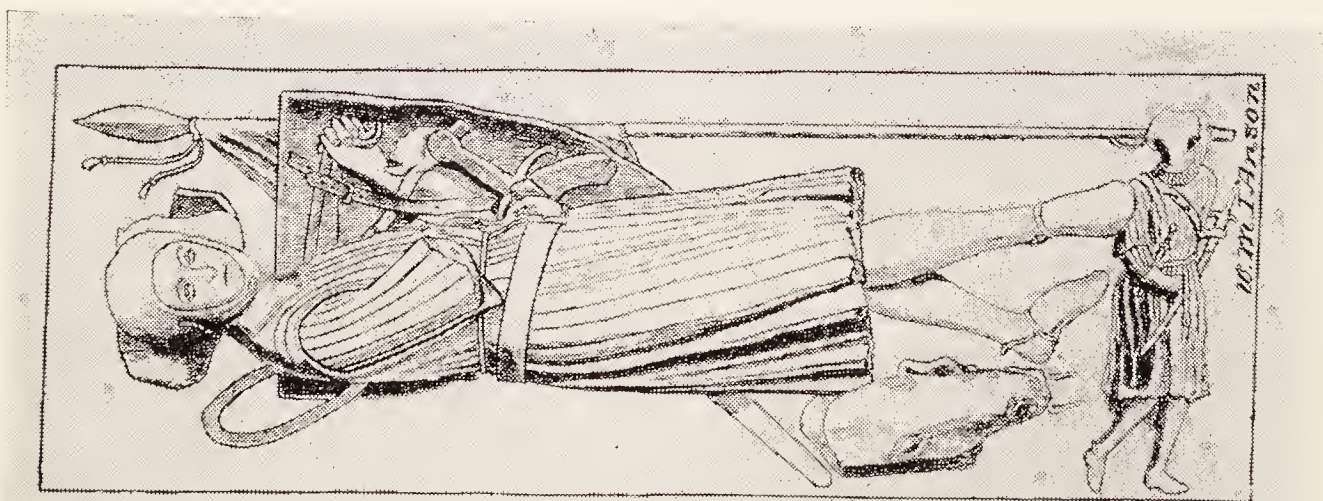


Fig. 54. The Gambeson.







by a junior branch of the well-known local family of De Burgh or Brough of Brough, Catterick, but in earlier mediaeval days the "great house" of the parish was Barden Hall, now a farmhouse, portions of which date back as early as the last quarter of the 14th century, and which occupies the site of the ancient home of the Hereditary Butlers of the earldom of Richmond.

On the west side of the porch of the ancient and sequestered church lies a mutilated and weather-worn effigy of c. 1310, a work of the York school, which was, in all probability, cast out of the church as early as the first half of the 17th century, together with two other military figures, now lost. It lay among the rank grass until 1861 when, as I was informed in 1898 by the late Rev. E. C. Topham, it was placed in its present position by the late Misses Gale.

In local historical works it is always assigned to some unspecified member of the De Burgh family,<sup>1</sup> but as the De Burghs had no connection with this manor before 1465<sup>2</sup> this identification is obviously incorrect. There can be little, if any, doubt that it commemorates Sir Walter de Barden i (*ob.* 1309), in his younger days known as De Egglescliffe.

Sir Walter was the son and successor of Sir Robert de Egglescliffe (*ob.* c. 1283), of Barden, and was the grandson of Sir John de Egglescliffe (*ob.* c. 1270), who married Alice, the elder of the two daughters and coheirs of Alan Fitz-Alan iv, the last of the old Hereditary Butlers. Sir Robert held both the knights' fees, one in Richmondshire and the other in Cambridgeshire, which constituted the fee of the Hereditary Butlers,<sup>3</sup> and, in right of his mother, was patron of the Benedictine nunnery of Ellerton,<sup>4</sup> in the parish of

<sup>1</sup> Whitaker, *Richmondshire*, i, 324.

<sup>2</sup> The earliest mention of the De Burghs in connection with this parish occurs in 1516 (*L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ii, 2137), but the writer possesses evidence to show that Richard de Burgh, or Brough, of East Hauxwell, was correct in stating in 1612 (*Foster, Visit. of Yorks.*, 268 and *n.*) that the manor of East Hauxwell was given in 1465 by the King-Maker to John de Burgh, of Brompton-on-Swale.

<sup>3</sup> *Cal. Inq. p.m.* 1-19 Edw. I, 214. Alan iv, the last of the four Hereditary Butlers, left two daughters and coheirs, (a) Alice, the wife of John de Egglescliffe, who may have been a junior member of the family of Aislaby of Aislaby, co. Durham, and (b) Joan, the wife of Henry Fitz-Ralph. In 1268 John de Egglescliffe and his wife, both well advanced in years, granted 1½ carucates of land in Barden in fee to their son, Robert (*Feet of Fines, Yorks.*, 52 Hen. III,

No. 34). In 1271 soon after the death of his father, Robert de Egglescliffe received from Henry Fitz-Ralph and his wife, Joan, certain lands and tenements in Barden, Hauxwell, East Brompton, and Little Crakehall (*ibid.*, 55 Hen. III, No. 7), and about 1275 came into possession of the entire fee in Richmondshire, consisting of 12 carucates.

<sup>4</sup> Owing to the destruction of the charters by the Scots, the printed histories of this establishment all appear to be inaccurate. (*The V. C. Hist., Yorks.*, N.R., i, 229, which gives us what is, perhaps, the best account we possess, is incorrect in stating that the establishment was "probably founded by the family of Egglescliffe (called also De Barden)," for it is obvious that the nunnery was founded by the Hereditary Butlers, and that the patronage merely descended to the De Bardens.

Downholme, N.R., which had been founded by the Hereditary Butlers.

We do not know very much about Sir Walter de Barden, the first member of his house to assume the territorial surname. He fought in the Scottish wars, continued his father's dispute with the Canons of Easby as to the ownership of 220 acres of moorland in Barden, and has the distinction of being immortalised by Wordsworth in his delightful canto narrating the local legend of "Hart Leap Well."<sup>1</sup> He bore *or, a saltire azure five plates sable*, which may have been the arms of the Hereditary Butlers. He died in 1309, leaving two sons, Sir Robert ii (1309-1329) and Sir Walter ii (1329-1350), who succeeded in turn to the estates. In 1310, shortly after coming into the property, Sir Robert ii relinquished his claim to the disputed land in Barden on condition that the reigning abbot of Easby, together with his three immediate predecessors in office who, curiously enough, were still living, should come to Hauxwell Church and solemnly pronounce absolution on the tombs of his father (Sir Walter i) and mother, and on that of his grandfather (Sir Robert i) for detention of lands of Holy Church.<sup>2</sup> This weather-worn figure, therefore, probably played a prominent part in the picturesque ceremony when the abbots of Easby, with their retinue of White Canons, mounted on their white horses, rode across the breezy uplands from St. Agatha's to Hauxwell more than six hundred years ago.

The effigy, as one would naturally expect, is in a very weather-worn condition. It is, however, of some interest as the earliest extant Yorkshire example of the use of gesso. The knight, whose head is inclined to the right, wears a lofty round-topped skull-cap under a hood of mail, the latter bound round the temples by a fillet. The surcoat, which reaches almost to the ankles, is girt at the waist by a narrow cincture, the pendent tag of which is unusually short. The hands, uplifted in prayer, are protected by mail gauntlets; the uncharged shield is carried by a guige passing over the right shoulder; the sword has a circular pommel and short quillons; cuir-bouilli knee-cops, strengthened by a reinforcing lame, are worn; the legs are crossed and the feet have rested on a lion. The spurs are almost eaten away but appear to have been of the ball and spike variety.

This figure may be regarded as the earliest of the long string of effigies turned out by the York craftsmen between 1310 and 1340.

<sup>1</sup> Hart Leap Well, the scene of the picturesque incident recorded by Words-

worth, is on Barden Moor.

<sup>2</sup> Egerton MS. 2827, fol. 164d., 190.



YORK (The Museum). For a drawing and description of this mutilated effigy of *c.* 1310, see *Y.A.J.*, xxvii, 129. Like the contemporary De Barden figure at Hauxwell, N.R., it is evidently a work of the skilled York atelier afterwards responsible for the figures at Kirkby Fleetham, Ilkley, Feliskirk, etc.

YORK (Hob Moor). For a drawing and description of this torso of an effigy of *c.* 1310, the shield bearing the three water-bougets of Roos, see *ibid.*, 136. The figure probably commemorated Sir William Roos i (*ob.* 1310), of Ingmanthorpe.

NOTES ON THE EARLY SAVILE PEDIGREE  
AND THE  
BUTLERS OF SKELBROOK AND KIRK SANDAL.

BY THE LATE W. PALEY BAILDON, F.S.A.

PREFATORY NOTE.

In Vol. xxv of this *Journal* my father gave an account of the main line of the Savile family. He had previously dealt with some of the younger branches, including Savile of Copley and Savile of New Hall, in his edition of *Dugdale's Visitation*. His interests lay for the most part in that period of our history for which the evidence afforded by wills and the parish registers is available; and he did not endeavour to give detailed information about the Savile family before the era of Sir John Savile, who married the Eland heiress in the middle of the fourteenth century. But in the course of his investigations he was in close touch with Mr. Baildon, who for many years had been collecting notes, mainly from the Plea Rolls, with regard to the origin and early generations of this distinguished Yorkshire family; and he was hopeful that Mr. Baildon would in due course publish the result of his researches to form a prologue to his own paper. Mr. Baildon found that the information available was far greater than he had originally anticipated; and the connection with the Butler family was of such interest as to justify a considerable addition to his original scheme. But at the time of his death, in 1924, he had practically finished his task, and the present paper was almost ready for publication in the *Journal*. He was only waiting, I remember him telling me, for the opportunity of "running through the Assize Rolls of Divers Counties," though he was not sanguine of finding any additional information of material value; and it appears that he was still working on one or two points arising out of the later generations of the Butler pedigree. But the paper is so complete in its present form that its publication will, it is anticipated, not only be welcomed by members of the Society, but will provide an additional memorial to Mr. Baildon's unrivalled powers of research.

The work of editing has been negligible. A few references to printed books left unchecked by Mr. Baildon have been added; some of his loose notes have been inserted in the place for which he



clearly intended them; and the sketch pedigree which accompanies Section II has been compiled from his own unfinished draft. Any footnotes of an editorial kind are inserted in square brackets.

Mr. Baildon bequeathed to the Bradford Public Library his extensive collection of notes on Yorkshire families; and the thanks of the Society are due to the authorities of the Library for their kindness in making this paper available for publication.

CHARLES CLAY.

#### SECTION I.—INTRODUCTORY.

The early generations of the Saville pedigree, as given in Watson's *Halifax*, Foster's *Yorkshire Pedigrees*, and elsewhere, are quite untrustworthy. Many of the persons named are creatures of the imagination, while others are ante-dated or post-dated or otherwise misplaced in the usual reckless manner of Elizabethan pedigree mongers. It would be waste of time and space to point out all the obvious errors; I will only mention two, others are dealt with below. The sixth generation has "Sir John Savile, knt., of Tankersley," and his son, grandson, great-grandson, and great-great-grandson, all Johns, are all described as "of Tankersley." As a matter of fact, the Tankersley property did not come to the Savilles until the marriage of the last-mentioned John with Isabel, the heiress of Thomas de Elland. Henry Saville, said to be the younger brother of this last John, is said to have married Ellen Copley "about 1300"; Ellen was a mere child at her father's death in 1370, and her husband was the son of Henry Saville of Thornhill.

It has frequently, if not generally, been assumed that the name was derived from Saville Hall in Dodworth, and accordingly the old pedigrees start off with "Sir John Savile of Savile Hall."

Whitaker, in his best *ex cathedra* manner, makes the statement boldly, though giving neither argument nor evidence in support.

"Passing by the fond tradition, which is altogether inconsistent with the grounds of English etymology, that this family are descended from the Savelli of Italy, suffice it to say that they spring from Savile Hall, in Dodworth, near Barnsley, which gave name to them, and not they to it" (*Loidis et Elmete*, p. 311).

Hunter seems to have leaned to this view, though not saying so in so many words.

"In this township [Dodworth], about half a mile south of the principal vill, is Savile-hall, an antient estate of inheritance lying near the northern branch of the Dove. This estate belonged, in the reigns of Henry III, Edward I and Edward II to a family of the

name of Savile, of whom there was the following instructive deed, among the evidences of Sir Gervase Cutler, at Stainborough " (*South Yorkshire*, vol. 2, p. 260). Here follows the grant of " Seyvile Hall " made in 1311 by Thomas son of Baldwin de Saville (see below). I cannot accept this view. Saville Hall I take to be the name given to a house by its builders. The practice was not common in the north, whereas in the south very many of the small sub-infeudated manors were called after their owners<sup>1</sup>; but even in Yorkshire there are several unmistakeable examples, such as Thornhill Hall in Wath upon Dearne, Lascelles Hall in Lepton, Thurnham or Turnham Hall in Cliffe, near Selby, and no doubt others.

Moreover, Saville Hall apparently never belonged to the main line of the family. The first reference to it, so far as any evidence is known, is in the grant just mentioned, and the Thomas de Saville who granted it was the son, and possibly the heir, of Baldwin de Saville, a younger son. If it had ever been the principal seat of the main line, we should expect to find some earlier reference to it.

The series of returns known as the *Testa de Nevill*, under date 1242-3 (new edition), has an entry which at first sight suggests that there was some place or estate in the Lacy fee called " Seyvill "; we read " *Seyvill, tercia pars unius militis* " (Part II, p. 1103). The adjoining entries, however, are names of *persons*, not of *places*; Richard Foliot precedes and Baldwin Teutonicus follows, which suggests that a Christian name has been omitted. Mr. Farrer accordingly prints the entry thus: " [— de] Seyvill " (*Early Yorks. Charters*, vol. 3, p. 401), and he is certainly right.

There is no trace of any ville, hamlet or manor called Saville, or anything which could have become Saville, in Yorkshire or any other county, to be found in any early document, and the form of the name is distinctly French. The theory that there is a connection with the Roman family of Savelli has nothing but the similarity of the name to support it. There can be little doubt that the Savilles settled in England under Henry II, as so many French families did, the Courtenays being a notable example.

Watson's statement on this point is as follows:

" Others suppose them to have come with Geoffry Plantaginet, because there are two towns of this name on the frontiers of Anjou, both which were annexed to the crown of England, when the said Geoffry married Maud, daughter and heiress of Henry I " (*Halifax*, p. 209).

<sup>1</sup> Chequers Court may be instanced, of which we have heard much lately.



This statement has been frequently copied, but without any additional information as to the locality of these "two towns." There are several towns and villages in France which have names approximating to Saville. The official *Dictionnaire des Postes et des Télégraphes* has five places called Savel, one Saveille, two Sauville, one Savilly, one Sevelle, one Sévielle, and one Sevilly. Most of these are too remote from the sphere of Anglo-Norman influence, and there is no indication, so far as I know, from which of the others the Savilles take their name. Perhaps the most likely are (1) the two villages of *Bas* and *Haut Sévielle*, in the Department of *Seine et Marne*; (2) *La Sevelle*, in the Department of *Eure*, but against this is the fact that the family are never called *de la Saville*; (3) *Sevilly*, in the Department of *Orne*; and (4) *Sauville*, in the Department of *Ardennes*. Nos. 1 or 3 seem to me the most likely.

Apparently all the deeds relating to the original family properties are lost or destroyed; at any rate they cannot now be found, as Mr. Lipscomb, Lord Savile's agent, has kindly informed me. Those printed in the volumes of Yorkshire Deeds issued in the Record Series refer to later-acquired properties, such as that at Smeaton. This is a great misfortune and a most serious handicap. Fortunately, there was a considerable amount of litigation in the thirteenth century, the records of which have been of great assistance.

One of the chief difficulties lies in the absence of any date of birth by which we can test the generations both up and down. The early Savilles held no lands in chief, and consequently there are no inquisitions to give us the age of an heir; such a document in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century would have been invaluable. The only available inquisition, that on Peter de Saville in 1286, is not *post mortem*, though it was formerly included in that series, as were also the inquisitions *ad quod damnum*; it was in the nature of a *de lunatico inquirendo*, and therefore there was no finding as to the heir, but the writ mentions a wife and children, and we may fairly make certain useful inferences as to Peter's age. In the first place, he had an uncle, William Saville, then living; so that Peter cannot have been a very old man. We shall see presently that Peter left a widow, and a son and heir, John, who was of age in or before 1301. Now if this John had been of age in 1286, when the inquiry was made as to his father's mental condition, we might reasonably expect that he would have been appointed at least a joint guardian of his father's person and property. As he was not so appointed it is a fair assumption that he was under

age, as he was certainly born not later than 1280. If we assume 1275 for the approximate date of John's birth, we shall see that it fits admirably with the pedigree, both up and down.

I think there can be no doubt that it was this John Saville who married Margery de Rishworth, and we can test the date suggested above by considering some Rishworth dates. Margery was one of the three daughters and coheirs of Henry de Rishworth, who were all married before 1306, when Henry himself was dead. He was, as to part of his lands, a tenant of the manor of Wakefield, and his name occurs frequently in the Court Rolls. The earliest extant date is in 1275, and the last in 1298; his widow, Alice, occurs in 1307 (*Wakefield Court Rolls*, Record Series., vol. 1, p. 108; vol. 2, pp. 48, 88). He was clearly of age in 1275, which gives 1250 as the approximate date of his birth. The three daughters who survived him (there may have been other children who died young) were therefore probably born between 1270 and 1275, or thereabouts. Having thus arrived, not by evidence, it is true, but by fair inference and deduction, that John son of Peter Saville and his wife were both born somewhere about 1275, I have used that approximate date in checking the generations, both up and down, and what follows, apart from actual evidence, is mainly based on that assumption.

The Saville and Butler charters printed in the *Pontefract Chartulary* threw a new and unsuspected light on the early Saville pedigree; the fact that the father of Richard de Saville was called Hugh the Butler (*Pincerna*) was, to say the least of it, disconcerting, and clearly called for a careful investigation. This I undertook at the request of the late Mr. J. W. Clay, F.S.A., as an introduction to his article on the Saville Family which he was preparing for the *Yorkshire Archæological Journal* (subsequently printed in vol. xxv), but I felt that a thorough investigation of the early Fines, Assize Rolls, and other records, was necessary before any satisfactory result could be attained, and the removal of these documents from London during the war delayed my researches. The absence of any family deeds adds greatly to the difficulty of arriving at a satisfactory conclusion, and there are several points in the pedigree which may have to be modified if further evidence should be discovered.

However, the result, though to some extent inconclusive, enables us to present for the first time a pedigree supported by documentary evidence.

The Pontefract documents are nearly all undated, and with a



few exceptions do not state the relationship between the various Savilles and Butlers mentioned in them. To arrange these in approximate chronological order and to affiliate the individuals with whom we are concerned, is a matter of great difficulty, and I quite recognise that others might arrive at conclusions differing from those which follow; I have given my reasons on all material points. I find myself unable to accept the late Mr. Holmes's conclusions as to dates and identifications in many cases; these, I think, are all pointed out.

The main difficulty is to settle the relationship between the Savilles and the Butlers, and to decide whether the later Savilles were descended from the Richard de Saville who tells us that his father was Hugh Butler.

The two earliest Savilles mentioned in the *Pontefract Chartulary* are Ralph and Henry.

I agree with Mr. Holmes that Ralph and Henry de Saville were probably brothers (Record Series, vol. 30, p. 401), though I do not agree that Avice de Saville, wife of Hugh Pincerna, was their sister, nor with the suggestion made in another place (*ibid.*, p. 411) that she was their cousin.

I find no trace of their father or any earlier ancestors. When they came into Yorkshire, how and why, and whence they derived their surname, are problems as to which, in the absence of evidence, we can only make guesses.

One piece of deliberate invention (for so I regard it) must be noticed before we begin the documentary evidence. The chronicle attributed to John Brompton, Abbat of Jervaulx, printed by Twysden in 1752, states (p. 1158) that Richard de Savill was one of seventeen barons at the coronation of Richard I at Westminster in September, 1189. Even if we accept as a possibility that Richard was the otherwise unnamed father of Ralph and Henry (see below), he was at best a small country squire, and certainly had no claim to attend the coronation or to be styled a baron. Sir T. D. Hardy states that Brompton's chronicle must have been compiled after the middle of the fourteenth century. The *Dictionary of National Biography* states "the work is wholly uncritical, and, having been widely accepted as authoritative by writers of past times, has been the means of importing many fables into our history." There can be little doubt that Baron Richard de Savill is one of the fables.

## SECTION II.—THE EARLY SAVILLES.

RALPH DE SAVILLE, 2.A., was probably born about 1160; there is no clue to his parentage. He made no gifts to Pontefract Priory, and his name only appears once in the Chartulary, but fortunately in a dated document.

1222.—Ralph and Henry de Saivile witnessed an agreement between the monks and Edusa de Barnsley, widow of Hugh de Baghill, being a demise of a messuage and land in Barnsley (*Pontefract Chartulary*, Record Series, vol. 30, pp. 437–8). Ralph's name is immediately before Henry's, which suggests that he was the elder brother, if brothers they were.

I have no further notes of this Ralph; he either left the neighbourhood or died soon after 1222. There is no record of any children.

HENRY DE SAVILLE, 2.B., was, I think, the brother of Ralph; there is no evidence of their parentage. Besides the charter just referred to, dated 1222, Henry witnessed a considerable number of undated documents recorded in the *Pontefract Chartulary*, though he was not himself a benefactor. These mostly relate to lands in Barnsley and Dodworth; the numbers are 267 (about 1210), 336, 347, 355, 362, 367 (before 1222), 374, 390 (about 1200 or later), 392, 456, and 522 (late twelfth or early thirteenth century); the conjectural dates are Mr. Holmes's. In Nos. 355 and 362 he is called *dominus*. His name is spelled Saivile (1), Seiwilla (1), Seville (3), Sevilla (2), Sewilla (2), and Siewilla (1).

Undated; about 1212.—Hugh Pincerna and Henry de Sewilla, probably his father-in-law (see below), witnessed a charter relating to land at the Hermitage in Crosland (Record Series, vol. 30, p. 558).

A document of great importance in settling the relationship of Henry de Saville is printed by the late Mr. S. J. Chadwick, F.S.A., in his notes on Dewsbury church (*Yorks. Arch. Journal*, vol. 20, p. 393), from Hunter's MSS. in the British Museum. Hunter states that it was "copied by N[athaniel] J[ohnston] from an original into his history of the house of Savile." The document is dated in Lent (the exact day being somewhat uncertain), 1225, by which John de Dewsbury and Odo de Richmond, parsons [rectors] of Dewsbury, in consideration of a rent of 22*d.* a year, grant to their parishioner, Henry de Seyvill, license to have a chantry in his chapel at Guthlaker [Golcar], situated in his house (*curia*), within the bounds of Dewsbury parish. Witnesses, etc. It is not stated where Johnston obtained this document, and it does not appear to be among Lord Savile's deeds; but notwithstanding this rather damaging



fact, I am inclined to accept it as genuine, for the following reasons: The three persons chiefly concerned, and also most of the witnesses, can be shown from other evidence to have been living at or about the specified date; the deed does not contain any allegation of pedigree, and therefore was not a forgery for the purpose of supporting a fictitious descent, as is sometimes found.

The importance of the document in the present inquiry lies in the mention of the *curia* at Golcar. *Curia* is a word with many shades of meaning, but here, I think, it means a house with a court attached to or held in it, that is, a manor house, a view supported by the fact that the house was of sufficient size and importance to have a chapel. I infer, therefore, that Henry de Saville was at that date lord of the manor of Golcar. Now we shall see presently that in 1286 Peter de Seyville was lord of the manor of Golcar, so that we have at once a reasonable ground for concluding that Peter was either a direct or collateral descendant of Henry. Foster's pedigree states that Henry had a son Thomas, who had a son John, who was the father of Peter.

I find no trace of any Thomas son of Henry, but John son of Henry was in all probability Peter's grandfather.

1226, Octave of St. Andrew, 11 Hen. III.—Fine between Robert son of Henry, by Henry de Seiville, plaintiff, and Walter de Went and Alice his wife, deforciant, of  $\frac{1}{3}$  of 2 bovates of land in Thórpe,<sup>1</sup> whereof there had been an assize of *mort d'ancestor*. The meadow of Hulm is mentioned (Feet of Fines, Yorks., Hen. III, file 18, no. 18).

Undated.—Henry de Seville witnessed a charter of Avice daughter of Laurence the Clerk of Darrington, relating to lands at Darrington (Record Series, vol. 25, p. 297). Mr. Holmes dates this as about 1239; I think this is too late, for there is some reason to suppose that Henry was dead in 1231 (see below, John, 3.C.).

The subsequent pedigree turns largely on the question of Henry's wife or wives and children. The old pedigrees state that he married Agnes, daughter and heir of John Golcar, and that he had two sons, Thomas of Newstead and Baldwin. I have found no trace of any Thomas at this time; some notes as to Baldwin will be found below, but I have no evidence as to his parentage.

I can only explain the later facts as to the various properties on the assumption that Henry was twice married, and that the Golcar property did in fact come to him by marriage. The only property that apparently belonged to these early Savilles, apart from Golcar,

<sup>1</sup> Probably Thorpe Audlin, near Pontefract.

was at Silkston, Dodworth and Barnsley, and perhaps Thurlston, all of which can be traced in the descendants of Henry in the male line. Golcar was also owned by Peter de Saville in 1286 (see below), but it was held, as to three-fourths of it, from the heir of Richard Butler, who was a descendant of Hugh Pincerna and Avice de Saville. Now this Avice was, in my opinion, certainly a daughter of Henry, and not a sister, as Holmes suggested; how comes it then that the descendant of Henry's son held Golcar of the descendant of Henry's daughter? There can, I think, be but one answer: Avice must have been the daughter and heir of Henry's first wife, to whom the Golcar property belonged, while John de Saville, Henry's son and heir, must have been by a second wife. The original Butler property was at Armthorpe, Skelbrook, Scawsby, and elsewhere in the neighbourhood of Doncaster; Golcar, being near Huddersfield, was much nearer to the Saville property than to the Butler property, and Avice de Saville and her husband may well have settled Golcar on her half-brother and his heirs to hold of herself and her heirs. This is a guess, pure and simple, there is no evidence whatever of such a grant, but it is the only suggestion I can make which explains the situation.

On this supposition Henry de Saville was twice married, his first wife being the heiress of Golcar, whether or no she was Agnes daughter and heir of John Golcar, as the old pedigrees allege. Avice, wife of Hugh Pincerna, was apparently the sole issue of this marriage. See Section III, The Butlers.

Of the supposed second wife I have no information; her children I take to have been John and Ralph; Ralph was probably the elder son.

RALPH DE SAVILLE, 3.B., was probably the eldest son of Henry, 2.B., by his supposed second wife (see above). There is no evidence of any wife or children. If he were in fact the eldest son he must have died without issue.

1216.—Dodsworth notes a charter, "out of the chest of Roche Abbay in St. Marye's Tower in York," by Adam de St. Maria, relating to lands in Swinton and Rawmarsh, dated 18 John, 1216, and attested by Ralph de Sayvile (Dodsworth MS. 117, fo. 17 b).

Undated; about 1230.—Grant by Robert son of Robert de Stubbes to Ralph son of Henry de Sayvile of all his land in Little Smeaton, etc. Witnesses, (*inter alios*) John de Sayvile (Lord Savile's deeds, Record Series, vol. 50, p. 173). Three other witnesses, William de Bretton, Adam de Mirfield, and Jordan de Heton, witnessed the grant to John de Sayvile, 1244-47 (see below).



Sir JOHN DE SAVILLE, 3.C., was the son of Henry, 2.B., and was probably born about 1200. Mr. Holmes thought that he was the second son of Hugh Butler and Avice de Saville, but this is clearly a mistake.

John de Saville witnessed several undated charters in the *Pontefract Chartulary*, viz., Nos. 346 (p. 442), 388 (p. 470), as John de Seville or Seivile, and as Sir John de Saivile (Seville), Nos. 363 (p. 452), 364 (p. 453), and 376 (p. 461), to none of which does Mr. Holmes assign a conjectural date.

Undated.—John de Seivile witnessed the grant by Avice de Seyvile to her son William, of lands at Bolhach in Silkston (*post*, The Butlers). He subsequently had a grant from William of the same property. The date of these documents is probably between 1240 and 1246.

Undated.—Sir John de Seyvile and Walter de Seyvile witnessed a charter of John son of Elias de Bulehul, relating to land in Bilcliffe, near Penistone (Lord Savile's deeds, Record Series, vol. 50, p. 38).

Undated.—A rent of 4*d.* due to John de Seyvil from lands in Bullhouse [in Thurlston, near Barnsley] is mentioned in a charter of John son of Robert de Farnley (Lord Savile's deeds, Record Series, vol. 50, p. 53).

Undated; about 1230.—John de Sayvill witnessed a grant of land in Little Smeaton to his brother Ralph (see above).

1231, Trinity Term.—A day is given to John de Seyville, plaintiff, and John de Midhope, to hear judgment in a plea of warranty of charter relating to the tithes of a certain mill, in one month of Michaelmas at Westminster, or in the counties of Nottingham, Derby or Leicester, if the justices shall go there (Assize Roll 1042, m. 26*d.*). The locality of the mill is not mentioned. Apparently Henry de Saville and his (? eldest) son Ralph were both dead.

1242, September 4.—Bordeaux. John de Seyvylla had letters of protection (Patent Rolls, 26–7 Hen. III, m. 8).

1242–3.—Lacy Fee. “Seyvill, the third part of a fee.” This is the entry printed, without date, in the 1807 edition of the *Testa de Nevill* (pp. 365, 367). The date is supplied in the new edition (Part II, p. 1103). The Christian name appears to be omitted, and I see no reason to doubt that Sir John is the person referred to. No place is mentioned.

1243–4, January.—John de Seyvile was a juror on an inquisition as to the lands of Ralph de Fetherstan (Record Series, vol. 12, p. 2).

Undated; 1244–47.—Confirmation by Roger de Quency, Earl of Winchester and Constable of Scotland, of a grant by Simon

Scorcheboef, to Sir John de Sayvile of lands in the vill and common fields of Smidhetone [Kirk Smeaton], at a yearly rent of some iron spurs or 3*d.* at Easter for all service; for which grant John gave him [? Simon] 43 marks of silver. Witnesses to the grant, Alan de Farnham, then Sheriff of Oxfordshire, Walter de Sayvile, [and others]. Witnesses to the confirmation, Sir William Mauduite, [and others] (Lord Savile's deeds, Record Series, vol. 50, p. 173). Alan de Farnham was sheriff from 1244 to 1247.

1246, Easter Term.—Henry son of Adam claimed against John de Seyville 40 acres of land in Aldeham and Smithele,<sup>1</sup> as his right. John said he ought not to answer because the complaint was never made in the County Court (?; *loquela ista nunquam fuit in Com'*), and the writ speaks of 60 acres, whereas he now only claims 40 acres. John goes without day, and Henry is in mercy (Assize Roll 1045, m. 24).

John de Sayville, juror, *re* claim to land in Wintewurth (*ibid.*, m. 25).

1246, Easter Term.—Assize whether Adam de Holaund had unjustly raised a foss in Thurueleston [Thurlston] to the damage of the free tenement of John de Seville there. The jury found for the plaintiff; the foss was ordered to be pulled down (*prosternatur*) (Assize Roll 1045, m. 46*d.*).

There is no clear evidence of the date of Sir John's death, and, as his eldest son was also named John, there is a doubt whether certain later notes refer to the father or the son. Sir John probably died in 1250 or earlier; Agnes de Saville claimed dower in 1250, and she was alleged to be responsible in December, 1250, for a trespass committed by her sons (see below). She was probably Sir John's widow. There is no clue to her parentage.

Their children were John, William, and Walter.

JOHN DE SAVILLE, 4.A., was, there can be little doubt, the son and heir of Sir John, 3.C., though the fact is nowhere stated in terms. He is the first to be mentioned in the *Genealogia Savilorum* (Harl. MS. 4630, "copied out of an old MS."). He is there stated to have had two brothers, Walter and William, which seems to identify him as the son of Sir John, 3.C. He is also said to have married . . . . . "*filiam et heredem de Gothlaker*," which apparently confuses him with his grandfather, and to have been "*dominum de Savile Hall circa annum 30 Henrici III in Anno Domini 1245*," which I believe to be an error.

1250, December 7.—Order to Geoffrey de Langley, the justice of

<sup>1</sup> Oldham and Smidley are in Wombwell.



the Forest, to postpone until the Purification next the distraint to be made on Agnes de Seville for a trespass which her sons had made in Peak Forest (*Close Roll Cal.*, p. 388).

1250-1, February 7.—John de Seyville and William and Walter, his brothers, were pardoned all trespasses charged against them before Geoffrey de Langley in the pleas of the forest in Derbyshire (*ibid.*, p. 411).

1251, Michaelmas Term.—John de Seyvill was one of four knights in an action relating to land in Pontefract (Record Series, vol. 44, p. 60).

1251, Michaelmas Term.—Agnes de Seyville complained that Robert de Thorpe had unjustly disseised her of a third of 20 acres of land in Calthoren [Cawthorne, near Barnsley]. The jury found for the defendant. Agnes is in mercy for a false claim; pledge, her son John (Assize Roll 1046, m. 11*d.*).

The one third clearly points to dower; Agnes must, I think, have been the widow of John de Saville, 3.C.

1251, Michaelmas Term.—Colin de Seyville<sup>1</sup> was summoned to answer John de Seyville in a plea that he should do the accustomed services due for the free tenement he holds of John in Calthorne, viz., 80 acres of land and a mill, by the service of yearly rents of 3*os.* 4*d.* for the land and  $\frac{1}{2}$  mark for the mill. John himself received this until 4 years ago; he claims 10*os.* damages. Colin admits the holding and the service, but he says that when John set out for a pilgrimage to the Holy Land he instructed (*assignavit*) him [Colin] to pay out of the said rents 2*os.* 3*d.* to John Haunsard, 1*os.* to John de Lungvilers, in respect of the land, and  $\frac{1}{2}$  mark to the Prior of Bowelton [Bolton] in respect of the mill. Asked if he has any document (*instrumentum*) showing this, Colin says that he has nothing except his "suit," and produces no "suit" except his own bare word (*simplex dictum*). It is therefore considered that he must henceforth pay the rents to John, and be in mercy for the unjust detention, and pay damages, taxed at [*blank*]. Pledge for the amercement, John son of Walter de Preston (Assize Roll 1046, m. 16*d.*).

1251, Michaelmas Term.—John de Seyvill was one of four knights appointed to choose a jury in an action relating to land in Briddeshal (Assize Roll 1046, m. 28).

1251-2, Hilary Term.—John de Seyvill *v.* the Prior of Pontefract, Richard de Scauceby, and Stephen the Carter, for disseising him of common of pasture in Doddewurth which belongs to his free

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Baildon thought this a clerical error; but was not Colin the same man as Nicholas 4.D.? See p. 394.

tenement there, viz., in a certain wood where he was always used to common. The Prior said that there was formerly a dispute (*contentio*) between Hugh, sometime Prior of Pontefract, and Henry de Seyville, John's father, as touching that wood, and it was agreed between them that the Prior and his successors should essart within the common of Duddewurth [*sic*] if they wished, without contradiction or impediment by Henry or his heirs, but saving to him and his heirs one-fifth part of the residue not essarted; and if the Prior or his successors made any new essart, neither Henry nor his heirs should on that account be able to make any complaint (*querela*), by a certain writing made between them, which he produced; and he said that there still remained more than one-tenth of the said pasture not yet essarted. John cannot deny this. Judgment for the Prior. John is in mercy for a false claim (Assize Roll 1046, m. 54*d.*).

This document certainly implies that the plaintiff was the son of Henry, 2.B.; I think that this is an error, and that for "Henry, John's father" we should read "Henry, John's grandfather."

1252, Martinmas.—Ralph son of Hugh de Balnia demised to John de Seyvill  $2\frac{1}{2}$  bovates of land in the field of Smitheton [Kirk Smeaton] and his rent in Skelbroke for 16 years, paying yearly 16s. Witnesses, Richard Foliot, Robert de Stapilton, Robert Butiller, Reynald Conan. In the writings of Robert Rockley of Rockley, esq. (*Yorks. Arch. Journal*, vol. 12, p. 70).

1252.—John de Seyvill held in Smetheton, for the term of 16 years, lands of Ralph son of Hugh de Balnia, and rent in Skelbroke [Will's Sayvill de eodem (*Dodsworth*)]. Witnesses, Robert Foliot, Robert Stapleton, Robert Butiler. In the writings of Robert Rockley, esq. (*Yorks. Arch. Journal*, vol. 12, p. 68). This appears to be a variant of the last note, with the curious interpolation from *Dodsworth*, which is not explained by the editor; it is probably one of *Dodsworth's* numerous cross-references to other documents, and may refer to Peter de Saville's inquisition (see below).

1267–8, Hilary Term.—John de Saiville, who brought a writ against Richard le Botiller that he should take the homage and reasonable relief from John for a tenement in Guthlacarthes [Golcar] and Duddeworth [Dodworth], does not prosecute. Therefore he and his pledges are in mercy, viz., Ralph de Mitton and William de Merston, clerk (Assize Roll 1050, m. 8).

The importance of homage and relief, as indicating a change of ownership, is very frequently overlooked. When an heir succeeded to the estate of his ancestor he had to do homage and become his lord's man (*homo*) as an acknowledgment of his tenure. "The lord



of the fee for which homage is due takes homage of every tenant as he comes to the land or fee " (Jacob's *Law Dict.*). Apparently it was only done once, and the acknowledgment implied by the doing of homage passed to an heir or grantee on any succession to or alienation of the lord's estate; hence in grants, fines, or other assurances of estates, we frequently find the clause, " together with the homage and service of " the various tenants. A relief was payable " on the taking up by the heir of his ancestor's estate " (Goodeve, *Modern Law of Real Property*, p. 21), " by way of fine for taking up the estate after feuds became hereditary " (Scriven, *Copyholds*, p. 227). Fealty was the personal pledge of fidelity from the tenant to the person of his lord, and hence could not be assigned; it was due not only on a change of tenant, but also on a change of lord. We consequently get the statement frequently in fines on an assignment by the lord that the tenant was present and did fealty to the new lord. Homage and relief are therefore positive proof of a succession, while fealty is not.

1267-8, Hilary Term.—John de Seyville who brought a writ against Baldwin de Sayville [*sic*] to give up a charter which he unjustly detains, does not prosecute. He and his pledges are in mercy, viz., Ralph de Mitton and William de Merston, clerk (Assize Roll 1050, m. 5*d.*).

1267-8, Hilary Term.—Robert de Wambewell claimed against John de Seyville 3 bovates of land in Aldham<sup>1</sup> as his right. John claimed a view, and put in his place John de Dighton. A day is given on the quindene of Michaelmas at Newcastle-on-Tyne (Assize Roll 1050, m. 73*d.*).

We shall see presently that a John de Dychton, probably the same man, married Pleasance, sister of Peter de Saville.

I have no further notes of this John; he was clearly dead in 1278.

There is no clue to his wife. His children were, Peter (see below) and two daughters, Agnes, and Pleasance wife of John de Deighton, both apparently living in 1286 and mentioned in Peter's inquisition. The *Genealogia Savilorum* gives these children, and two other sons in addition, Robert and Baldwin. I have no notes as to Robert; Baldwin will be found below. Ralph, mentioned in 1302 (John, 6.A.), may have been another son.

WILLIAM DE SAVILLE, 4.B., was a younger son of Sir John, 3.C. He is apparently the William mentioned in the rather puzzling parenthesis in a document of 1252 (see above, John, 3.C.), and he had a

<sup>1</sup> See above, 1246, John, 3.C.

lease of land in Smeaton from his nephew, Peter, for 14 years, of which seven had expired in 1286 (see below, Peter, 5.A.).

1250-1.—See above, John, 3.C.

1264, November 20.—William de Sayvile was a juror at an extent of the manor of Elmsall (Record Series, vol. 12, p. 99).

1266, Easter.—John de Scaldewell [*sic*] abandoned his assize of *mort d'ancestor* against William de Seyville concerning a messuage and 3 acres of land in Scadewell [Shadwell] (Assize Roll 1194, m. 8*d.*).

WALTER DE SAVILLE, 4.C., was a younger son of John, 3.C. He is mentioned with his two brothers, John and William, in 1250-1 (see above, John, 3.C.). He occurs as a witness to an undated charter to which Sir John de Saville was also a witness, and also as a witness to a grant to Sir John himself, the date of which can be fixed approximately as between 1244 and 1247 (see above, John, 3.C.).

1246, Easter Term.—Walter de Saiville of Guthlacarges [Golcar] was a pledge for Modesta [*sic*] who claimed dower in Pocklington and abandoned her writ (Assize Roll 1045, East. 30 Hen. III, m. 31).

1251, Michaelmas Term.—William son of William discontinued his assize of *mort d'ancestor* against Walter de Seyvill touching 6*d.* rent in Thurleston; he and his pledges are in mercy, viz., William de Deneby and John de Ulfley (Assize Roll 1046, m. 21).

1268.—Staincross Wapentake. Walter de Sayville appealed Robert son of Henry de Bolehuses and John de Billeclif of blows and breach of the peace, and Henry of ordering and sending them (*de missione et precepto*). He did not come, and was amerced; pledges, Gilbert son of Henry de Calthorn and Adam son of Hugh de Wyggeflask (Assize Roll 1051, m. 10*d.*).

He had a son John, who was living in 1303; see below.

NICHOLAS DE SAVILLE, 4.D.

1251-2.—Nicholas de Seyville,  $\frac{1}{2}$  mark for an unjust detention; pledge, John son of Walter de Preston. Fines of the County of York, in the eyre of Silvester, Bishop of Carlisle, R. de Thurkelby, and their Fellows (Assize Roll, 1047, m. 22).

BALDWIN DE SAVILLE, 4.E., is stated in the old pedigrees to have been a son of Henry (see above, Henry, 2.B.). The dates show this to be incorrect, for Henry must have been born well back in the twelfth century, probably not much later than 1160, while Baldwin was living in 1309. The *Genealogia Savilorum* states that he was a brother of Peter and son of John, 4.A. This seems to me equally impossible, and it will be noticed that when this John sued Baldwin in 1267-8 (see above), he does not call him his son. He was probably a brother, and perhaps a younger son of John, 3.C.



The earliest note I have of him is in 1267-8 (see above, John, 4.A.), and the next in 1274, when he was a surety for Thomas de Burg and John de Caylly (*Wakefield Court Rolls*, Record Series, vol. 52, p. 83). He cannot have been much, if any, under 40 at this time, and was probably older, since his son William appeared in place of his father in 1275 (*ibid.*, p. 102), and William, if not actually of age, cannot have been far short.

He occurs fairly frequently in the Wakefield Rolls between 1275 and 1309,<sup>1</sup> sometimes as a juror or a surety, but more often as essoining for non-attendance, when, as a rule, one of his sons appeared for him.

1279.—Pleas of the Crown. The jury found that Alexander Lucas, Steward of the Earl of Warenne in the Court of Wakefield, had been taking improper amercements in the case of essoins, and that in this way he had taken (*inter alia*)  $\frac{1}{2}$  mark from Baldewin de Seyville (Assize Roll 1057, m. 15; 1064, m. 13*d.*).

1279, July 7.—Baldwin de Sayvile witnessed a charter relating to land in Norland in the parish of Halifax (Record Series, vol. 39, p. 125).

1293, Trinity Term.—John son of Matthew de Doddesworth, cutting down a tree in the wood of Baldwin de Seville with an axe, was crushed by it, and died immediately. Verdict, death by misadventure. The tree and the axe, worth 4*d.*, are forfeited as deodands (Assize Roll 1098, m. 33).

He was living in July, 1309, when he essoined at the Wakefield Court by Hugh de Seyville, his attorney (Record Series, vol. 36, p. 220), and in September, 1309, when he was fined 6*d.* for default (*ibid.*), and died before Trinity, 1311 (see below, Thomas, 5.C.).

There is no clue to Baldwin's wife. He had five sons, William, John, Thomas, Hugh, and Henry. Beyond the dates at which they first appear, there are no means of ascertaining their respective seniorities, but Thomas, although he does not occur so early as the two first-named, appears to have succeeded to Baldwin's property.

PETER DE SAVILLE, 5.A., son of John, 4.A., was probably born about 1250; he was clearly of age in 1278, or thereabouts, when he granted a lease of land in Skelbrook (see below). Hunter distinctly states that he was son of Sir John, 3.C., but, as stated above, I think that Hunter has omitted a generation. Peter's father was certainly named John; see below, John, 6.A., 1302.

<sup>1</sup> This is the latest entry of Baldwin in the Wakefield Rolls (Record Series, vol. 36, p. 227).

“ The first person who can with any certainty be shown to have been an ancestor of the noble house of Savile is a Sir John Savile, father of Peter, of whom there is an inquisition of 14 Edw. I while he was still living. He [Peter] held Golcar, Skelbrooke, Smeaton, Thurlston, or lands at those places; and there can hardly be a doubt that he was in direct descent from a Henry de Savile, who owned Golcar in 1225, in which year he had a grant from the two rectors of Dewsbury, of a chapel in his mansion there. The probability is that he [Henry] was the father of Sir John; but there is not, I believe, evidence to prove that he was so ” (*South Yorkshire*, vol. 2, p. 260). As will be seen above, this descent is now proved.

1277–8, Hilary.—Peter de Seyville complained of Master Robert de Kirkesmetheton [Kirk Smeaton] and Alan de Kirkesmetheton, for disseisin of his tenement in Scelbrock; adjourned for default of the jury (Assize Roll 1238, m. 6). The plaintiff craved leave to withdraw his writ in Trinity Term, 1278 (*ibid.*, m. 16).

Sometime in the summer of 1286 the Escheator held an inquiry as to the mental condition of Peter de Seyville; as there is a full translation in vol. 23 of the Record Series, p. 51, it is only necessary to call attention here to the material points. Peter became mentally incapable of managing his own affairs between 1279, when he was sane, and 1282, when he was insane. He held the manor of Golcar, as to three-fourths of the heir of Richard le Botiler of Sandal, and as to one-fourth of Sir John de Heton, by the service of 3*d.* yearly; four years before, i.e., about 1282, he gave a mill there to his sister, Agnes de Seyville. He also held 3½ bovates of land in Skelbrooke of Sir Ranulf de Blamustre, by the service of 10*s.* a year; this he demised to Robert son of Stephen de Kirby, about 1278, for a term of 20 years. He also held a messuage and 4 bovates of land in Smeaton of the Earl of Lincoln, by the service of suit of court at Pontefract; he demised the land to William de Seyville, his uncle, about 1279, for a term of 14 years. He also held a rent of 42*s.* in Thurlston and land worth 60*s.* a year in Aldham<sup>1</sup> held of the heir of John de Hoderode and the heir of Roger de Wombwell respectively. Peter's sister, Pleasance, wife of John de Dychton, is mentioned. The two important facts here are the holdings in Golcar and Skelbrooke, and the reference to Richard Butler in connection with the former place. The King had previously ordered the custody of Peter's body, lands, etc., to be committed to Peter de Eton [Heaton], his near relative (Fine Roll, 14 Edw. I, m. 2; Record Series, vol. 23, p. 51).

<sup>1</sup> Oldham, in Wombwell.



1286, Oct. 23.—Pursuant to an inquisition showing that Peter de Seyville is mad, the Escheator is ordered to deliver to John de Eton, Peter's near kinsman, the custody of his body, land and chattels, taking good security for proper maintenance (*Fine Roll Cal.*, p. 230).

Undated; after 1286.—Hugh son of Richard le Butler of Sandal gave to John de Heton, knt., the homage and service of Peter de Sayvilla and his heirs, viz., of three parts [i.e., fourths] of the ville of Goulacres [Golcar], with wardships, reliefs, etc., which in any way could belong to the grantor and his heirs. Witnesses, John de [sic] Tyes, John Sotehill, William le Fleming, Hugh de Swillington, William de Bellomonte, John his brother, John de Quarmby and John de Dighton (Dodsworth MS. 117, fo. 122, in the collections of John Hanson; *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, vol. 7, p. 262; Harl. MS. 4630, s.n. Saville).

1302, Thursday before St. Dunstan (probably the Deposition, May 19), 30 Edward I.—Peter de Seyville discontinued his assize of novel disseisin against Roger son of Thomas de la Wodehalle concerning a tenement in Wyrkeburg [Worsborough]. He and his pledges were in mercy, viz., John Fleming of Walton and Thomas de Bosville (Assize Roll 1294, m. 6*d.*).

Peter is not stated to be suing by his guardian, so it may be presumed that he had recovered.

1302–3, Hilary Term.—Agnes widow of Nicholas le Cordwaner of York sued Peter de Sayvill, John son of Walter de Sayvill, and others, for debt (De Banco, Hil. 31 Edw. I, m. 84).

Peter was dead in 1308, leaving a widow, Maude, and at least one child, his heir, John. He certainly had other children, since the writ made in connection with the lunacy proceedings of 1286, and dated May 18 in that year, directs that Peter and his wife and children are to be well and honourably supported out of the issues of his lands and tenements (Record Series, vol. 23, p. 53*n.*).

1308, May 31, etc.—Elcok de Lynthayt, charged with seizing the cattle of Maude widow of Peter de Seyville and driving them from the Earl of Warenne's fee to the Earl of Lincoln's fee, admits it, and is amerced 3*s.* 4*d.* The cattle were seized at Quarmby, and driven to Almondbury. Thomas son of Christiana de Lynthayt, John de Lynthayt, and John son of Adam de Locwode, were also charged with the same offence; the latter was said to be the instigator (*Wakefield Court Rolls*, Record Series, vol. 36, pp. 152, 158, 160, 165).

JOHN DE SAVILLE, 5.B., was the son of Walter, 4.C. He occurs in 1302-3 (see above, Peter, 5.A.).

THOMAS DE SAVILLE, 5.C., was the son of Baldwin, 4.E. He does not occur in any of the Wakefield entries relating to his father. His brothers, William and John, appear considerably earlier than Thomas does, nevertheless Thomas was much the most important of Baldwin's sons and may have been the eldest son; he certainly appears to have succeeded to Baldwin's property.

Undated.—Thomas de Seyvile witnessed a grant by Robert son of John de Wambewell to Baldwin del Hill of land in Thurlston (P.R.O., *Ancient Deeds*, vol. 2, p. 504, no. C. 2294).

Undated.—Thomas de Sayvill witnessed a charter of Adam de Pontefract of Mirfield to Sir John de Heton, relating to lands in Mirfield and Hopton (MSS. of Col. Gascoigne, Record Series, vol. 39, p. 117).

1293, Trinity Term.—Thomas de Sayvile was one of the jurors for Staincross Wapentake (Assize Roll 1098, Trin. 21 Edw. I, m. 108).

1299.—Thomas de Sayvyle or Sayville was a juror on two inquisitions (Record Series, vol. 31, pp. 103, 138).

1305, Easter.—A jury of Staincross Wapentake presented that Thomas de Seyville led (*duxit*) the men of Hallumscire with arms, at Barnsley, to fight Ralph del Haye, and at West Bretton tried to beat Thomas son of Erkyn in his own house; also that he received and maintains Thomas Skyreloke, and others unknown, who beat and wounded Matthew del Mersk and Robert his brother. Thomas pleaded not guilty, and as no one appeared to prosecute, he was dismissed *quietus* (Assize Roll 1107, m. 3*d*.).

Ralph del Haye was charged with having men at Barnsley to lie in wait for Thomas de Seyville and beat him. No one appeared to prosecute (*ibid.*, m. 7).

1309, Michaelmas.—See below, John, 6.A.

1309, April 28.—Thomas de Sceayvile witnessed a charter relating to land at Worsborough (Record Series, vol. 39, p. 184).

1311.—I, Thomas de Savile, have granted to Sir Thomas de Mounteney and Constance his wife my manor in the vill of Dodworth which is called Seyvile Hall, together with all my lands in Staynburgh, and a yearly rent of 2s. in the vill of Coldwell,<sup>1</sup> which I had of the gift of Baldwin my father. Dated at Seyvill Hall, the morrow of Holy Trinity, 4 Edward II (Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, vol. 2, p. 260, from Dodsworth MS. 113, p. 201).

<sup>1</sup> [Mr. Baildon has elsewhere a pencil note, "Probably the farm in Austonley now known as Callwell."]



1313, Easter Term.—Adam son of John de Everyngham, by William de Tynton, his guardian, claimed a messuage and land in Staynburgh from Thomas de Sayvill (De Banco, East. 6 Edw. II, m. 181*d.*; Hil. 7 Edw. II, m. 150).

1313, Dec.—Thomas de Seyville essoined at Wakefield Court by William de Seyville (Record Series, vol. 57, p. 19). There are many entries relating to him in this volume, but mostly of minor importance.

1314 and 1323.—Thomas de Sayvile witnessed two charters relating to land in Dewsbury (Record Series, vol. 39, pp. 59, 60).

1315-6, Feb.—Thomas de Seyville was pardoned for not attending the Wakefield Court, because he was on the King's service (Record Series, vol. 57, p. 100).

His last appearances, so far as the Wakefield rolls are printed, are in 1316, when in August he sued Master Philip le Waleys on an agreement, and was a surety in September (Record Series, vol. 57, p. 157).

1319, April 14.—Inquisition taken after the death of Margaret de Nevill. Wapentake of Stayncliff. Heton<sup>1</sup>; 3 car. of land held by Thomas (?) de Seyvil by knight's service (Inq. post mortem, Chancery, Edw. II, file 62).

1325, June 4.—Thomas Sayvill was a juror at the inquisition taken as to the gift by Adam de Brom and William de Herlaston of the advowson of Aberford church to the Scholars of the House of St. Mary [Oriental College], Oxford (Inq. ad quod damnum, file 174, no. 16).

1332, Nov. 4.—Thomas Savill was a juror at the inquisition taken as to Adam de Batelay's foundation of a chantry in Batley church (Inq. ad quod damnum, file 221, no. 15).

It is possible that some of these notes relate to another Thomas, but I have no evidence of any other.

There is no evidence of any wife or children.

WILLIAM DE SAVILLE, 5.D., son of Baldwin, 4.E. He appeared at the Wakefield Court for his father in 1275, and was then presumably of age or very nearly so (Record Series, vol. 29, p. 102).

Undated.—William de Sayvil witnessed a grant by Robert de Hoderod to Baldwin del Hill and Margery his wife of land in Thurleston, etc. (P.R.O., *Ancient Deeds*, vol. 2, p. 465, no. C. 1941).

1290.—William de Sayville was a juror on an inquisition relating to the endowment of Rothwell Chapel (Record Series, vol. 23, p. 115).

1313, Dec.—Thomas de Seyville essoined by William de Seyville at the Wakefield Court (*ibid.*, vol. 57, p. 19).

<sup>1</sup> Hetton, near Gargrave.

JOHN DE SAVILLE, 5.E., son of Baldwin, 4.E. He appeared at the Wakefield Court for his father in 1285 (Record Series, vol. 29, p. 194), and again in 1297 (*ibid.*, vol. 36, p. 17).

The only other entry relating to him in the Wakefield Rolls, so far as they are printed, is in 1316, when he was fined 12*d.* for not attending (*ibid.*, vol. 57, p. 120).

HUGH DE SAVILLE, 5.F., son of Baldwin, 4.E., first appears in 1293.

1293, Trinity Term.—Morley Wapentake. Robert son of Peter de Osseut [Ossett] fell from a cart in the field of Sothill, and died immediately. Hugh son of Baldwin de Seyville was attached because he was present; but has not come. He is not suspected, nor anyone else. Judgment, misadventure. Price of the cart, 2 horses, and 2 thraves (*traves*) of oats, 7*s.* Hugh was attached by John son of Henry de Dewesbery and Henry son of Jul[iana] of the same (Assize Roll 1098, Trin. 21 Edw. I, m. 25*d.*).

He appeared at the Wakefield Court for his father in 1297 (Record Series, vol. 29, p. 259), and as attorney of Baldwin de Seyville in 1309 (*ibid.*, vol. 36, p. 220). The only other entry relating to him in the Wakefield Rolls, so far as they are printed, is in 1316, when he was fined 2*d.* for not attending (*ibid.*, vol. 57, p. 131).

HENRY DE SAVILLE, 5.G., son of Baldwin, 4.E. He only occurs once in the Wakefield Rolls, in 1306, when Joan daughter of Walter de Heton sued Henry son of Baldwin de Sayville for trespass (Record Series, vol. 39, p. 60).

1316, Michaelmas Term.—Fine between Edmund de Dronfeld, plaintiff, and Henry le [*sic*] Seyvill and Amabel his wife, deforciant, of 2 messuages, 45 acres of land, 1 acre of meadow and 1 acre of wood in Westbretton; release by Henry and Amabel, for themselves and the heirs of Henry, to Edmund and his heirs (Feet of Fines, case 270, file 90, no. 1).

JOHN DE SAVILLE, 6.A., son and heir of Peter, 5.A., was born about 1275. We are now getting on to sure ground, since he is certainly the John who married Margery de Rishworth. It seems equally clear that he was not the father of Sir John who married Isabel de Elland and was Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1380, 1383 and 1388, and who died in 1399, as stated in Foster's pedigree.

Undated.—John de Savile witnessed a deed of Amabel widow of Sir John de Beaumont, relating to land in Huddersfield (*Yorks. Arch. Journal*, vol. 7, p. 275). At the foot of this document, as printed, is added this note: "This deed tied to y<sup>e</sup> former Deed (before 1297)." Whether the date in brackets is part of Dodsworth's



original note or was added by Mr. A. S. Ellis, who edited the series, does not appear, but in either case it is misleading, since the former deed is itself undated, and is only conjecturally ascribed to “*circa* 1297.”

1300, Michaelmas Term.—John son of Peter de Seyville complained of William, Prior of Pontefract, and Walter de Sutton, his bailiff, for distraining him to do suit at the Prior’s court of Berneslay [Barnsley], which he was not bound to do; he said that he held of the Prior a house and a carucate of land in Dodesworth [Dodworth] by fealty and the service of 10s. a year, and he was not bound to do any other service, and that on the quindene of Michaelmas this year he delivered to the said Prior at Berneslay a prohibition from the King to the effect that he was not to distrain the plaintiff; notwithstanding this, the Prior did distrain him to do service at his court of Berneslay from three weeks to three weeks; he claimed £20 damages. The Prior said that the writ was founded on the Statute of Marleberge, and he claimed judgment, because in the Statute it said “except where he or his ancestors had been accustomed to do service before the first crossing of Henry the King’s father into Brittany,” whereas in the writ it said “into Gascony.” Judgment for the defendant on account of this variation (De Banco, Mich. 28 Edw. I, m. 179*d.*; Hil. 29 Edw. I, m. 33*d.*; Record Series, vol. 17, p. 168; *South Yorkshire*, vol. 2, p. 261).

This note probably gives the approximate date of John’s marriage. His father was still alive, and the property at Dodworth, and that at Worsbrough mentioned in the next note, were, I feel little doubt, settled on John on the occasion of his marriage.

1300–1, Hilary Term.—John son of Peter de Seyville claimed against Roger Fitz-Thomas (*filius Thome*) 10 acres of land and 2 acres of wood in Wyrkesburgh [Worsbrough] as his right (De Banco, Hil. 29 Edw. I, m. 33; Hil. 30 Edw. I (1302), m. 54*d.*).

1301–2, Hilary Term.—John son of Peter de Sayville *v.* Elias de Smytheton of Askerne claimed 20 acres of land, 12 acres of wood,  $\frac{1}{2}$  acre of meadow and  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a messuage in Calthorn [Cawthorne, near Barnsley] and other smaller properties there against five other defendants. The property was taken into the King’s hands for default of appearance (De Banco, Hil. 30 Edw. I, m. 54*d.*, 225; Trin. 30 Edw. I, m. 21*d.*). In Michaelmas Term, 1302, the defendants appeared, and John said that they had no entry in the property except after a demise made by John de Sayville, his grandfather (whose heir he is), to Ralph de Sayville, for a term which has expired. The defendants said that other persons, not named in

the writ, were interested. Let them be summoned (De Banco, Mich. 30-31 Edw. I, m. 45*d.*).

1303, Michaelmas.—John son of Peter de Seyville sued William, Prior of Pontefract, complaining that, whereas it was unlawful for anyone to distrain a tenant to do suit of court unless so bound by his feoffment, or he or his ancestors holding that tenement had been wont to do so before the first crossing of Henry III into Brittany, nevertheless the Prior had distrained John to do suit at his court of Bernesley [Barnsley]. The Prior did not appear, and the Sheriff was ordered to attach him to be at Westminster on the quindene of Hilary (De Banco, Mich. 31-32 Edw. I, m. 145*d.*).

1306, Saturday, Eve of the close of Easter, 34 Edward I.—John de Sayvile witnessed an agreement between Thomas son of Sir John de Heton and Adam de Pontefracto of Mirfield, relating to lands in Mirfield (MSS. of Col. Gascoigne).

1306, 34 Edward I.—Hugh son of John de Eland released to Thomas de Langfield and Ellen his wife, Jordan de Insula and Isabel his wife, and John de Sayvile and Margery his wife, daughters and heirs of Henry de Rishworth, the rent of 10 marks for the moiety of the vill of Barksland (Harley MS. 797, fo. 6 (Dodsworth's Yorkshire Notes); Watson, *Halifax*, p. 85).

This document establishes the fact as to the three daughters and coheirs of Henry de Rishworth. Thomas and Ellen de Langfield seem to have been dead in Michaelmas Term, 1322.

1309, Michaelmas Term.—John de Sayville complained of Robert, Prior of Pontefract, that,—whereas it is provided by the common counsel of the realm that none should be distrained to do suit of court, unless bound to do so by the terms of their feoffments or unless they or their ancestors had done so before the first passage of Henry III into Brittany—the Prior had distrained John to do suit of court at Barnsley; John holds 2 messuages, 112 acres of land, 8 acres of meadow, and 20 acres of wood in Dodworth, by homage, fealty and the service of 17*s.* 6*d.* a year for all service, nevertheless the Prior had distrained him to do suit at the said court, notwithstanding that he, John, had on the Thursday after Michaelmas, 2 Edw. II [1308], at Barnsley, in the presence of Robert de Boseville, Thomas de Sayville, Robert de Barneby, and others, delivered a royal prohibition to the Prior; he claims £20 damages. The Prior says that John's ancestors were wont to do suit for the said tenements at the Prior's court at Pontefract, before the time limited in the writ, until [blank], Prior of Pontefract, at the request of [blank], John's ancestor, granted that suit might be done at



Barnsley instead, because Barnsley was nearer than Pontefract to those tenements. John denied this. Jury on this issue in 3 weeks of Easter (De Banco, Mich. 3 Edw. II, m. 316).

1319, Michaelmas Term.—Fine between William son of Alan de Smetheton, plaintiff, and John de Seyville, deforciant, of 4 tofts, 60 acres of land, and 4s. rent in Skelbroke, to hold to William and his heirs (Feet of Fines, case 271, file 93, no. 41).

1319, Michaelmas Term.—Fine between John de Sayville and Margery his wife, plaintiffs, and Jordan son of Jordan de Insula and Isabel his wife, deforciant, of 27s. rent in Barksland, Bothamley and Northland, and of  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the manor of Risshe worth, which Alice, widow of Henry de Risshe worth, holds for life of the inheritance of Isabel. To hold (subject to the life interest) to John and Margery and the heirs of John. Warranty against the heirs of Isabel. Alice was present and did fealty to John and Margery (Feet of Fines, case 271, file 93, no. 42).

Isabel de Insula and Margery de Saville were two of the three coheirs of Henry de Rishworth.

1319, Michaelmas Term.—Fine between John de Sayville and Margery his wife, by Joricius de Clementhorpe put in Margery's place, plaintiffs, and Jordan de Insula and Isabel his wife, deforciant, of  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the manors of Risshe ton [*sc.* Rishworth], Barkeland [*sic*], Northland and Wyllays, and of  $\frac{1}{9}$  of the manor of Skyr cote, which John admits to be the right of Isabel. Jordan and Isabel grant, for themselves and the heirs of Isabel, that the third parts of the manors of Northland and Wyllays, and the said ninth part, which Alice, widow of Henry de Risshe worth, holds in dower of Isabel's inheritance, and also the said third parts of the manors of Risshe ton [*sic*] and Barkeland, which the said Alice holds for life by demise of Jordan and Isabel, shall after Alice's death remain to John and Margery for their lives, to hold of the chief lords, and after their deaths shall remain to Henry, their son, and his heirs. Warranty by Jordan and Isabel for themselves and the heirs of Isabel. Alice was present and consenting, and did fealty to John and Margery (Feet of Fines, case 271, file 93, no. 48).

1327.—Pardon to John de Sayvill for the death of Robert de Baldok (Patent Roll, 1 Edw. III, part 1, m. 10).

1328-9.—Court held at Wakefield, 2 Edward III. Order to distrain John de Savile to do suit of court for tenements in Rishworth late belonging to Henry de Rishworth (Dodsworth MS. 117, fo. 149).

1330, Easter Term.—The King *v.* John de Seyville, to permit

him to present a parson to the church of Smetheton, which is vacant, the gift belonging to the King by reason of the wardship (*custodia*) of the purparty of John de Camoys and Margaret his wife, one of the sisters and heirs of Richard Foliot, deceased (who held of King Edward, the King's father, in chief), in the lands and tenements of the said Richard. The King, by Adam de Fincham, said that Jordan Foliot was seised of the advowson, and presented one William de Smetheton in the time of Edward I, who was admitted and instituted, and by whose death the church is now vacant. From Jordan the right descended to Richard, as son and heir, and from Richard to Richard, as son and heir, and from him, who died without heir descended of himself, to Margery and Margaret, as sisters and heirs; Margaret is wife of John de Camoys and is within age and in ward to the King; the said advowson belongs to her share, by consent of Hugh de Hastynges, and Margery his wife, the other sister and coheir. John de Seyville has unjustly impeded the King in the presentation, to his damage of 1,000 marks. The defendant, by Robert de Clayton, admits the facts as stated. Judgment that the King do recover, and that John be in mercy for the unjust detention. Let there be a writ of *non obstante* to the Archbishop of York to admit a parson on the King's presentation (Coram Rege, East. 4 Edw. III, m. 16 Rex).

John was probably dead in 1336, when a John de Sayvill, no doubt his son, did homage (see below). His wife was Margery, daughter and coheiress of Henry de Rishworth. Their children were:

John; see below.

Henry; see below.

? William, Rector of High Hoyland, 1348; see below.

It was originally my intention to stop at this point, having brought the pedigree down to John Saville, husband of Margery Rishworth, with whom Mr. Clay's account begins. I decided, however, to continue so as to include the five successive Johns who headed the family during the whole of the fourteenth century, in the hope of settling their various dates. This has proved a matter of great difficulty in the absence of any inquisitions post mortem, while the fact that the first two Johns each had a wife named Margery, and the last three Johns each had a wife named Isabel, is a serious complication. There are no administrations, and only one will, which mentions neither wife nor children, and is therefore of very little assistance.

JOHN DE SAVILLE, 7.A., eldest son of John, 6.A., was probably



born soon after 1300. The *Genealogia Savilorum*, copied in Harley MS. 4630, "from an old MS.," states that he married Joan daughter of Matthew de Bosco, and had issue John, who married the daughter and heir of Thomas de Eland, and Margaret, Prioress of Kirklees. Foster's pedigree transposes the wives of this John and his father, and makes Sir John who married Isabel de Elland the son of Margery de Rishworth; he further states that Sir John (who died in 1399) had a brother Henry, who married about 1300!

1336, Friday after Michaelmas.—Inquisition taken at the Court at Wakefield, 10 Edward III. John de Sayvell did homage, etc., for lands in Guldeker-Heton [*sic*] (Dodsworth MS. 117, fo. 146; *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, vol. 7, p. 262). See note on homage, *ante*, p. 392. The curious form, "Guldeker-Heton," is explained by the next note.

1336, Friday after St. Luke the Evangelist, 10 Edward III.—John de Seyville did fealty during the minority [of the heir] of John de Heton, and acknowledged that he holds of the said heir the manor of Guldekerres [Golcar] and 4 bovates of land there, by homage and fealty and the service of 3*d.* yearly at Martinmas (Wakefield Court Rolls; Dodsworth MS. 117, fo. 146).

1343.—Pontefract Rolls. John de Sayvill did fealty, and acknowledged that he held the moiety of a knight's fee in Smytheton [Kirk Smeaton] and Grymston, by homage, suit of court, etc., and a white farm (*pro alba firma*) of 3*s.* 7*d.* (*Yorks. Arch. Journal*, vol. 12, p. 75).

1344–5, Hilary.—Hugh de Coppelay claimed as his right 15*s.* rent in Barksland against William de Langfeld, and 15*s.* rent there against John Sayvel and Margery his wife, and 15*s.* rent there against Alice de Rishworth (De Banco, Hil. 18–9 Edw. III, m. 163).

1346.—Aid of 40*s.* to marry the King's eldest daughter. From Agnes de Cronessele, John de Quernby, John Savill, . . . de Riche-worth, and John Withet, for 3½ carucates in Gretton [*sc.* Bretton], Querneby, Gouthlokeres [Golcar], and Cumberworth, where 12 carucates make a knight's fee, 11*s.* 8*d.* The previous owner is not mentioned (Exch. K.R., Misc. Book 3, fo. 72).

1346.—Aid of 40*s.* to marry the King's eldest daughter. From John Savill for one eighth of a knight's fee in Smehton [Kirk Smeaton], of the fee of Skerchebeuf, 5*s.* (Exch. K.R., Misc. Book 3, fo. 83).

There is no evidence when this John died; the later notes which might conceivably relate to him seem to fit better for his son John, but this is by no means certain as to all of them.

His wife was Margery (called Joan in the *Genealogia Savilorum*,

*ante*, p. 405), said to have been a daughter of Matthew Wood (*de Bosco*).

He had issue John, see below, and Margaret, Prioress of Kirklees.

HENRY DE SAVILLE, 7.B., s<sup>on</sup> of John, 6.A., is mentioned as the remainderman to the Rishworth property in the fine of 1319 (see above). I assume that the later notes relate to the same person, but this is not certain.

1344, Dec. 8.—John, Abbat of Roche, granted the wardship and marriage of William, son and heir of William de Ryley, to Adam de Heley of Burton, Henry de Seyvyle, and William de Heley (Record Series, vol. 63, p. 65).

1358 and 1361.—See below, John, 8.A.

WILLIAM DE SAVILLE, 7.C., Rector of High Hoyland, was probably a younger son of John, 6.A. The only notes I have of him are the following.

1334–5.—Dodsworth has a note, from the charters of Francis Burdet of Birthwaite, that William de Sayvill was rector of a mediety of High Hoyland, but gives no details (Dodsworth MS. 117, fo. 19).

1347–8.—William de Sayvill, parson of Heghholand, was surety for Richard de Cornewaill, chaplain, indicted for helping Guy Tyas, who killed John son of John de Rothersfeld at Skelmersthorpe on Monday after the Epiphany, 21 Edward III, 1347–8 (Controlment Roll 9, m. 47). Guy and Richard were pardoned (Coram Rege, Mich. 23 Edw. III, m. 2 Rex).

Sir JOHN DE SAVILLE, 8.A., eldest son of John, 7.A., was probably born about 1325. In September, 1386, he gave his age as 60 and upwards.

1353, Trinity, and 1354, Easter.—Fine between Hugh de Brerelay and Maude his wife, plaintiffs, and Robert de Neville of Hornby, chivaler, deforciant, of the manor of Brerelay [Brierley, near Barnsley]; to hold to Hugh and Maude and the heirs of Hugh, together with the homage and service of (*inter alios*) John de Seyville of Tankersley and Isabel his wife (Record Series, vol. 52, p. 45).

1355–6, March 23.—John Tours and John de Sayvyll acknowledged that they owed William de Mirfeld, clerk, £10; to be levied, in default of payment, on their lands and chattels in Yorkshire (*Close Roll Cal.*, 1354–60, p. 305).

1357–8, Feb. 24.—Pardon, for good service to the King and Henry, Duke of Lancaster, done by Thomas del Wodeheved of Barkselond, in Brittany in the Duke's company, to the said Thomas who was indicted for the death of Thomas son of John de Saurby;



John de Sayville has testified that it was done in a hot conflict and not of malice (*Patent Roll Cal.*, 1358-61, p. 13).

1358.—John and Henry de Seyville witnessed two charters relating to Rastrick (Record Series, vol. 63, p. 93).

1361, July 6.—Partition of the estates of Henry, Duke of Lancaster. To John, Earl of Richmond and Blanche his wife (*inter alia*) the manor of Marchesden, held for life by John Seyville (*Patent Roll Cal.*, 1361-64, pp. 50, 86).

1361.—John son of Eve granted his manor of Toothill to Henry de Sayville and others; John de Sayville a witness (Record Series, vol. 63, p. 94).

1364, Nov. 15.—John Sayvill was one of a commission of oyer and terminer, touching all conspiracies, confederacies, collusions, and false alliances in Yorkshire (*Patent Roll Cal.*, 1364-67, p. 73), and on Feb. 10, 1364-5, on another commission to inquire as to the complaint of Elizabeth widow of Sir Nicholas de Wortelay (*ibid.*, p. 140).

1367-8, Jan. 13.—The Prior of Monk Bretton, going beyond seas by the King's license, appointed John de Sayvill, and others, his attorneys for one year (*Patent Roll Cal.*, 1367-70, p. 44).

1371, June 2.—John Sayvill was appointed on the commission of the peace for the West Riding (*Patent Roll Cal.*, 1370-74, p. 106). His reappointment occurs frequently, and also on commissions of array and of oyer and terminer.

1371, Tuesday after Trinity.—At Sprotborough, John Fitz-William, knt., found pledges, John Sayville, knt., Thomas de Reresby, knt. (and others), in £300, that he would not cause nor procure hurt or harm to John de Staynton (*Close Roll Cal.*, 1369-74, p. 308).

1372, Trinity.—Fine between Geoffrey de Warburton, chivaler, and Aline his wife, plaintiffs, and John Sayville of Eland, chivaler, and Isabel his wife, deforciant, of the manors of Brighthouse and Carlinghow; to hold to Geoffrey and Aline for the life of Aline, of John and Isabel and the heirs of Isabel, paying yearly a rose at the Nativity of St. John Baptist for all service to them, and doing all service to the chief lords; remainder to Thomas son of Sir John de Eland, and the heirs of his body; reversion to John and Isabel and the heirs of Isabel (Record Series, vol. 52, p. 162).

1372, Trinity.—Fine between Thomas son of John de Eland, plaintiff, and John Sayville of Eland, chivaler, and Isabel his wife, deforciant, of a moiety of the manor of Tankersley; to hold to Thomas and the heirs of his body, of John and Isabel and the heirs

of Isabel, paying yearly a rose at the Nativity of St. John Baptist, for all service to them, and doing all service to the chief lords; reversion to John and Isabel and the heirs of Isabel (Record Series, vol. 52, p. 162).

1372, Michaelmas.—Fine between John Sayville of Elland, chivaler, and Isabel his wife, plaintiffs, and John de Brampton, parson of the church of Badsworth, deforciant, of the manor of Elland and a moiety of the manor of Tankersley; to hold to John and Isabel for their lives; remainder to John the son of John, and the heirs of his body; remainder to Henry, brother of John the son, and the heirs of his body; remainder to the right heirs of Isabel (Record Series, vol. 52, p. 157).

This John was the first of the family to take a prominent part in public affairs. In 1374 he occupied the arduous post of escheator in Yorkshire, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland, which he resigned in the latter part of 1375 (Close Rolls).

In 1375 he was one of the Knights of the Shire for Yorkshire, and in July, 1376, he and his fellow M.P., Sir Robert de Boynton, were paid £34 8s. for 86 days' attendance, at the rate of 4s. a day (*Close Roll Cal.*, 1374-77, p. 428). He was again M.P. for Yorkshire in 1382, 1384, and 1390.

Sir John served as Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1380, 1382, and 1387.

1375, June 5.—Mandate to John Sayvill, Escheator in co. York, to deliver the temporalities of the Archbishopric of Canterbury within his bailiwick to Simon [de Sudbury], late Bishop of London, now translated to Canterbury by the Pope (*Patent Roll Cal.*, 1374-77, p. 118).

1384, June 17.—Exemption, for life, of John Sayvill, knt., from being put on assizes, juries or recognisances, or from being made mayor, sheriff, escheator, coroner, etc., or other minister of the King, against his will (*Patent Roll Cal.*, 1381-85, p. 415).

In 1385 and again in 1388 Sir John was appointed Commissioner of Array for the West Riding (*Patent Roll Cal.*, 1381-85, p. 590; 1385-89, p. 475).

1386, Sept. 17.—Sir John Sayvyll, aged 60 years and upwards, gave evidence in favour of Sir Richard Scrope in the Scrope and Grosvenor dispute (vol. 1, p. 112; vol. 2, p. 303).

1390.—Sir Robert Neville of Hornby and Sir John Saville were paid £22 8s. for 56 days' service as Knights of the Shire for Yorkshire, at the rate of 4s. a day (*Close Roll Cal.*, 1389-92, p. 178).

1391.—Sir John Sayville the elder was one of the feoffees of



James le Boteler, Earl of Ormonde, for the manor of Shipley (*Close Roll Cal.*, 1389-92, p. 525).

1392, June 16.—Supersedeas, on the pledge of Thomas Fairfax and others, addressed to the Sheriff of Yorkshire, in favour of Guy de Roucliff, clerk, at the suit of John Sayville, knt., for detinue of £249 (*Close Roll Cal.*, 1389-92, p. 564).

1395-6, Jan. 20.—John Sayvill, knt., John Sayvill, knt., his son, and Henry Sayvill, esq., witnessed a deed relating to property at Rastrick (Record Series, vol. 63, p. 94).

1396, Friday before Pentecost.—Inquisition taken at Pontefract. It is not to the damage of the King or anyone else if license be granted to John Herle, Parson of Tankereslay, John de Wath, Vicar of Hoderesfeld, John de Disshford, chaplain, and William de Heton, to found a chantry for one chaplain in the chapel of Eland, annexed to the parish church of Halifax, and to assign to the chaplain a messuage in Eland, a yearly rent of 8 marks out of the manor of Wyke near Okenschagh, and a messuage, 200 acres of land, 20 acres of meadow and 6 acres of wood in Hymmesworth, to sing divine service in the said chapel for the good estate of John, Duke of Aquitaine and Lancaster, and of John Sayville, knt., and Isabel his wife, and of their children, and for their souls when they die, and for the souls of Henry, late Earl of Lancaster, and of John Sayville and Margery his wife (parents of the said Sir John), and of Thomas de Eland and Joan his wife (parents of Isabel), and of John de Rylay, and of their friends and benefactors and of all faithful departed (Inq. ad quod damnum, file 426, no. 36).

Mr. Clay's footnote on page 5 of his article is rather misleading. He says, "In the same Chantry Surveys, p. 292, Sir John Savile is said to have founded a chantry at Thornhill with rents of lands in Brighouse by will Xmo Decembris, Edward iiij XXmo. This is not in, nor agrees with, the above will." The founder of the chantry at Thornhill was Sir John Saville of Thornhill, whose will, dated November 23, 1481, and proved June 21, 1482, is printed in *Test. Ebor.* (vol. 3, p. 270), and also by Mr. Clay. The will makes no provision for any chantry; the document mentioned in the chantry certificate as dated December 10, 20 Edward IV, *i.e.* 1480, may have been a deed and not a will.

1396, July 20.—Sir John Sayville, knt., paid £20 for the license in mortmain in respect of the chantry at Elland (*Patent Roll Cal.*, 1396-99, p. 9).

1396, Trinity.—John Sayvell, knt., Constable of Pontefract Castle, sued Adam de Bekwyth of Clynt, Richard de Bekwyth of

Kylynghall, and John de Bekwyth of Clynt, for 20 marks each, probably due on a joint and several bond (De Banco, Trin. 19-20 Ric. II, m. 242*d.*).

? 1399.—Will of Sir John Sayvelle of Elland, undated. The only member of his family mentioned is John Sayvelle of Shelley, who was given 6 silver spoons, a silver covered cup, some corn, a bed and coverlet, and a brass pot formerly his father's. He leaves money for his poor tenants at Golcar, and for the poor at Elland and Tankersley. He leaves money to the chaplains of St. Clement's Chapel in Pontefract Castle, if he should happen to die there. Executors, John Kyng, Vicar of Halifax, John de Wath, Vicar of Huddersfield, John de Heton, John de Bollyng, William de Heton, and John Sayvelle of Shelley. Proved September 23, 1399, by the two last named, power reserved to the others (*Halifax Wills*, vol. 2, p. 216).

Sir John Saville, father of Henry, who married Elizabeth Thornhill, died on June 13, 1393, according to a memorandum of Dods-worth's quoted by Whitaker (*Loidis*, p. 322), "*obiit dominus Johannes Savile, miles, apud Castrum de Sandall, Junii 13, 1393, et in crastino die deductus apud Wakefield, et apud Thornhill insigniter tumultatus.*" This is clearly an error, since in a note to the will of Sir John Savile of Thornhill (*Test. Ebor.*, vol. 3, p. 270), we are told that he died at Sandal Castle on the morrow of the feast of St. Basil (June 14), 1482; his corpse was carried through Wakefield, and was sumptuously interred at Thornhill (citing Hunter's *Notices of Lupset*, p. 17).

Sir John married Isabel, daughter and heir of Thomas de Elland, through whom Elland and Tankersley came to the Savilles.

Only two children are recorded, John and Henry, but Thomas, the Serjeant at Arms (see below), was probably another son.

1399, Nov. 17.—Isabel, widow of Sir John Saville, knt., took the vow of chastity, in the chapel within the manor of Newstead, near Nostell Priory (*Test. Ebor.*, vol. 3, p. 317; Clay, p. 5).

Undated; about 1400.—Isabel Sayville filed a bill of complaint in Chancery, alleging that she was seised in her demesne as of fee of the manor of Tankersley at the time of the last passage of the King to his Duchy of Normandy, and since then until one Richard Wortley ousted her, with the strong hand and against the King's peace, and he still holds it, to her great damage and "final disheriteson," for which she has no remedy by assize. She prays for a writ of subpœna, directing Richard to come to be examined on the matter before the Chancellor in the Chancery, and also for restoration and damages. *Pur dieu et en oeuvre de charitee.* Her pledges for the prosecution



were Robert Eland and Simon Louthe, both of Lincolnshire, gentlemen (Early Chancery, bundle 69, no. 383).

1406, Michaelmas.—John Kyng, Vicar of Halifax, John de Wath, Vicar of Hudrisfeld, John de Heton, John de Bollyng and William de Heton, executors of the will of John Sayville, knt., the elder, sued John de Bollyng for a debt of £40 (De Banco, Mich. 8 Hen. IV, m. 234*d.*).

1406, Michaelmas Term.—Robert Eland *v.* Isabel widow of John Sayville, chivaler, claims half the manor of Tankersley by a writ of formedon (De Banco, Mich. 8 Hen. IV, m. 363*d.*).

1408, Easter.—John Kyng, Vicar of Halifax, (and the others, as above), executors of the will of John Seyvell of Eland, knt., sued Robert son of Thomas de Eland for a debt of £20 (De Banco, East. 9 Hen. IV, m. 56).

Sir JOHN SAVILLE, 9.A., was the son and heir of Sir John, 8.A., and was probably born about 1355 or a little earlier.

1391.—See below, Thomas, 9.C.

Sir John was living on January 20, 1395–6, when he and his brother Henry and their father witnessed a deed relating to property at Rastrick (Record Series, vol. 63, p. 94).

1399, Nov. 13.—Grant for life to John Sayville, chivaler, of the Wapentake of Strafford, with the fees and emoluments belonging to it (*Patent Roll Cal.*, 1399–1401, p. 95).

1399, Dec. 18.—John Sayville, chivaler, was on the Commission of Array for the West Riding (*Patent Roll Cal.*, 1399–1401, p. 213).

In 1402 he was Sheriff of Yorkshire.

1403, June 20.—Grant for life to the King's knight, John Sayville, of the Wapentake of Strafford, not exceeding the value of 40 marks yearly, from Nov. 13, 1 Henry IV, in lieu of a former grant of that date (*Patent Roll Cal.*, 1401–5, p. 236).

1405, May 2.—Inspeximus and confirmation of Edward of York, Earl of Rutland and Cork, dated at London, Nov. 20, 1 Hen. IV (1399), confirming for life to Sir John Seyville or Sayville letters patent of his father, Edmund, Duke of York, granting for life to John the office of Chief Forester of Sowerbyshire and Holmefirth, with the keeping of the park of Ayreingden, etc. (*Patent Roll Cal.*, 1405–8, p. 15).

Sir John died in 1405, between May 2 and August 10 (see next note). There does not appear to be any will or administration. His wife is said to have been Isabel, daughter of Sir Robert Radcliff of Radcliff Tower, Lancashire. The Visitation of 1563–4 states that

he "wedded also the daughter of Balderstone," and that of 1612 gives him one wife only, Margaret Barderston.

He had two children, John and Isabel.

1405, Aug. 10.—Grant for life to the King's knight, John Luttilbury, of the Wapentake of Strafford, with all fees, etc., as John Sayvel, knt., deceased, lately had it (*Patent Roll Cal.*, 1405–8, p. 56).

1405, Aug. 10.—Grant to William de Holand of the office of Master Forester of Ayrendon and Sowerbyshire (*ibid.*, p. 50).

HENRY SAVILLE, 9.B., was the second son of Sir John, 8.A.

1375, Easter.—Fine between Henry Sayville of Rishworth, plaintiff, and William Smyth of Newall and Isabel his wife, deforcians, of a messuage and lands and 10s. rent in Crosland; to hold to Henry and his heirs (Record Series, vol. 52, p. 185).

1391.—See below, Thomas, 9.C.

1395–6, Jan. 20.—See above, John, 8.A.

1397–8, 21 Richard II.—Henry, Duke of Hereford, took into his service Henry Savile, esq., to serve him in war and in peace, at the wages due to an esquire. After he was made king he granted Henry an annuity of £10 for life (Dodsworth MS. 117, fo. 159 b).

1401–2.—Aid in the Honour of Pontefract for marrying the King's eldest daughter. Henry Sayvill for one fourth of a knight's fee in Thornhill, formerly of John de Thornhill, 5s. (Duchy of Lancaster, Knights' Fees, bundle 1, no. 18, p. 151).

1403, Aug. 15.—Henry Sayville was on the Commission of Array for the West Riding (*Patent Roll Cal.*, 1401–5, p. 284).

He died in 1412, having married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Simon de Thornhill, by whom he left a son and heir, Thomas, and a younger son, Henry.

THOMAS SAVILLE, 9.C., serjeant at arms, was nearly related to the main line of the family, and was probably a younger son of Sir John, 8.A.

1375–6, Hilary.—Fine between Robert de Ursewyk, plaintiff, and Thomas Sayville and Elizabeth his wife, Edmund de Folifayt and Adam de Haywode, deforcians, of the manor of Braddesworth [? Brodsworth, near Doncaster], and of 13s. 4d. rent in Pontefract; to hold to Robert and his heirs. Release and warranty by Thomas and Elizabeth, Edmund, and Adam, for themselves and the heirs of Edmund (Record Series, vol. 52, p. 193).

1380, June 25.—Simon Flemyng of Almondebury to Thomas Sayville, the King's serjeant at arms, recognisance for 80 marks, to be levied, in default of payment, on his lands and chattels in Yorkshire (*Close Roll Cal.*, 1377–81, p. 458).



1389.—Thomas Sayville was a serjeant at arms (*Close Roll Cal.*, 1389-92, pp. 44, 79). He is also mentioned in 1390 and 1391 (*ibid.*, pp. 150, 375).

1391.—Thomas Sayville, serjeant at arms, was one of the feoffees of Alexander Brown as to property in Wythyngton [Widdington, par. Little Ouseburn] and Nunnemonketon. Sir John Sayvyll and Henry Sayvyll were two of the witnesses (*Close Roll Cal.*, 1389-92, pp. 316, 318).

1399 and 1401.—Thomas Seyville was on the Commission of the Peace for Warwickshire (*Patent Roll Cal.*, 1399-1401, p. 565), and also on the Commission of Array for the same county (*ibid.*, p. 210).

1400, Feb. 19.—Inspeximus and confirmation to Thomas Sayvyll of letters patent dated July 19, 15 Richard II (1391), granting to him for life £21 13s. 4d. yearly (*Patent Roll Cal.*, 1399-1401, p. 200).

Undated (1416).—To our most sovereign and most gracious Lord the King, prays your most humble liege esquire, Thomas Seyville of the County of York, that whereas the noble Lord, the Duke of York (whom God assoile) by his letters patent granted to your suppliant for life the office of Master Forester of Aryngden, within the lordship of Sowerby in the said county, may it please your most gracious Lordship to ratify and confirm to the said suppliant by your gracious letters in due form, according to the purport of the said letters of the said Duke. *Pur dieu et en oeuvre de charitee* (Ancient Petitions, no. 11411).

John Saville, who was on the Commission of Array in Warwickshire in 1403 (*Patent Roll Cal.*, p. 286), may have been his son.

JOHN SAVILLE, 10.A., son and heir of Sir John, 9.A. If we may trust to a very confused note of Dodsworth's, he was under age at the time of his father's death in 1405, which would place the date of his birth as later than 1384.

John Sayvell (son of John Sayvell, knt., the younger, son of John Sayvell, knt., the elder) was during his minority seized into the hands of John de Heton for his wardship and marriage, because his father died seised of Bothomhall and in the service of the said John de Heton; which John Sayvell died without issue, and the property descended to Isabel his sister, who was seized by the said John de Heton, as above. She also died without issue, and so the inheritance descended to Henry, brother and heir to John Savile, knight, the younger, and from Henry to his son Thomas; etc. (Dodsworth MS. 117, fo. 155).

I think this must be the John Saville of Shelley named in the

will of Sir John, 8.A., in 1399 (see above), but no relationship is stated.

I have no further information about this John. He is said to have married Isabel, daughter of Sir William Fitzwilliam, and to have died without issue. His heir was his sister Isabel, said to have married Thomas Darcy; she also died without issue. If Dods-worth's statement, cited above, is correct, viz., that Henry Saville succeeded on Isabel's death, then both John and Isabel died before 1412.

This really ends my task, but I take the opportunity of placing on record three notes as to Sir Thomas Saville of Elland, Thornhill, etc. (see Mr. Clay's article, p. 6), and several thirteenth and fourteenth century references to various Savilles whom I cannot place in the pedigree.

1416, June 29.—Confirmation to Thomas Seyvile of Thornhill of his appointment by Edward, late Duke of York, dated May 22, 2 Henry V (1414), as Master Forester of Aryngden in Sowerby, for life (*Patent Roll Cal.*, 1416–22, p. 38).

1423, June 25.—Fine between Isabel widow of John Sayville, knt., and Thomas Sayvyll of Thornhill, esq., plaintiffs, and Thomas Eland, son and heir of Robert Eland of Carlynghaowe, deforciant, of 20 messuages and lands in Eland, South Owrom, Ryssheworth, Bothomley, Bersland, Gretland, Steynland, Northland and Hyperhom, and a moiety of the manor of Tankersley. Release to Isabel and Thomas and the heirs of Thomas; they gave Thomas Eland 500 marks (Feet of Fines, case 28, file 155, no. 3). The identity of this Isabel is doubtful. I think she was probably Isabel Radcliffe, widow of Sir John, 9.A.

1425.—Thomas Sayvell holds the manor of Grenehall in Thornell, late of Brian de Thornell, and pays yearly 10s. Free rents of the Honour of Pontefract (Duchy of Lancaster, Misc. Book 106, fo. 4).

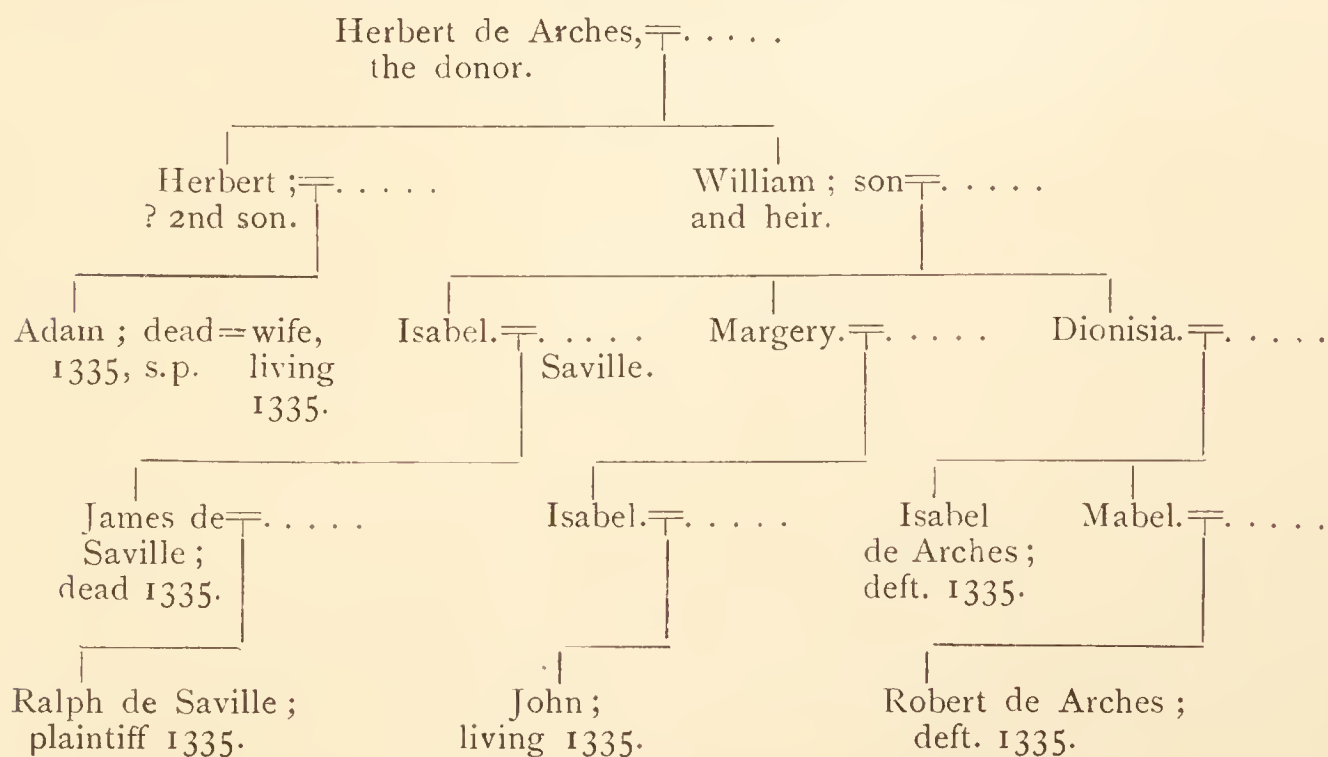
1298, Michaelmas Term.—John son of Peter de Arches and James de Saville sued William de Bateley and Dionisia his wife in a plea of land; and John son of Peter de Smetheton [Smeaton] and James de Seyville sued the same defendants, also in a plea of land (De Banco, Mich. 26–7 Edw. I, m. 51, 144). I have no further information about this case, but the land was no doubt in Smeaton (see below, Ralph, 1335).

1321, Martinmas.—Richard Saivel of Thurgerland witnessed a lease of the manor of Denby by Richard son of Sir John de Thornhill (Lord Savile's deeds, Record Series, vol. 50, p. 62).



1335, Easter Term.—Ralph de Seyville of Little Smetheton *v.* Isabel de Arches of Little Smetheton, John de Arches of the same, and Robert de Arches of Kirk Smetheton, for disseising him of two parts [thirds] of a messuage, a bovate and 2 acres of land in Little Smetheton. John says that he claims no interest in the property. Isabel and Robert say that the property is only a messuage and a bovate of land less 2 acres, and that the whole of it was in the seisin of one Herbert de Arches, who gave it to one Herbert son of Herbert and the heirs of his body, with reversion to the said Herbert de Arches and his heirs; from which Herbert son of Herbert issued one Adam, who died without heir of his body, and whose wife now holds  $\frac{1}{3}$  thereof in dower; from Adam the said two parts reverted to Herbert de Arches as the donor, and from him descended to William as son and heir, and from William to Isabel, Margery, and Dionisia as daughters and heirs; from Isabel her share descended to one James as son and heir, and from James to the plaintiff as son and heir; Margery's share descended to one Isabel as daughter and heir, and from her to one John as son and heir, who is not named in the writ; Dionisia's share descended to Isabel the defendant and one Mabel as daughters and heirs, and from Mabel to Robert the defendant, as son and heir; the John who is not named and the plaintiff are seised of their shares together with the others, and at their wish (*pro voluntate sua*) they claim judgment whether Ralph ought to have an assize as to the whole of the two parts. Adjourned to Trinity Term. Jury (De Banco, East. 9 Edw. III, m. 23*d.*).

This involved story requires a pedigree to make it clear.



1337-8.—Fine between Roger de Thornton, plaintiff, and Adam de Bollyng, chaplain, deforciant, of the manors of Thornton and

Deneholme in Bradforddale; to hold to Roger for life; remainder to Robert son of John de Bollyng and Elizabeth his wife and the heirs of their bodies; remainders to two sons and a daughter of Thomas de Thornton; remainder to Adam son of John de Sayvill of Farnley and the heirs male of his body; remainder to the right heirs of Roger (Record Series, vol. 42, p. 126).

1356.—Robert del Skyrys of Wombwell sued John Sayville of Chickenley and Maude his wife, Adam Sayville of Chickenley and Agnes his wife, John son of James de Thurgerland, and Ralph de Wodhall, for novel disseisin of property in Wombwell and Holand near Wynteworth [Upper or Nether Hoyland, near Barnsley] (Assize Roll 1130, m. 4).

1356-7, Hilary.—Robert de Wombwell, merchant, sued John Sayville of Chekynlay for a debt of £20 (De Banco, Hil. 30 Edw. III, m. 123).

1362, Michaelmas.—Presentment before Thomas Clarell, the Coroner, that Robert son of James de Hunshelf, Adam son of John Sayvill of Chikynlay, and Thomas Flecok, son of Thomas Sayvill, feloniously killed Robert son of Robert de Skyres of Wombewell, and that John Sayvill of Chikynlay and Maude his wife, Agnes wife of the said Adam, John son of John Sayvill, chaplain, and Agnes daughter of John de Skires, aided and abetted. Robert, Adam and John were dead, and had not been convicted (Coram Rege, Mich. 36 Edw. III, m. 17 Rex).

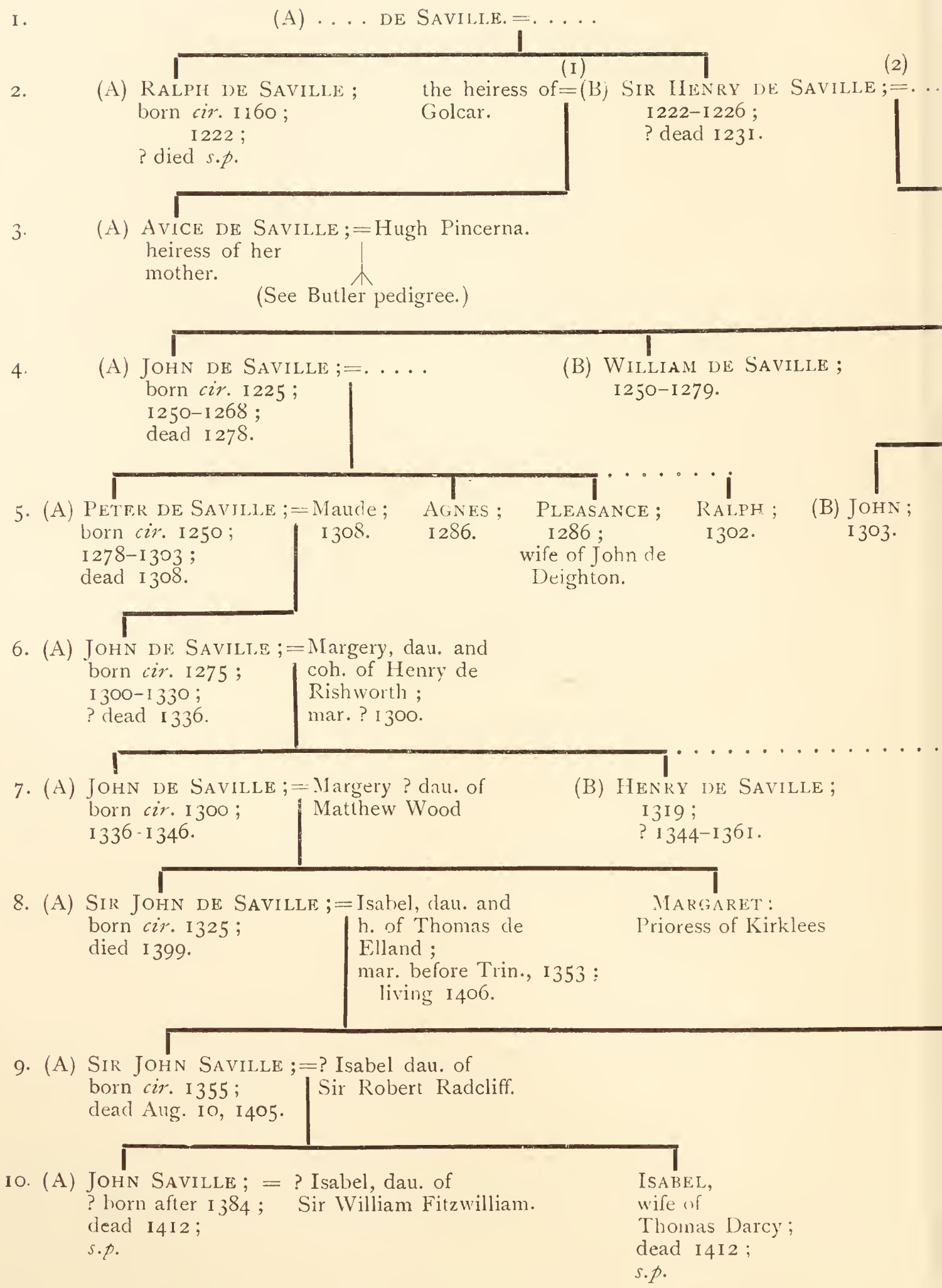
1377, March 1.—Will of Henry Sayvill; to be buried at Huddersfield; mentions sons John and Thomas and daughters Joan and Alice; no property or place of residence mentioned; proved April 7 following (*Halifax Wills*, vol. 2, p. 215).

[*To be concluded.*]

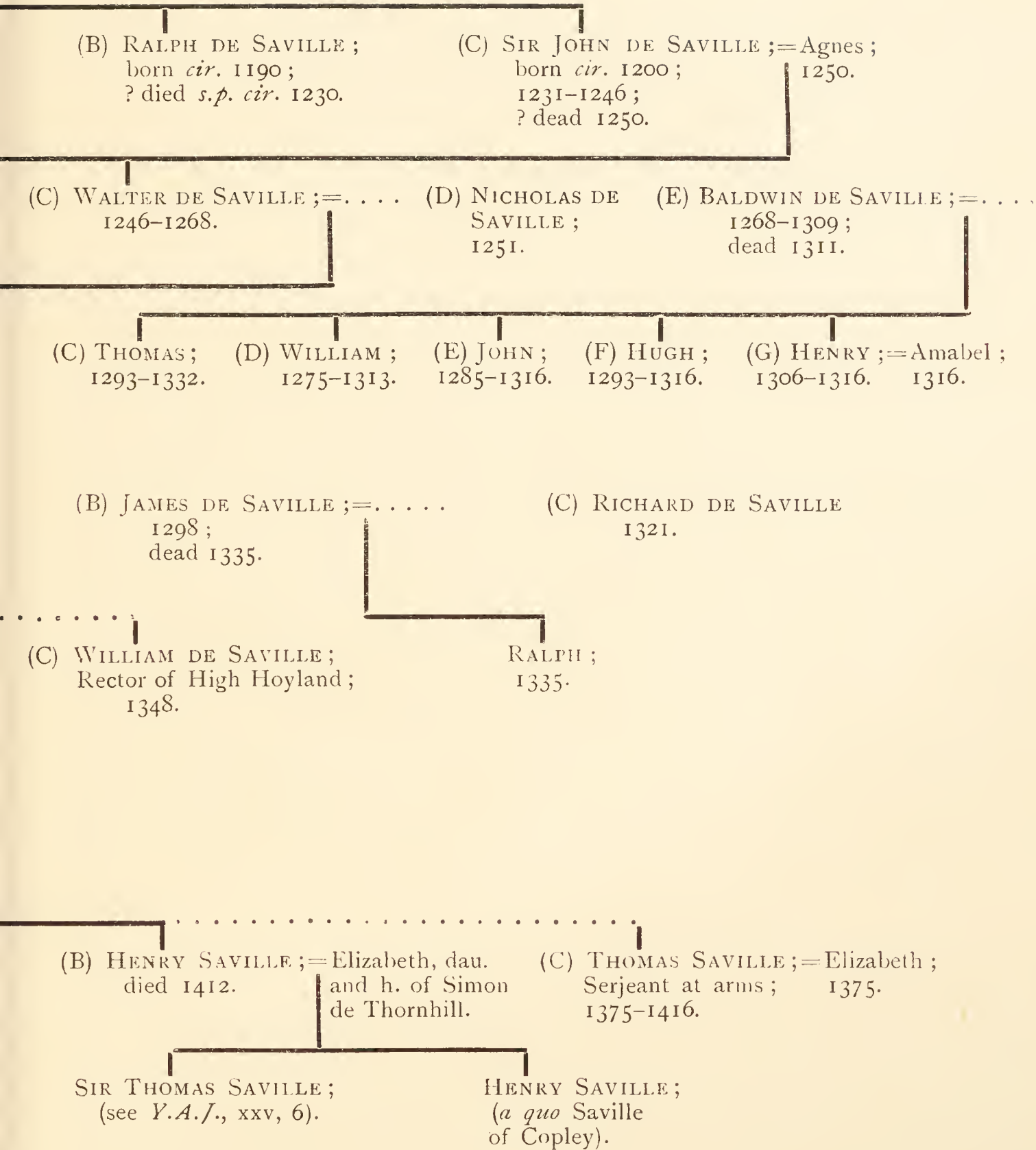




SAVILLE.











# THE ROMAN CAMPS AT CAWTHORN, NEAR PICKERING.

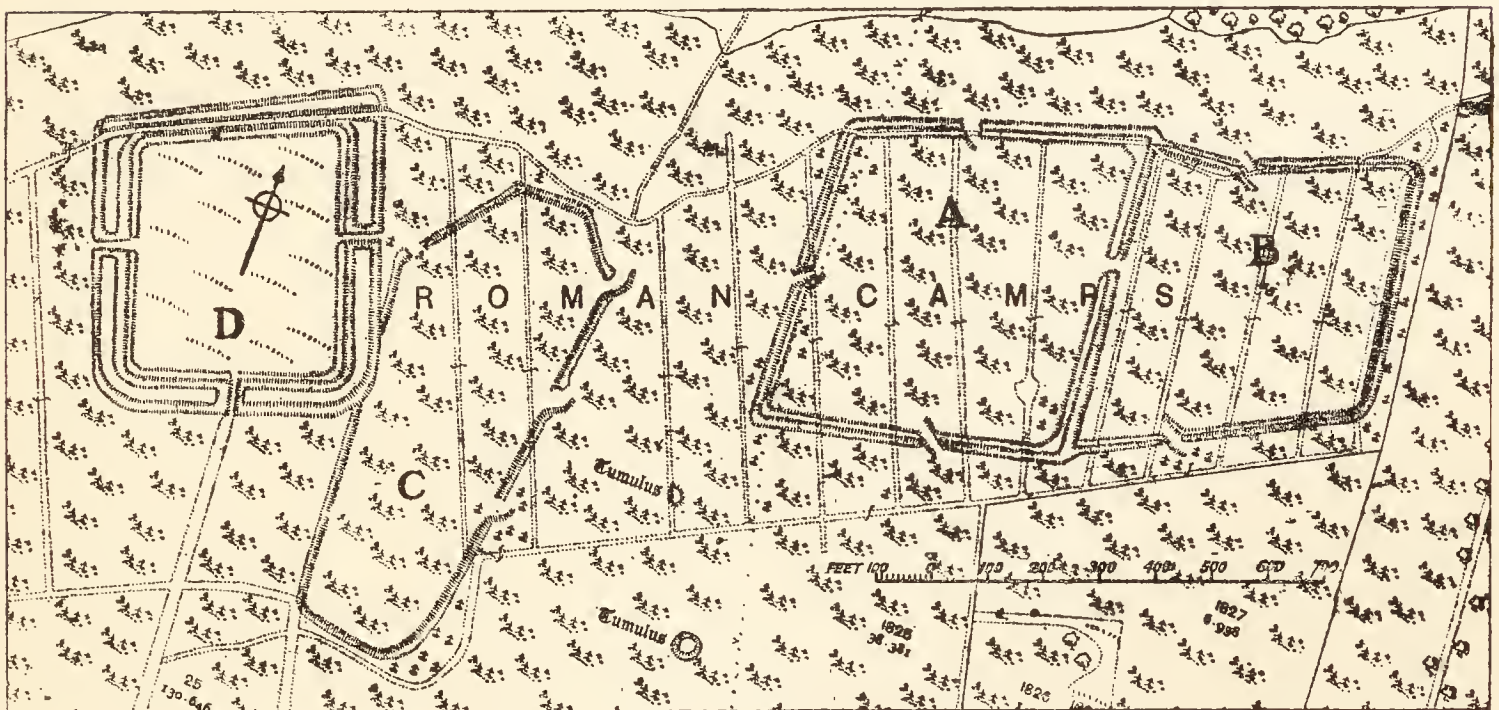
## SECOND INTERIM SUMMARY, 1925.

BY IAN A. RICHMOND, B.A.(OXON.).

The following description summarises the results of excavating the Roman camps at Cawthorn under the writer's charge from June 15th to August 14th, 1925, inclusive. With it should be read Mr. F. G. Simpson's Preliminary Report and the writer's First Interim Summary, already issued in the *Journal* (Parts 109 and 111).

Attention was confined once more to the camps A and B. But during the winter Dr. Kirk cut two trenches through the rampart

Plan of Cawthorn Camps. Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey Map, with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.



Approximate areas (measured from rampart centre-lines: A, 6.47 ac.;  
B, 5.62 ac.; C, 5.36 ac.; D, 3.67 ac.

and double ditch of D, revealing that the former was composed of laid or mixed turves, while the upcast from the latter, at first thrown out in two heaps, formed the great balk between the ditches. The heaps were afterwards levelled in parts, but the whole process is not yet clear. Outside D's south side Dr. Kirk noted a row of pits, roughly parallel with the rampart, and between C and A he detected a small rectangular building of laid turf. Its purpose is not yet clear. The road visible between these two camps was found to be

part of Porter (1736) [or Roger (1854)] Gate, a mediaeval track winding through the camps: it seems that no road existed in Roman times. Accordingly my view that the building of C was connected with rebuilding A still needs proof.

The south junction of A and B was examined in detail, since surface indications hinted that arrangements here differed from those on the north. It was found that B's ditch stopped seven feet east of A's, which passed, as on the north, beneath B's rampart, and exhibited similar stratification, except that B's turf was better preserved. B's rampart swept markedly inwards so as to hit the rear of A's south-east angle *ballistarium* at right angles; while A's ditch turned the corner rather sharply through a rock-cut sump-hole in the angle. In this way the *ballistarium* protected the gap in the ditches like a bastion, and further protection was given by a small turf-built *ballistarium* attached to B's rampart at the east end of the gap. This was no gate—for the rampart closed the gap behind. A sump-hole was also detected at the south-west angle of A, where the rampart has been washed away by heavy storms. At the north-west angle such destruction evidently had taken place before the second occupation, for a water-worn gap in the rampart was found filled up with laid turf continuous with the turf-capping of that period. The ground inside the camp falls towards both western angles, which increased the likelihood of destruction by spate between the two occupations when the rampart was left half-demolished.

A problem left unsolved last season was the interpretation of a long axial trench discovered packed with stones in A's demolished east rampart. This was cut into solid rock below the old ground-level, which, at Cawthorn, if covered over in Roman times, is now distinguished by a thick line of bleached root matter. This season the trench was found to contain large post-holes. At the south end it stopped dead in one of these and at the north rose at a sharp angle and disappeared. For forty-one feet in front of this contrivance A's great ditch was cut to half-depth only, and in the second period was completely filled with tumbled turf, further covered by a stony surface. The trench, however, has been discovered wherever the east rampart was not too completely demolished, in the same line, but not penetrating the old ground level. Under these conditions it is loosely filled with ordinary stones from the rampart, now discoloured by percolation from the modern turf above them; and these, evidently, have tumbled in after the original packing of exceptionally large stones had been shovelled away, as described below. Careful examination revealed the trench similarly placed



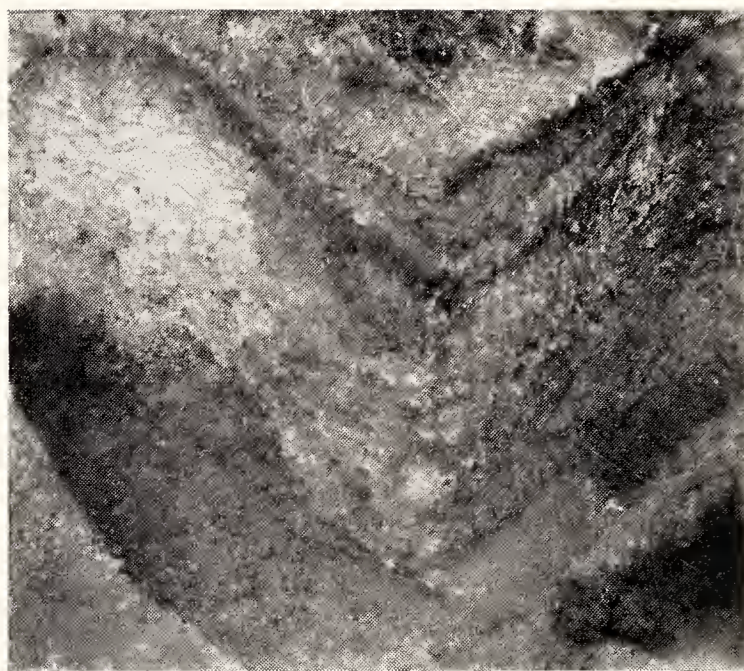






*Photo: I. A. Richmond.*

Fig. 1. Stone Oven among Turf Mounds  
in B.



*Photo: I. A. Richmond.*

Fig. 2. Titulus of A-period covered by turf  
*clavicula* of B-period at South end of A.



*Photo: F. Manby.*

Fig. 3. Section of North Rampart of A, showing different stages  
of construction.



in the north, west, and south ramparts: but at these points its filling of loose stones, clearly due to the same cause as operated on the east, was not discoloured, since it was covered by the upper remodelled rampart of the second period. In this condition the feature is not easily seen, for it is defined by stratification, yet not by difference in colour. Neither Mr. R. G. Collingwood nor Mr. F. G. Simpson, however, doubted its existence or meaning. It was, in fact, as the post-holes and its position proved, the trench which held the stockade predicted last year. Further, the point where it drops below the original ground-level must be a gate—the east gate of A, which was sought for in more normal position last year. This hypothesis was confirmed by finding the trench below ancient ground-level at A's south gate, and strengthened by the fact that the ditch in front of it was filled with turf. The gap in the rampart provided no filling of the ordinary kind. But the matter was finally settled by finding in front of the opening a traverse ditch, ten feet long, which had been completely filled in the second period. Then followed the discovery of a similar *titulus* under the second-period outer *clavicula* at A's south gate (Fig. 2), and the identification of a like obstacle to direct entry in front of the outer *clavicula* at A's west gate. Only the north gateway awaits test for this feature. And here it may be absent owing to the proximity of the steep escarpment. It is interesting to find that the gateway defences of each period differed thus. The two methods, however, were not fashions of different ages, as Hyginus and actual remains elsewhere prove.

The identification of this palisade-trench enables us to analyse the structure of A's first and second ramparts (Fig. 3). To the second period must belong the turf-capping which covers it. But it is now clear that what once seemed like a protective stepping of turf in the front of the rampart, is matched by a similar mass behind; and that neither mass is laid, each evidently having fallen from the definitely-laid turf-capping, and so covering a rampart-walk behind and a berm in front. These features derived from the turf-capping must thus belong to the second period; and it becomes obvious that they were cut back into the ruined mass of A's rampart, of which the abandonment was marked by digging out the palisade, which lay well forward with a high-level rampart-walk behind it, as was predicted last year and is now proved by the discovery of the remains of the trench which contained the stakes and posts. Thus the first rampart of A was a great mass of upcast with a stockade in front of a walk running on the summit. When it was needed no longer the stakes were dug out from the front—the quickest way to

get them. The material so removed was thrown back into the ditch, and there the vegetation detected last year began to grow on top of it. When the second occupants of A arrived they cut back the irregular mass left in front of the line of stockade, and, preventing thus the risk of further collapse, gained a regular and safe front for the greater mass of the old rampart, which had lain behind the stockade. But when the demolition took place much material must have fallen forward from the crest, which had pressed on the stakes behind. So the newcomers made a new turf crest, and thus obtained a rampart like that which they made further east, where there was no previous work to form a basis or core. The second rampart was, in fact, a shield and boundary rather than a great defence.

Signs were noted that the second rampart was not unscathed. Both in front of and behind the inner *clavicula* at A's west gate traces of burning were detected, involving vitrification of stones but not discolouration of the ground: this represents short and fierce heat. A similar layer exists in isolation on the west berm south of this gate; and charcoal was noted in front and behind the outer *clavicula* of A's south gate, while a patch of burnt material discoloured the inner *clavicula* of B's south gate, which was completely cleared late in the season. At present the evidence suggests an attack with flaming missiles in the second period of A's occupation, but further examination may prove this conclusion unwarranted.

Another problem left from last year was to interpret the stratification beneath A's B-period south *intravallum* road. This turned out to belong to two large elliptical pits, both approximately eight feet broad and respectively ten and sixteen feet long. Each had its long axis parallel to the rampart, and on the sides and bottoms were traces of a white clay lining. It may therefore be supposed that they were for storing water, to be used either in emergency or for feeding the baggage animals. In the second period they were completely filled up, and ovens were built near them regardless of their presence. A stoke-hole almost breaks into the west pit, and would have done so had it remained open. If these were the water-pits of the first period, it will be interesting to learn how the problem was solved later. For there is no water on the plateau, and all must have been fetched, if not stored afterwards.

Much work was done at the ovens. The remaining four of last year's seven were cleaned out, together with five new ones, bringing the total up to twelve so far cleared; while the sites of more have been located in A's demolished east rampart. Four of the new ovens were of the stone type (Fig. 1). The fifth, which occurred within the south-east angle of A, well away from the rampart, was made of





Fig 4. South Gate of B, from the North-east.

*Photo: J. L. Kirk.*



Fig. 5. South Gate of B ; interior aspect looking South-eastwards.

*Photo: J. L. Kirk.*







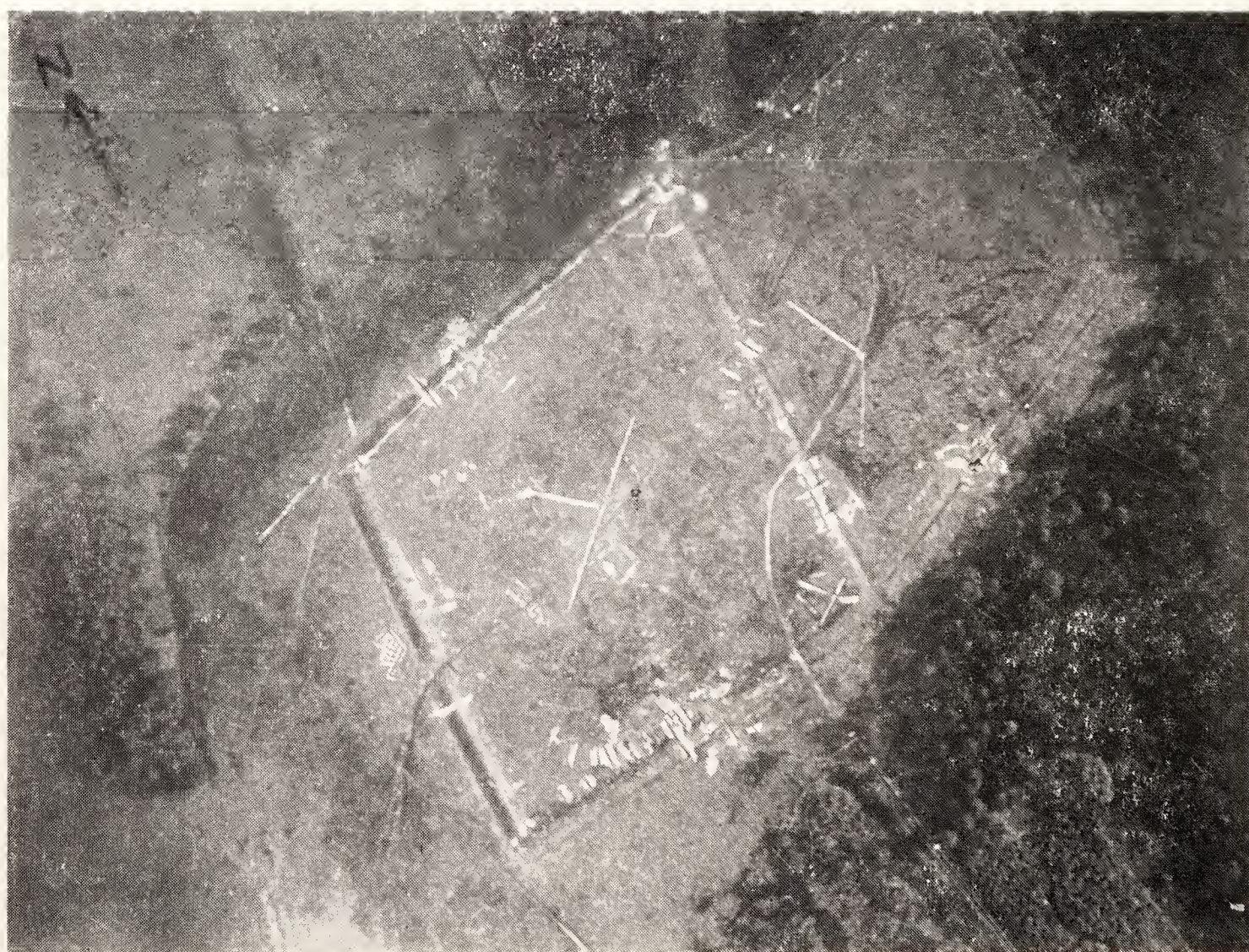






*Photo: Aerofilms, Ltd., Hendon.*

Fig. 6. Air Photograph, showing D and C.



*Photo: Aerofilms, Ltd., Hendon.*

Fig. 7. Air Photograph, showing A and B and North-east Corner of C.



clay and carefully filled in the second period with blue clay and stones, thus dating its type to the first period, as was suspected last year, and further confirmed this season by the discovery of the real position of the B-period rampart-walk, which crosses directly above the three clay ovens in A's west rampart, and renders their use during the second occupation impossible. Two stone ovens, on the other hand, were built on top of A's demolished north-east *ballistarium*, thus dating the type to the second period; these were at right angles to each other, as at Goldsborough on the Yorkshire cliffs, presumably to permit the use of one or other during high gales. Another oven was found among turf-buildings in B well away from the rampart.

Little was done in the interior except the clearing of the hearth located in 1923 by Mr. F. G. Simpson. This was surrounded by turf-work and fronted by a stone surface. In it were found small fragments of pottery, all red or pink coarse ware. A building further west was intersected with trial trenches and produced the base and reeded rim of a red carinated bowl, not of very early type. Eleven pits (seven in A) were searched, and found to be small and not deep. Most yielded little more than scraps of wood and chips of pottery. But one produced three ornamented iron nail-heads, or linch-pins; another the shoulder of a square glass bottle, and another a great surprise.

The last-named was situated not far north of the *tribunal*, and was screened on three sides by a rather prominent turf mound. It was found to be shallow and oblong. On its floor lay portions of two carinated bowls, the shoulder of a small amphora, and other scraps. There was a shelf-like space between the lip of the pit and the turf mound. Thence came fragments of another carinated bowl, some pieces of small *ollae*, a platter, and, finally, a mortarium-like bowl found still standing on its base, but largely smashed by roots and damp. Large parts of one side of this bowl must have been exposed to weathering for a long time and have disappeared. On the same shelf was found a small charcoal-filled hollow, behind which the turf mound forming the back of the shelf was faced with stone to make a primitive fire-back, as in the Orkneys to-day. Here, therefore, was some form of cooking-hole, half-underground like the ovens, and sheltered with turf screens. Evidently we found it much as the cook had left it. This circumstance and the fact the pit was filled only with silt from the turf-mound surrounding it, prove clearly that it belongs to the period of turf-buildings, that is, to the second occupation of A.

About the pottery itself these facts are worth note: (1) The pots were all made of the same clay, better or worse fired. (2) The carinated bowls were certainly not so early as Agricola, and there was nothing essentially Hadrianic in the style of any pot. Accordingly a Trajanic date is probable for the find, as Mr. R. G. Collingwood and Mr. F. G. Simpson agree after seeing the pots. So, pending a final pronouncement, two points of general interest emerge from this find: The occupation of B is not Agricolan, but falls after his governorship and before the opening of Hadrian's reign. The pottery on which this conclusion is based looks like the product of one factory. Identification of the type elsewhere might answer questions like these: How and when were such stores distributed? Why is Samian ware absent? Was it used by field forces? Or were they served with a special issue of pots?

More immediately important is the dating of A, C, and D. *Prima facie*, A could be Agricolan or earlier, since considerable growth separated its occupation from that of B. But to prove this a stratified deposit of the period is needed. And where does C fall? Was D, which overlaps it, built by folk who moved to B after reinforcement? Or does C belong to a separate phase in the history of the site? The discoveries of this year promise that continued work may enable us to answer these questions. Meanwhile they have provided new and important historical knowledge—that so large an army (perhaps two legions) as occupied B was campaigning in the North Riding so late as Trajan's reign; and it is interesting to know that any Roman army on an exposed site ever dug itself in, as the ovens and cook-hole show. On the side of structural details it may be fairly claimed that no Roman site in Britain has ever yielded such clear evidence for details of construction and changes in its defences—for there is more to add to the story than is possible here.

It only remains to thank all those who have shared my activities on the site. Dr. J. L. Kirk has given kindest and most invaluable help in organisation of the work. Mr. E. E. Dodd, a Bingley member of the Roman Antiquities Committee, assisted in measuring some rampart-sections. And the visits of Mr. R. G. Collingwood (on August 5th and 6th) and of Mr. F. G. Simpson (on August 7th) were especially welcome and very valuable in connections acknowledged above. The staff was reduced to three workmen, made efficient by their experience of last year; but their work was on the whole more responsible, owing to the delicate operations involved in clearing the pits, the traverses, and the cook-hole.



## THE WAKEFIELD MYSTERIES.

BY MATTHEW H. PEACOCK, M.A., B.Mus.

In a paper which I contributed to the *Journal*, vol. xv, about twenty-five years ago, I endeavoured to prove that the Miracle Plays or Mysteries which were then called Towneley Plays, and supposed to have been acted at Woodkirk, near Wakefield, were in reality Wakefield Plays, and acted in that town by the Trade Guilds existing there.

Unfortunately, one element was missing to make the proof complete. No documentary evidence had up to that time been found to support the many other indications which I mentioned that Wakefield was the place of representation, no records of the Wakefield Trade Guilds having survived, and no reference to Miracle Plays having been discovered in any other Wakefield records.

Since the publication of the paper mentioned above, I have tried in many ways to obtain some evidence of the nature required to turn probability into certainty, but quite in vain, though many sorts of documents have been searched.

But it now appears that the necessary evidence has come to light. Mr. J. W. Walker, F.S.A., one of our Vice-Presidents, recently lectured to the newly-founded Wakefield Historical Society, on "Wakefield in the 15th and 16th centuries," and in the course of his remarks stated that in the sixteenth century the Burgess Court had issued various orders relating to the representation of Miracle Plays in Wakefield. As he is now a near neighbour of mine, not far from Oxford, I appealed to him for fuller information, and he very kindly told me that he had some years ago received from the late Mr. Batty Wrightson, of Cusworth Hall, certain leaves from the records of the proceedings of the Wakefield Burgess Court, which he proposes to publish in the near future; and in these he found the following references to the Miracle Plays:

[26 Apl. 1533] "Item a payne is layed yt Gyles Doleffe shall brenge in or cause to be broghte ye regenall (original) of Corpus Christi play befo. ys and wytsonday. In pane . . ."

"Item a payne ys layde yt ye mesters of ye Corpus Christi playe shall come and mayke thayre a Counts (accounts) before ye

gentyllmen and burgesses of ye to(-un) before this and mayday next. In payn of eiverie one not so doynge . . . 20s."

[Michs. 1556] "Paynes layde by the burges enqueste at the Courte kepte at Wakefelde nexte after the feaste of Saynte Michael tharchaungell in thirde and fourte yeare of the Reignes of oure Soveraigne Lorde and Ladye Kinge Philyppe and Quene Marye, 1556. Item a payne is sett that everye crafte and occupacion doo bringe furthe theire pagaunts of Corpus Christi daye as hathe bene heretofore used and to gyve furthe the speches of the same in after holydayes in payne of every one not so doynge to forfeit xls."

It will be clearly seen that the above extracts prove various points of great importance, and corroborate the views that I have frequently expressed.

It is shown that the plays in question were undoubtedly acted in Wakefield, and not at Woodkirk. It is indeed almost incredible that so many writers on English literature have imagined that a small village, such as Woodkirk then was, could ever have been the scene of representation. Was it to be believed that the Trade Guilds of Wakefield carried all their extensive apparatus and properties five or six miles away to an unimportant village, and attracted to it such crowds of spectators as we know were present at miracle plays in other places?

The time of the year at which these performances took place was the festival of Corpus Christi, which fell on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday, and was generally chosen for this purpose in other towns. Those who have held that the plays were performed at Woodkirk Fair on August 15th and September 8th, have therefore made a quite erroneous and gratuitous assumption.

The authorities of the town controlled the Trade Guilds in connection with the performances of the plays, and no credence can now be given to the strange idea that the Augustinian Canons at Woodkirk, who, by the rules of their order, were confined to their cells and not allowed to mix with the world, had anything whatever to do with the representations.

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It is now therefore possible to compare what we know of performances of Miracle Plays in other towns, and to outline the procedure which was probably followed in Wakefield.

The Trade Guilds were responsible for the presentation of the plays, the more influential ones undertaking one play each, and the



less prosperous ones being allowed to join together in performing others: thus the Cardmakers, Saddlers, Masons, and Painters shared the responsibility for one play at Coventry in 1443. Four or five of the chief members of these guilds had to become sureties for the proper execution of the work, and heavy fines could be imposed upon defaulters. The members of the guild contributed towards the expense, thus the Barbers at Beverley had to pay two shillings, "on setting up shop and newly carrying on business," for the maintenance of their play, and every journeyman had to pay eightpence a year when the play was acted, sixpence when it was not acted. At Coventry every craftsman was compelled to join the guild of his trade at the mayor's order, and pay the necessary subscription for this purpose.

The performances were not strictly annual, but the town authorities always gave some months' notice to the various guilds to be ready with their respective plays before the Corpus Christi Festival in any year when the representations were to be given: a craft that failed in this duty might be heavily fined, forty shillings being the usual amount for this default. Similar orders were issued as regards the proper selection and preparation of actors; in some places these had to undergo a preliminary test of fitness for their parts a considerable time before the festival came on.

A day or two before the performances, proclamation was made by mounted minstrels, bellmen, or other officials on behalf of the town authorities regarding the arrangements for the festival. These proclamations were usually called Banns, or Bayns, and the wording of some of them has been preserved, as at Chester and York. They ordered that no man was to carry weapons in the town during this time, "Knights and Squires of worship" alone being excepted; that no one should in any way disturb or hinder the performances; that each guild should be ready with its play at the proper time and place; that the players should be capable, "well arrayed and openlie speaking," and so forth.

Sometimes also special speeches were written by way of prologues to the plays, as at Chester; and it seems from the extracts quoted above that there was a similar custom at Wakefield; these speeches might contain references to persons and events of the time, and had to receive the approval of the authorities before being used. This was, of course, also necessary in the case of an entirely new play being added to the cycle.

Each craft had to appoint one or two pageant-masters, who had to collect subscriptions from their fellow-members, defray expenses,

be responsible for all stage properties, and conduct their play efficiently; thus at Coventry in 1453 Thomas Colclow was appointed master of the Crucifixion Play for twelve years. The original copy of the plays was handed to them by the town authorities and had to be returned, at Wakefield at least, before the date of the performances, under pain of a heavy fine. At Chester there appear to have been five copies, at Wakefield and York only one.

The town authorities fixed the sites where the plays should be represented, and these would generally be market-places, or street corners, or open spaces in the streets; but private sites could be bought by citizens, and plays acted before their houses. When the great day came, the town officials regulated the passage of the different pageants from place to place, so as to give every set of spectators at any given position the opportunity of seeing the whole series in order. In some towns, however—and Wakefield may have been one of these—a fixed stage was erected in some suitable place, and all the plays of the cycle acted there. It is probable that either a selection of plays was made for performance, or that two days were taken over the representation—one for the Old Testament and one for the New—as it seems impossible that the whole series could have been represented in one day, although proceedings began very early in the morning: at York a commencement was made at 4-30 a.m.; at Coventry on one occasion the Domesday Pageant was omitted “for lack of day.” There were 35 plays in the Beverley cycle, 57 in the York cycle, 42 at Coventry, 25 at Chester, and 32 at Wakefield.

When the festival was over, the town authorities had the power of fining a guild if its play had not been satisfactorily performed: thus in 1423 the five sureties for the Fishers Guild Play at Beverley were fined eight shillings each for this reason. An actor could also be penalised for not knowing his part, as was the fate of a Beverley weaver in the year 1452, his penalty being six shillings and eight-pence. Other fines were imposed if the players of any guild arrived late at any of the prescribed places, if the play was not well mounted, or if any avoidable hitch occurred.

The accounts of the Pageant Masters were then to be presented and all stage properties returned to their owners until wanted for the next occasion.



## FRANCIS COLLINS, M.D.

Francis Collins was born in Dec., 1832, being the third son of William Collins, of Kirkman Bank, Knaresborough, by his wife, Elizabeth Emma, daughter of Rev. Joseph Smyth, of New Building, and vicar of Kirby Moorside. He took his M.D. at Edinburgh in the summer of 1854, and in the autumn of the same year was gazetted as assistant-surgeon in the army. Collins served with his regiment, the 5th Fusiliers, in the suppression of the Sepoy mutiny, retiring from the Army in 1880 upon being appointed Resident Medical Officer to the Charterhouse, London. He gave up this appointment at the end of 1884 and removed to Fulford, near York, in 1885, direct from London. He next went to Pateley Bridge in 1895, and finally from there to Lyme Regis in 1907, where he died at his residence, St. Andrews, on Feb. 3rd, 1925, aged 92. Dr. Collins married in 1859, at St. James' Cathedral, Mauritius, Olympe Amélie, eldest daughter of Pierre Adolphe Wiehe, of Port Louis, Mauritius, by whom he had five sons and two daughters.

Collins was elected a member of the Council of the Society on 27th April, 1887, and, in recognition of his great services to it, a Vice-President on 31st Jan., 1908, an office he held until his death. He was greatly interested in the formation of our Record Series, towards which for many years he was the chief contributor. He edited the first volume, issued in 1885, and in all nineteen volumes; and it is by his work for this Series, and more especially his volumes of the Index to the York Wills, that he will best be remembered. It was while he lived at Fulford and at Pateley Bridge that the Index appeared. The material for some of the volumes was prepared by the late A. Gibbons, F.S.A. But Collins edited all the volumes and prepared the material for most of them. His industry, patience, and accuracy were remarkable. Few men would stick to a job as he did. Entering the registry in the morning, as soon as it was opened, he never left it until closing time came. The only respite he allowed himself was a few minutes in which to consume a frugal lunch consisting of a couple of sandwiches and the contents of a small flask, after which he would resume his labours. He fre-

quently referred to the great assistance he received from his two daughters, particularly Miss Louisa Collins, in arranging the index in alphabetical order, and without their willing assistance the rate of progress would have been much slower.

When our Society was asked to form a Parish Register Society for the county, Dr. Collins was one of the most active supporters of the scheme, he and Mr. G. D. Lumb, F.S.A., undertaking all the clerical work connected with its foundation, and becoming joint-secretaries, a position they held for twenty years. Collins transcribed and edited the first volume, the register of St. Michael-le-Belfrey, York, issued by the Society. In 1886 he was elected a member of the Surtees Society, becoming one of its Vice-Presidents in 1897. He was an original member of the Yorkshire Tykes' Club, and was present at the first dinner and meeting held at the Hotel Metropole, Leeds, on Oct. 26th, 1898. He occupied the position of Archtyke in 1903. After he had left the county he often referred to the pleasant evenings he had spent with his brother Tykes.

Collins had a great love for his native county and its history. After his removal to Lyme Regis his attendance at our Council meetings was necessarily infrequent, but nothing seemed to give him greater pleasure than to arrange his visits to Yorkshire, which were usually in July, so as to coincide with a Council meeting, until the business that necessitated his visits ceased, and increasing years came upon him. A modest yet kindly man, he had a strong sense of humour. He was ever ready to help and encourage younger men in their work. Dr. Collins was essentially a record student, and he must ever be regarded as one of the great pioneer workers in our Record Series, which owes to him a large measure of its success.

Following the example set by Professor A. Hamilton Thompson in his obituary notices of Canon J. T. Fowler and Mr. William Brown, a list of the works edited by Dr. Collins, as well as of some of his unpublished transcripts, is appended.

#### A.

#### I. CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE PUBLICATIONS OF RECORD SOCIETIES.

##### (a) YORKSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY: RECORD SERIES.

A Catalogue of the Inquisitions Post Mortem for the co. of York, James I and Charles I, [i], 1885.

A Catalogue of the Yorkshire Wills at Somerset House, 1649-1660, [i], 1885.

Feet of Fines (Yorkshire) of the Tudor Period, 4 vols., [ii, v, vii, viii], 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890.



Index to Wills in the York Registry, 1389-1652, 11 vols., [iv, vi, xi, xiv, xix, xxii, xxiv, xxvi, xxviii, xxxii, xxxv], 1888, 1889, 1891, 1893, 1895, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1902, 1905.

Index to Wills in the Dean and Chapter's Court at York, 1321-1636, [xxxviii], 1907.

Wills, Administrations and Inventories from the Peculiar Court of Selby, 1635-1710 [xlvii], 1912.

Genealogical History of the Family of the late Bishop William Stubbs, [lv], 1915.

(b) SURTEES SOCIETY.

Register of the Freemen of the city of York, 1272-1759, 2 vols., [xcvi, cii], 1897, 1900.

Knaresborough Wills, 2 vols., [civ, cx], 1902, 1905.

(c) YORKSHIRE PARISH REGISTER SOCIETY.

Registers of St. Michael-le-Belfrey, York, 1565-1778, 2 vols., [i, xi], 1899, 1901.

Registers of Hampsthwaite, 1603-1807, [xiii], 1902.

Registers of Settrington, 1559-1812, [xxxviii], 1910.

Registers of Danby in Cleveland, 1585-1812, [xliii], 1912.

Registers of St. Mary, Bishophill, junior, York, 1602-1812, [lii], 1915.

And jointly with A. W. Howard,

Registers of Pickhill cum Roxby, 1567-1812, [xx], 1904.

(d) HARLEIAN SOCIETY: REGISTER SECTION.

Charterhouse Registers (1671-1854), and Monumental Inscriptions, [xviii], 1892.

(e) PARISH REGISTER SOCIETY.

Registers of Farnham, Yorkshire, 1569-1812, [lvi], 1905.

## II. OTHER WORKS.

The Family of Collins of Knaresborough with some of their Connexions, 1912.

### B.

#### UNPUBLISHED TRANSCRIPTS.

(a) PARISH REGISTERS.

Knaresborough, 1560-1812, typescript, in the hands of the Vicar.

Pannal, 1585-1775, typescript (the Vicar).

do. do. MS. (W. J. Kaye, Harrogate).

Pateley Bridge, 1551-1715, typescript (W. J. Kaye, Harrogate).

Ripley, 1560-1812, typescript (the Rector).

do do. duplicate typescript (W. J. Kaye, Harrogate).

Orton Waterville, Hunts., 1539-1812 (J. G. Commin, Exeter).

*(b)* MISCELLANEOUS.

- Allerton Mauleverer Court Rolls, miscellaneous extracts in MS. *c.* 1564–1668 (W. J. Kaye, Harrogate).
- Knaresborough Court Rolls, Surrenders and Admittances, *c.* 1621–1707, typescript, 3 quarto vols. bound and one unbound (W. J. Kaye, Harrogate).
- Materials for a History of Knaresborough, chiefly from the State Papers of Tudor and Stuart times, in MS. (W. J. Kaye, Harrogate).
- Abstracts of Deeds from the Whixley Chartulary, typescript (Y.A.S., M<sup>s</sup> 346).
- Paver's Supplement to his Consolidated Visitations of Yorkshire (B.M. Add. MSS. 29650–1–2); and his Genealogical Scraps, relating to families whose names do not appear in the Visitations (B.M. Add. MSS. 29656–7–8–9), 6 vols. (J. W. Walker, East Hagbourne).
- Yorkshire Pedigrees, 1280 families, 2 vols. (J. W. Walker, East Hagbourne).
- Extracts or Transcripts from the Act Books of Harthill, Newark, Retford, Ripon, Otley, Sherburn, etc. (J. G. Commin, Exeter).

E. W. CROSSLEY.



## WILLIAM M. I'ANSON, F.S.A.

The Yorkshire Archæological Society has sustained a serious loss by the death, in the prime of life, of Mr. W. M. I'Anson, F.S.A., one of the members of its Council, to which he was elected on 31 Jan., 1913. He was the eldest son of the late Mr. William I'Anson, of Saltburn, engineer to the Cleveland Waterworks. He joined the army in 1914 and served as a lieutenant in the 5th Yorkshire regiment, until recalled in Oct., 1915, on the death of his father, to succeed him in his post. Mr. I'Anson, who had a charming personality, came of the same family as Frances I'Anson, the heroine of the song, "The Lass of Richmond Hill," about whom he wrote a short account in the *Journal*.

Mr. I'Anson was one of those members of the Council who were introduced to the Society by the late Mr. William Brown. His earlier researches led him to become a student of medieval castles, a subject upon which he wrote several papers in the *Journal*, dealing both with the earlier castles, where the defences consisted only of earthworks, as in "The Castles of the North Riding," and also with the later ones, where the defences were almost entirely of masonry, as in "Kilton Castle." Later on he developed an absorbing interest in, and became an expert upon, medieval military effigies. His researches into this branch of archæology led him far afield. He had drawn every effigy of this class in Yorkshire, nearly all in England, and many in France. These measured drawings cost him literally hundreds of hours of labour. He was most painstaking, and meticulously accurate, and some of his drawings were of considerable artistic merit. Just at the time when he was completing this part of his work his home at Saltburn was destroyed by a fire which consumed nearly the whole of his drawings, with his MS. notes and books. Nothing daunted, he recommenced his task, which he had again sufficiently completed to enable him to write at least two sections of his paper on the subject for the *Journal*, the first of which appears in the present part. Shortly after his loss, his fellow Tykes, to show their sympathy with him, presented him with several works likely to be useful to him in his researches. Shortly before his death he expressed a wish that his books should be given to the Society, an act of remembrance which is very highly

appreciated. So far as the writer knows his papers were all contributed to the *Journal*. A list of them is given below.

Mr. I'Anson was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1914. He was also a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, a member of the Earthworks Committee of the Archæological Congress, a member of the Ancient Monuments' Committee of the Y.A.S., and a member of the Yorkshire Tykes' Club.

Contributions to the *Yorkshire Archæological Journal*.

Kilton Castle. Vol. xxii, p. 55.

The Castles of the North Riding. Vol. xxii, p. 303.

Skipsea Castle. Vol. xxiv, p. 258.

Helmsley Castle. Vol. xxiv, p. 325.

The Lass of Richmond Hill. Vol. xxv, p. 101.

Coverham Abbey. Vol. xxv, p. 273.

Some Yorkshire Effigies. Vol. xxvii, p. 117.

E. W. CROSSLEY.



## YORKSHIRE SCHEDULED MONUMENTS.

In view of the number of questions asked, from time to time, as to which of the ancient monuments in the county are scheduled, the following list, complete to the end of 1925, is printed. Those included in section A are also in the guardianship of H.M. Commissioners of Works, and the year in which each of them was taken over is added within brackets.

### A.

#### CASTLES

Helmsley (1923)  
Richmond (1910)  
Spofforth (1924)  
York, Clifford's Tower (1915)

#### EARTHWORK

Skipsea Brough (part only,  
1911)

#### MONASTIC BUILDINGS

Byland (1921)  
Egglesstone (1925)  
Roche (1921)  
Whitby (1920)

#### ROMAN REMAINS

Goathland, Roman Road  
(1912)

### B.

#### BRIDGES

Askrigg, Bow Bridge  
Barden  
Barforth  
Barnard Castle  
Catterick Bridge, Brough  
Coverham Abbey  
Croft  
Danby, Duck Bridge  
Edisford  
Ferrybridge  
Glaisdale, Beggar's Bridge  
Greta  
Hebden Bridge—Old bridge  
over the Hebden Water  
Kildwick  
Kilgram  
Knaresborough, High Bridge  
Marsden, Close Gate pack-  
horse Bridge  
Romanby packhorse Bridge  
Rotherham, Old Bridge  
Sowerby (N.R.), Town End  
Tanfield

Thorsgill beck packhorse  
Bridge  
Ulshaw  
Wakefield  
Wensley  
Yarm

#### BUILDINGS (CIVIL)

Easington (E.R.) Tithe Barn  
York, The Guildhall, the old  
Council Chamber and room  
beneath, the Water Gate,  
the vaulted passage lead-  
ing to it, and the adjacent  
river walls

#### CASTLES, ETC.

Bolton  
Bowes  
Conisborough  
Middleham  
Mulgrave  
Sheriff Hutton  
Wressle  
York, City Walls, Bars, etc.

## EARTHWORKS

Castle Hill Earthworks, Al-  
mondbury  
Studford Ring, Ampleforth  
Castle Dyke, Aysgarth  
Mount Ferrant, Birdsall  
Castle Hill, Castle Leaving-  
ton  
Danes Dyke, Flamborough  
Maiden Castle, Grinton  
Scamridge Dykes, Hackness  
The Three Dikes, Langton  
Skipsea Castle (the remain-  
der)  
Stanwick Camp Earthworks

## MISCELLANEOUS

Butt Hills, Bridlington

## MONASTIC BUILDINGS

Chapel and Priest's House,  
Bewerley Hall  
Coverham  
Easby  
Fountains  
Guisborough  
Jervaulx  
Kirkham

Kirkstall

Mount Grace

Richmond, Grey Friars'  
Tower

Rievaulx

Sawley

York, St. Leonard's Hospital

„ St. Mary's Abbey

„ St. Mary's Abbey Pre-  
cinct Walls

„ St. William's College

## PRE-HISTORIC REMAINS

The Devil's Arrows, Bor-  
oughbridge

Wharram Hill Embankment

Cross, Burton Agnes

Hedon How tumulus

Cup and Ring marked stone,

Woodhouse Crag, Ilkley

Nosterfield and Thornbrough  
Circles

Westow Grange tumulus

## ROMAN REMAINS

“ Roman road,” Blackstone  
Edge

E.W.C.



## THE Y.A.S. YORK MINSTER WINDOW.

On the afternoon of Friday, 6th Nov., 1925, the third window from the lantern in the north clerestory of the choir, being the one containing the arms of the family of Archbishop Richard Scrope, was formally handed back by the President to the care of the Dean and Chapter, after being cleansed and repaired at the cost of members of the Society.

There was a good attendance of subscribers, and there were also present representatives of the West Riding and North Riding County Councils and of the following organisations: the Surtees Society, the Yorkshire Parish Register Society, the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, the York Archæological and Yorkshire Architectural Society, the Thoresby Society, the Hunter Archæological Society, the East Riding Antiquarian Society, the Leeds and West Yorkshire Architectural Society, the Halifax Antiquarian Society, the Bridlington Augustinian Society, and the Wakefield Historical Society.

The Archbishop of York wrote expressing his very great regret at his unavoidable absence and his gratitude to the Society for preserving the window.

The lay members of the Council present, viz., the President (Col. John Parker, C.B., F.S.A.), the Hon. Secretary (Mr. E. W. Crossley, F.S.A.), the Hon. Treasurer (Mr. T. Nevin), Miss Maud Sellers, Litt.D., and Messrs. W. H. Brierley, F.S.A., John Charlesworth, W. J. Kaye, F.S.A., and John Scott entered the Choir together. The following clerical members attended in their robes and walked in procession with the choir: Canon S. L. Ollard, M.A., Rev. C. V. Collier, M.A., F.S.A., Rev. F. Harrison, M.A., F.S.A. (member of the Council), Rev. J. Pierce Price, Rev. H. Stapleton, Rev. M. Vincent, and Rev. T. E. R. Wilford.

After the clergy and choristers, who entered the choir in procession singing the 126th Psalm, had taken their seats, the President and the Hon. Secretary met the Dean and Chancellor Austen (representing the Chapter) in the aisle. Addressing them, Col. Parker said:

“Mr. Dean and Members of the Chapter of York Minster:

On behalf of the Yorkshire Archæological Society, it is my privilege as President formally to hand back to your care this Window, now restored, so far as may be, to its ancient beauty.

The great work undertaken by you for the preservation of the windows in this Minster appeals strongly to Members of a Society whose aim it is to trace, to record, and, so far as we can, to preserve, all relics of the past in this county. We have watched with more than ordinary interest the efforts made by you and the Committee working under you, to repair the ravages of time and to arrest the decay that has attacked these treasures of medieval glass—unsurpassed elsewhere in this country—reminiscent of a period when English craftsmanship was at its best.

But we felt that we could not remain mere spectators and critics; that the Yorkshire Archæological Society had not only aims but duties; and that, as a body, we must be more closely associated with your work. We were glad to know that you shared our views and were able to allocate to us this window as our task. That task is done.

It is a glorious window, rich in heraldry of the period when that art was at its zenith. Its jewelled lights glisten to-day—thanks to the care and skill of your workmen—as brightly as they did when first they came out of a York workshop five hundred years ago. It commemorates a distinguished Yorkshire prelate—Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York—a great man, though unfortunate; who, at a critical period of our history, was too loyal to go over to the usurper and so perished. He was a member of a noble Yorkshire family, great benefactors to this Minster of York. It is, in every sense, a Yorkshire window; and the Yorkshire Archæological Society are proud that they are permitted to be associated with it.

On their behalf, Mr. Dean, I ask you to accept from the Society the gift of its preservation.”

The Dean accepted the gift and thanked the Society for its generosity; after which the hymn, “We love the place, O God,” was sung. The Rev. F. Harrison read the prayers, the service concluding with the hymn, “Praise the Lord! ye heavens, adore Him,” and the Blessing given by the Dean.



## Second List of Subscribers.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
B. S. Massey ..	1	1	0	Lt.-Col. E. K. Clark..	1	1	0
T. S. Gowland ..	0	5	0	Mrs. Selkirk ..	0	10	0
W. Gunn (2nd don.)..	2	2	0	The Archdeacon of			
H. S. Chorley ..	2	2	0	Richmond ..	1	1	0
Wm. Oliver, jun. ..	1	1	0	C. C. Elmhirst ..	2	2	0
C. E. Hoyland ..	1	1	0	Col. Sir Edward Bro-			
Mrs. John Pickering..	0	5	0	therton, Bart. (2nd			
W. S. Hart ..	2	2	0	don.) ..	1	1	0
William Sykes ..	1	1	0	H. F. Killick (2nd don.)	1	1	0
Herbert Webster ..	0	10	6	E. Lake ..	2	0	0
Rev. A. Cope, M.A. ..	0	10	0	Rev. E. E. C. Elford ..	0	5	0
W. A. Evelyn, M.D...	1	1	0	Rev. T. Pierce Price..	0	10	0
Fred. Procter..	1	1	0	Mrs. F. Mitchell ..	0	10	6
T. Edmund Harvey ..	0	10	6	T. Charlesworth ..	0	10	6
Geoffrey Thompson ..	0	10	6	Miss M. Trotter ..	0	2	6
Rev. F. W. Holmes ..	1	1	0				

E.W.C.

[The section, Reviews, Transactions of Yorkshire Societies, etc., and Yorkshire Bibliography, is in charge of the Hon. Sec., E. W. CROSSLEY, Broad Carr, Holywell Green, Halifax, to whom all communications should be addressed.]

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## REVIEWS.

*The Early History of the North Riding.* By William Edwards, headmaster of the Middlesbrough High School. London: A. Brown and Sons, Ltd. 1924.

In the author's own words, "this book is an attempt to give a general view of the Early History of the North Riding as a whole, to show how local history is related to that of the nation, and to give an account of the conditions of the Riding in early times." And the attempt has proved eminently successful. We venture to congratulate Mr. Edwards not only on the merits of his book, but also on a work destined, we think, to encourage the growing interest which is being taken in the study of local history and medieval conditions.

To cover the field from the dawn of history to the middle of the fourteenth century in a volume of about 250 pages is no easy task; but this Mr. Edwards has done with an admirable sense of proportion. His twenty-one chapters include a variety of subjects—political history with descriptions of special events affecting the North Riding, such as the Scottish incursions after Bannockburn; social, economic and religious history, with accounts of the castles, forests, and religious houses; and well-chosen examples of the way men lived in country and in town. A chapter on some of the North Riding families—and it is a fact of note that the Bruces and Baliols were North Riding magnates before ever their connection with Scotland began—shows that the study of family history gives plenty of scope for the illustration of social life in the middle ages.

Mr. Edwards has made excellent use of a wide range of printed sources, from the chronicles to Mr. I'Anson's accounts of the castles which have appeared in this *Journal*. And he is well versed in modern research, such as, for example, Dr. Round's authoritative conclusions on knight-service. One small point requires amendment in a future edition. The statement in the footnote on p. 139 that the Register of Byland Abbey has been lost is a little misleading, as a Chartulary of that house is in the British Museum.

The book is handsomely produced; and a collection of over fifty photographic illustrations adds to its general charm.

C. T. CLAY.



The Tolson Memorial Museum Publications, edited by T. W. Woodhead, Ph.D., M.Sc., F.L.S. Handbook iv, *Huddersfield in Roman Times*. By Ian A. Richmond, B.A. (Oxon.). 1925.

Author and Editor are to be congratulated on the production of the fourth handbook of the Huddersfield series, which contains a comprehensive account of the Roman remains of a singularly rich and interesting district, which has the good fortune to possess an admirably arranged collection of antiquities in its Museum. Mr. Richmond's book should do much to increase the growing interest in the Roman antiquities of south-west Yorkshire. Like its predecessors in the series it is no mere guide-book to the collections in the Museum, but a lucid interpretation of the monuments of the district in their historical setting. Full accounts are given of the principal sites, which are illustrated by plans and photographs, at the abundance and excellence of which we may well be surprised in view of the small price of the book. (The photographs of the road at Blackstone Edge deserve especial commendation.)

In his historical account Mr. Richmond has contrived to be interesting and original without going beyond the evidence. The account of the development of the system of roads across the Pennines is a valuable contribution to the history of Roman Yorkshire. On certain points of detail there may be disagreement with some of his views. How far a Census taken in the Peak district before A.D. 114-7 suggests a peaceful control of native life (p. 108) is a matter on which opinions may vary. Mr. Richmond will remember that another race of hillmen *quia nostrum in modum deferre census, pati tributa adigebatur, in iuga Tauri montis abcessit*. The prospect of this census may well have been one of the causes of the disturbances in Northern Britain at the beginning of the second century.

Not the least important section of the book is the appendix on the Roman coins found in the Huddersfield district. Those whom the book will lead to a further study of Roman Britain will find a carefully-selected bibliography for their guidance, and it is to be hoped that they will be many. A visit to the Huddersfield Museum and the district with Mr. Richmond's book in the pocket should prove an excellent introduction to the whole subject. It is to be hoped that this fact will be noted by the teachers in the Yorkshire schools whose pupils may have opportunities of visiting the Huddersfield district.

H. A. ORMEROD.

*Curia Regis Rolls of the Reigns of Richard I and John, Vol. II; 1925.*

This second volume of the Curia Regis Rolls comprises cases heard before the king's justices at Westminster between the years 1201 and 1203, which have not already been printed elsewhere. The cases come from all parts of England; but those who are interested in one particular county will find a reference to all the cases emanating therefrom in a special heading of the index, e.g., "York, county of, entries relating to." It is scarcely necessary to emphasize the great value of a volume of this kind to the local topographer and genealogist.

C. T. CLAY.

*The Register of Thomas of Corbridge, Lord Archbishop of York, 1300–1304, Part 1.* Edited by William Brown, D.Litt., F.S.A. Surtees Society, Vol. 138. Leeds, 1925.

The work of transcribing and editing the registers of the archbishops of York, to which the late Dr. William Brown applied himself with exemplary industry, is not one which can be completed in a single lifetime. It is fortunate that he was able to bring his work down to the end of the thirteenth century, and to finish his transcript of the two earliest registers of the fourteenth century, a period during which the documents entered in these repositories of official acts and correspondence increase considerably in number and variety. The present volume, which he prepared for publication during the last two years of his life, includes the purely diocesan portion of the register of a primate whose interests were bound up with those of the church of York during most of his life and remained closely associated with it during his short pontificate of less than five years. A brief section devoted to the business of the archbishop's officiality is followed by copious memoranda arranged under the heads of the five archdeaconries. Those of York and Nottingham, as is generally the case, supply the largest contributions; there is much from the East Riding, while Cleveland, the poorest of the archdeaconries, furnishes comparatively little. The Richmond section is, as usual, of somewhat fragmentary interest, owing to the limitations of the archbishop's jurisdiction in that district. The archdeacon of Richmond, Gerhard of Wippenen, bishop of Lausanne, was an absentee, and it is much to be regretted that his register no longer exists to fill up the gaps in a scanty record, which includes, however, some details of Corbridge's visitation of the archdeaconry and three deeds confirming the appropriation of churches to religious houses, with ordinations of vicarages.

There is no need to point out the value which episcopal registers possess for competent students of local history. Illustrations of this are supplied on every page of this volume. Occasionally documents of an earlier period appear in some quantity, as in the confirmation of a series of charters dealing with the churches in Yorkshire belonging to the priory of Lewes (pp. 45–50), which includes some matter hitherto unprinted. Records of institutions to churches and vicarages, if studied carefully, will be found to contain something more than the names of clergy for which they are usually sought. Thus several institutions to the church of Adel during this period form a useful source for the history of patronage in the hands of alien religious houses at a time when relations with France were becoming strained. More than one entry takes us from its local circumstances to the wider subject of the relations between England and the Holy See, to the practical effects of the bull *Clericis laicos*, or, in a narrower field, to the working of *Periculoso*, the constitution which prescribed the strict enclosure of nuns. Documents relating to monasteries are abundant; and the preambles of the numerous decrees of appropriation embody statements of the condition of religious foundations which are generally helpful, and sometimes,



as in the case of the appropriation of Long Preston church to Bolton priory, are extremely illuminating.

Although the standpoint of the register is, of course, ecclesiastical, and its full significance appeals to the comparatively small number of persons whose main interest lies in tracing ecclesiastical law in operation within the confines of an English diocese, its contents throw light upon many sides of medieval life. The impersonal nature of official documents affords no opportunity of speculating upon the character of the individuals in whose names they were issued; but the clerks who compiled them were men of the world with a shrewd eye for business, and the width of their interests is reflected in the text. No greater benefit at the present time is being conferred upon the student of medieval history than the publication of these collections of miscellaneous entries which embrace specimens of almost every type of official composition. We would impress upon Yorkshire historians and antiquaries the importance of these works, and remind them of the support which the Surtees Society needs and deserves in continuing to publish the fruits of the skilled labour of the archivist who, as its secretary and afterwards as its president, maintained the high standard set by his predecessors in their contributions to the historical literature of the county.

A. HAMILTON THOMPSON.

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## TRANSACTIONS OF YORKSHIRE SOCIETIES, ETC.

*Halifax Antiquarian Society's Publications* for 1925 contain the following papers: Some Old Skircoat Homesteads, by H. P. Kendall; History of Shibden Hall (continued), by John Lister; Excursion to Ovenden, by W. B. Trigg; Clifton and its Common Fields, by W. B. Crump; Notes and Comments on Halifax Churchwardens' Accounts, 1620-1714, by J. W. Houseman; Some remarkable clocks with some reference to the makers, by S. H. Hamer; Ancient Highways of the Parish of Halifax (continued), by W. B. Crump.

*Hunter Archaeological Society's Transactions*, Vol. III, Part 1, contain the following papers: The Rivulet, a poem by Rev. Joseph Hunter; Medieval English Cutlery, by S. O. Addy; Will of Christopher Capper, 1636, by Charles Drury; Castleton: its Traditions, Sayings, Place-Names, etc., by Rev. J. H. Brooksbank; Wilson of Broomhead, by John B. Wheat; House Building in Queen Elizabeth's Days, by James R. Wigfull; William Marsden, M.D., a native of Sheffield, by Canon W. Odom; Notes on Arbor Law, by A. Leslie Armstrong.

*Hull Museum Publications*. No. 139 contains the following papers: Commercial Museums; Remains of Early Man; The Rhodesian Skull; A Bronze-Age Earthenware Vessel. No. 140: Hoard of Silver Coins found at Scotton, Yorkshire, by T. Sheppard; Commerce and Transport Numismatics, by T. Sheppard; York

Pennies of Henry III, by T. Sheppard; Northern Numismatic Notes; Money Scales and Weights—Supplementary Notes, by J. F. Musham.

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## Notes.

[The Council has decided to reserve a small space in each Number for notices of Finds and other discoveries ; and it is hoped that Members will assist in making this a record of all matters of archæological interest which from time to time may be brought to light in this large county.]

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### VII.

With the extending of the quarries at Wharram le Street and North Grimston, many objects of interest turn up from the surface soil. Flint arrow points, scrapers, and other stone objects have been brought to me by one or two of the workmen. Lately a lead weight was found, this also was brought to me. A similar weight was found some years ago at Wetwang. Both are heater shaped, but differ considerably in size and condition.

The one from Wharram le Street is  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches long and weighs nearly  $5\frac{1}{2}$  ounces. It shows signs of having been knocked about a good deal. One side is plain, but the other bears a crowned rose, and what appear to have been the letters E and R in the flanks. The devices appear to be such as were used during the Tudor period, and possibly the letters stand for *Edwardus Rex* or *Elizabetha Regina*. There is a small hole bored through the foot of the weight.

The weight found at Wetwang is  $3\frac{9}{16}$  inches long and weighs exactly one pound avoirdupois. The device stamped upon it is a crowned fleur-de-lys. The crown is of an earlier type than the one on the Wharram le Street weight. There is a small hole bored through the top of it. This weight is of early fourteenth-century date. A weight found at Winchester some years ago weighs just a pound. It is heater shape and bears the device of three leopards passant gardant in pale, and is probably of the same date as the one from Wetwang.

C. V. C.

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### VIII.

#### FINDS AT BEDALE CHURCH.

The presence of the Death Watch beetle having been discovered in the roof-principals and other timber work at the parish church of Bedale, professional advice was last year sought ; and the well-known architect, Mr. W. D. Caroe, who, during the past few years has so





WETWANG



WHARRAM LE STREET





successfully combated the same destructive pest in the roof of Westminster Hall, determined that much of the woodwork at Bedale would have to be replaced, and the remainder treated with an appropriate solution. It is most fortunate that this necessary work was put in hand at once, as many of the huge thirteenth-century beams have been found so honeycombed by the insects' ravages that they were on the point of crumbling away to dust. Leaky roofs have undoubtedly contributed to this state of destruction, but all the fractures and fissures in the lead-work have now been homogeneously welded by Messrs. Blevins & Sons, of Faversham. During the execution of the repairs the contractors made a large collection of living and active specimens of the beetle,<sup>1</sup> proving that the work of repair happened none too soon. During the structural work the colour-wash inside has been necessarily disturbed, and it has been found that the walls in many places have been decorated with paintings and writings. Some of these crumbled away, but those which can be saved cover a long period, namely, from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century. The chancel-arch reveals a thirteenth-century head surrounded by a halo, above which is painted an angel in fourteenth-century style, and over this again is an Elizabethan writing in an ornate frame. Surmounting this group many rich colours of all shades have been found, undoubtedly representing Heaven, and with which the angel before mentioned is connected. This seems to be the more probable as the other side of the arch has remnants of the Doom, the flames being quite visible and with three small chains below. Over all is painted the Creed and the Lord's Prayer in an ornamented frame. In one of the aisles another writing, pronounced of Elizabethan date, gives an extract from the Bible: "The Voice said Cry. And He said What shall I cry? All flesh is as grass and all the goodliness thereof is as the flowers of the field." In the other aisle a huge painting is being uncovered, which, from the lines already revealed, seems to depict St. George and the Dragon. But as well as the paintings a small semicircular-headed opening was discovered above the chancel-arch, perhaps connected with a former rood-loft, of the existence of which there are manifest evidences. It is proved that the eastern extremities of the aisles were co-terminous with the chancel-arch, the thrust of which their end walls thus served to buttress; but on the removal of these walls, when the aisles were

<sup>1</sup> The "Death Watch" is the name applied to beetles which make a ticking sound; and as this is more audible than elsewhere in the stillness of the sick-

room, it was supposed by superstitious people to be a presage of death. But there are several varieties of insects which make this sound.

lengthened, the arch began spreading outwards, resulting in a serious crack in the masonry above. This is now being remedied by a steel and delta metal tie-rod, which will be covered by a carved beam of oak, and this will constitute the first instalment of a rood-screen.

But the most interesting of the discoveries is the presence beneath the colour-wash inside the east end of the chancel, of two large and well-drawn armorial shields, one on either side of the window. The shields are heater-shaped, and are 24 inches high by about 18 inches at the widest part. The one on the north side displays a sable lion rampant on a field argent, charged on the shoulder with an annulet of the last. This is for Stapelton of Bedale. The shield on the south side of the window bears Argent 3 bars azure, over all a bendlet gules for Grey of Rotherfield. Genealogical evidence enables us to fix a date somewhere about 1320, or a few years later, for these shields; and it would be just at that time the extension of the chancel took place. Brian FitzAlan, Bedale's most distinguished lord, had died in 1306, leaving two daughters, Matilda, aged 8, and Katherine, aged 6, his nearest heirs. The former married first, to Gilbert Stapelton, who died 1321; secondly, to Thomas Sheffield. Katherine, the younger of the coheiresses, became the wife of John Grey, of Rotherfield, and her eldest son was born in 1320, she herself being then about 20 years of age.

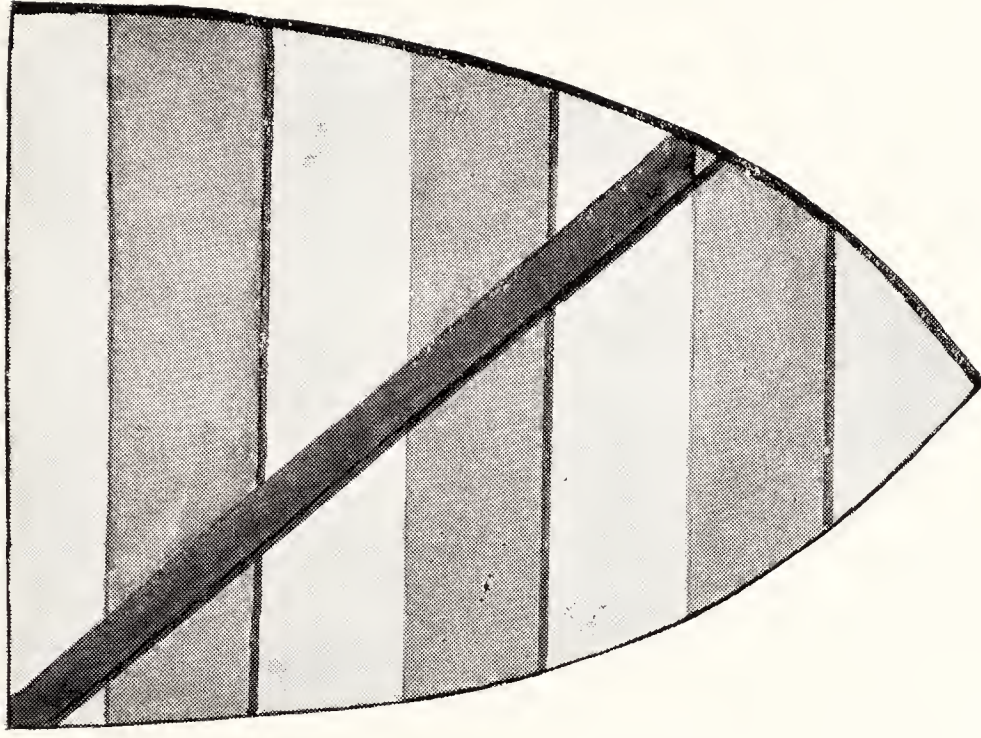
Thus, once again, are history and genealogy confirmed by the evidence of heraldry.

H. B. McC.





Stapelton of Bedale



Grey of Rotherfield

ARMORIAL SHIELDS AT BEDALE, c. 1320





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